THE

ASIATIC
ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR,

A VIEW OF THE HISTORY

OF

HINDUSTAN,

AND OF THE

POLITICS, COMMERCE, AND LITERATURE

OF

ASIA,

VOL. VIII.—for the Year 1806.—PART II.

BY THE LATE

LAWRENCE DUNDAS CAMPBELL, ESQ.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, (BOOKSELLERS TO THE ASIATIC SOCIETY) IN THE STRAND; AND BLACK, PARRY, AND KINGSBURY, (BOOKSELLERS TO THE HONOURABLE THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY) IN LEADENHALL-STREET.

1809.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT,

RELATIVE TO THE

AFFAIRS OF INDIA,

DURING

THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, WHICH COMMENCED ON THE 21ST OF JAN. 1806.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

January 22, 1806.

[MARQUIS WELLESLEY'S ANSWER TO VOTE OF THANKS.] The *Speaker* acquainted the house, that he had received from Marquis Wellesley the following letter, in return to the thanks of this house, signified to him by Mr. Speaker, in obedience to their commands of the 3d day of May, 1804, see vol. 2. p. 369.

Fort William, May 30, 1805.

SIR,—'I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, under date the 4th of May, 1804, transmitting the resolutions of the House of Commons of the 3rd day of May, 1804, respecting the late military operations in India, against the confederate Mahratta powers.—Your letter, together with the resolutions of the House of Commons, has been published in general orders to the army, and the separate resolutions of the house, have been transmitted to the several public officers distinguished by that high honour. Copies of my letters transmitting those resolutions, and of such answers as I have received, accompany this letter.—I request that you will be pleased to submit to the House of Commons, the dutiful sense of gratitude and respect with which I receive this honourable testimony of the approbation of the house. The proceedings of the House of Commons on this occasion are calculated to confirm, in every branch of the civil and military service in India, those sentiments of zealous attachment to the public interests, and honour, which have distinguished the conduct of his majesty's and the honourable company's servants, during the late war.—The expressions which you have been pleased to employ, in transmitting to me the resolutions of the House of Commons, demand my most grateful acknowledgements, and constitute a considerable addition to the honour conferred by the commands of the house.

'I have the honour to be, &c.

'WELLESLEY.

'*To the right hon. Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons.*'

JANUARY 27.

Mr *Paull* moved, that the papers ordered by the votes of the house on the 25th and 28th of June last, be

be printed for the use of the members; which was accordingly ordered. After a short pause, the hon. gent. rose again, and said:— No person, sir, can be more convinced than I am, of the inutility, the inexpediency, the danger, of moving for many papers relative to any transaction, more especially if connected with India; still, however I may deprecate delay, in a question of so much importance, I am under the necessity of moving for a few more papers, important in every point of view, and essentially necessary for the ends of substantial justice. But, sir, these are the last papers I shall call for, to support the two charges I have already given notice of; and when the papers I formerly had the honour to move for, are printed, together with the additional papers that I am to call for this evening, no time shall be lost, on my part, in bringing direct and positive charges of criminality against my lord Wellesley. As the papers are not to be objected to, it is not necessary for me to take up much of the time of the house. Suffice it to say, that to insure the support of those gentlemen on this side of the house, and the aid and countenance of many honourable, disinterested, conscientious gentlemen on the other, I shall produce a charge, copied almost verbatim from the articles of impeachment voted against Mr. Hastings, by a strong, overpowering majority of this house, at the head of which was the late Mr. Pitt. He concluded by moving for a variety of papers, all of which will be found under the head of State Papers in this volume of the Register.

Mr. *Whitshead Keene* seconded the motions of the hon. member.

Mr. *Paull* trusted the house would excuse him for saying a very few words regarding himself. He assured the hon. seconder, the house, and the public, that he dared the breath of calumny to impute to him, with justice, any motives but those of a public nature. He bore no animosity to lord Wellesley personally, he would exert his honest endeavours to prosecute him to conviction, as the enemy to the happiness and prosperity of India, and to the best interests of the mother country: he could consider him in no light but that of a great state delinquent, in the situation that Mr. Hastings stood on his return from abroad, with this essential difference, that what was undefined crime in the case of Mr. Hastings, was positive criminality in the case of lord Wellesley. The latter could plead no error in judgment, no ignorance of the laws of his country, having been a member of the British parliament when the articles of impeachment were voted against Mr. Hastings. One word more, said the hon. gent. and I have done. I stand, sir, proud of acting with the party to which I belong, and I take this opportunity of declaring, in the face of this house, that with the Nabob of Oude, or with any potentate on the continent of ill-fated India, I am as unconnected as with the emperor of France, nor will I allow with impunity, insinuations calculated to injure, through me, the cause of truth and justice: the unfairness of such aspersions, no man knows better than marquis Wellesley himself.

Sir T. Metcalfe said, that similar motions to those now brought forward had led to nothing but great trouble and enormous expense. He trusted, therefore, that

that the house would pause before it would consent to grant papers, under such circumstances, to any individual, however respectable he might be. This was one objection he felt to the motions of the hon. gent. There was another too, which equally weighed within his mind. The papers, that had already been produced, had got into the hands of translators, through whom the French government had obtained the information they contained; a circumstance that had proved materially prejudicial to the interests of the company. The importance of it to the French government was such, that Bonaparte would have given half the revenues of France to have obtained it. Besides, he should ask, whether the present was a proper time to agitate such questions? Under the influence of these objections, he should feel it his duty to divide the house. When a member was conscious of being actuated by a sense of duty, he should not be ashamed to avow his feelings. The hon. gent. had said, that the papers, when produced, would criminate the conduct of the noble marquis; but this he begged leave to deny, as he was convinced, in his conscience, that no one of them would affect the public or private character of that noble lord; and if it were possible for him to attend in that house, he was sure he would say in reply to the motions, 'give all the papers.' Besides, it would have the most dangerous effect, if it should be thought on the continent of India, that all the treaties and engagements that had been entered into with the native powers, could be rescinded by a vote of parliament. It was certainly competent to parliament to enquire into the conduct of the marquis Wellesley; but this was not the time, and for all these reasons he should certainly take the sense of the house.

Mr. *Francis* said, he was not in the house when the motions were proposed; but as in adverting to the mischiefs that had arisen from similar motions, the hon. baronet seemed to allude to those made by himself, he felt it necessary to say a few words. If any mischief had arisen from the production of the papers he had moved for, it was chargeable only on the board of controul, which had the power of deciding which of them might be produced with safety, and was at liberty to withhold such as could not be published, consistently with the public interest. As to the objection respecting the expenses that would attend printing the papers moved for, it might have some weight with vulgar minds; but it was not to be tolerated in that house, when an enquiry was to be instituted respecting the management of the affairs of India, the revenues of which were estimated at fifteen millions. With respect to his own opinion of marquis Wellesley's conduct, he had stated it to the house and to the country, and saw no reason to alter it. He was not to be awed or intimidated into an abandonment of his principles. The hon. baronet had stated, that considerable danger arose from the intelligence derived to the enemy from the publication of these papers; but he was of opinion that the enemy had gained more information from Marquis Wellesley's intercepted correspondence, which had been published in the Moniteur, and afterwards translated into all the London papers, from which only the public obtained the information, though

though the contents of the correspondence ought to have been long before transmitted direct to the governors of the India company. He was not aware of any danger that could be apprehended from the production of the papers, and that there had been no objection felt to granting them on that score, he appealed to the declaration of the noble lord at the head of the board of controul. That noble lord had said, that he saw no possible objection to their being produced.

Mr. *Paull* said, the conduct of the worthy bart. excited his utmost astonishment; an astonishment not unmixed with some degree of indignation. Did the hon. bart. mean to crush this business by a side wind? If he did he was very much mistaken. The refusal of the papers would avail lord Wellesley nothing. My wish, sir, said the hon. gent. is to accompany assertion with proof, which the hon. bart. seems to wish to prevent; but opposition can only make me more zealous, an opposition especially of this sort, an opposition completely and entirely unforeseen and unexpected; as the noble lord who presides at the board of controul, to whom I fairly and candidly submitted the list of the papers, told me there could be no possible objection to the production of the papers I have this night moved for. An hon. member of the same board, whom I am happy to see in his place, will do me the justice to confirm this assertion, if confirmation was at all necessary.

Mr. *Wallace* corroborated the statement of the hon. gent. and could see no reasonable objection to the production of the papers. He, however, wished the hon. gent. would omit in the last motion the words "secret service money," and allow "Durbar charges" instead.

Mr. *Paull* replied he could have no possible objection, provided "the secret service money," if any, was included under the head of "Durbar charges." He did not stickle, he said, for terms, provided the substance was the same; he looked only to substantial justice between lord Wellesley and the public; and, in conclusion, added, that nothing could deter him from proceeding in the line of conduct he had lain down for himself.—The sense of the house being decidedly in favour of Mr. Paull's motions, sir T. Metcalfe withdrew his intention of a division, and the whole of the papers were accordingly ordered and agreed to.

AFFAIRS IN INDIA.

Jan. 29.

Mr. *Paull* rose to make his promised motion, respecting the production of lord Melville's letter, relative to the company's debt. Many persons might be perhaps disposed to ask, upon what grounds such a young member as he was, should obtrude himself so frequently on the house on the affairs of India. To such persons his answer was plain and simple. He was conscious of the imminent danger which threatened our India possessions, and therefore he was resolved to raise his voice, however feeble, with a view to rouse the attention of the house to this point. The house did not seem to be aware of the alarming state of the affairs of India. When the debt of India amounted to 14 millions, lord Melville had written to the chairman of the company, recommending a plan, which, in those

those circumstances, appeared to him absolutely necessary to be pursued, and expressing his opinion, that if it was not pursued, the consequences would be dangerous, not only to the concerns of the East-India company, but injurious to the prosperity of the country at large. His object in moving for this letter of lord Melville's, written when the debt of the company was only fourteen millions, was this: he designed, on some future day, to move for a select committee of the house, to enquire into the causes of the alarming increase of the debt of the company, and of their failure to comply with the conditions and stipulations agreed upon in their charter. The object which he had at present in view, was one of the last importance, since the debt of the company had increased from fourteen to thirty millions, in the thirteenth year, from the renewal of their charter, without any of the conditions agreed upon having been performed on their parts. It was high time to enquire into the causes of these singular circumstances. It was with this view that he moved for the letter of lord Melville. Having read the motion, the hon. gent. begged leave to add one word more: lord Melville had written to the court of directors upon this subject, in the most earnest manner; and, indeed, his opinion had been given them, in some measure, with all the solemnity of a death-bed warning. He would say this of lord Melville, that his plans for the regulation of India were well conceived, and discovered proofs of no ordinary comprehension in him who proposed them. Upon the execution of them, indeed, he was of opinion, that the very existence of India, as connected with this country, depended, and, therefore, he hoped that the directors themselves would come forward and promote this enquiry; or, if not, that the board of controul, or some individual of that board, would come forward and give every assistance to the measure. If the debt of fourteen millions appalled lord Melville, what ought to be the vigour and attention employed now, when the debt amounted to thirty millions? The directors and the board of controul were in some degree bound, by these circumstances, to come forward and give their support to such an enquiry as he proposed. It would be said, and he wished to anticipate this objection, that the alarming increase of the debt arose from the wars that had taken place in India. He was firmly persuaded, however, that the debt had not increased from this cause particularly, and he engaged to shew, unless the directors came forward in this affair, that it was owing to a cause of a very different nature. He was resolved, at least as far as lay in his power, to fix responsibility where it ought to attach, and this was the great object which he had in view, in the efforts which he made, and was inclined to make, on this subject. The hon. gent. concluded by moving, "That there be laid before the house a copy of the letter from the right hon. Henry Dundas, now viscount Melville, to the chairman of the East-India company, dated the 30th of June, 1801."

Mr. *Wallace* said, he had no objection to the production of the letter now called for, but at the same time he wished it to be understood, that in acceding to this he did not by any means accede to the pro-

propriety and truth of the observations of the hon. gent. who had made the motion, or to any future motions or opinions that might, by him, be founded upon it. This also he must say, that the hon. gent. had not acted altogether with strict fairness, in making his motion so early, and prefacing it with so many remarks, which would have been more properly introduced when those were present who might be able, from the situations they held, to meet them in a clear and proper manner. The hon. gent. had adverted to the cause of the increase of the debt, and touched upon one argument against him, which he wished to anticipate. He was correct in supposing that war would be alleged as the great cause of the increase of the India Debt, and he had no doubt that when the subject came to be investigated, this would be proved to be the real state of the case.

Mr. *Paull* wished to say one word in reply. He had come early to the house, and had certainly waited a reasonable time for those who might be best informed upon, and most interested in, this business. It was not his wish to take the house, or any person in it, by surprise: but he had a most important object in view, and was convinced that delay would be highly prejudicial to the interests of the country. If there was a cause of the debt, foreign to the war in which India had been engaged, and if by this cause the public had been deprived of the benefits that might result from the performance of the conditions of the East-India Company's charter, it was high time the business should be investigated, and that no delay should take place, beyond what was absolutely necessary from the nature of the thing itself.—The motion was then put and agreed to. After which the hon. gent. gave notice, that on Tuesday se'nnight he would move for a select committee to enquire into the causes of the alarming increase of the debt of the East-India company, and of their failure to perform the conditions, terms, and stipulations, contained in their charter.

February 1.

Mr. *Wallace* rose, to move for the production of certain papers referring to a subject which an hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) had thought proper to bring under the consideration of the house. These papers, the hon. gent. stated, were necessary fully to elucidate the different questions to which an hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) had alluded in the course of the last sessions. They referred principally to those treaties and transactions in India, upon which it was endeavoured to inculpate the character of the noble marquis (Wellesley) who lately presided over the government of that country. To repel the charges against that noble marquis, and to enable the house completely to understand, and satisfactorily to determine upon, the whole of the transactions alluded to in the papers he meant to move for, were essentially necessary. The hon. gent. concluded with moving for the production of "extracts of the letters addressed by the governor-general in council on the 28th of August, 1786, to the court of directors, on the subject of the troops employed by the nabob of Oude, &c. together with a copy of the answer of the directors to the said letter in the year 1787."

Mr.

Mr. *Paull* expressed his surprise and dissatisfaction that such delay should have occurred in bringing forward the papers which had been some time since ordered, pursuant to his motion, and wished to know from the hon. gent. why such delay had occurred?

Mr. *Wallace* replied, that, according to the terms of the orders alluded to, which left to the board of controul a discretion of considering which of the papers the hon. gent. moved for could be produced, consistently with the interest of the public service, that board had taken the subject into their serious consideration, and as soon as their decision could be formed, the orders of the house would be complied with.

Mr. *Paull* observed, that the papers he had moved for were so essential to the ends of justice, particularly with regard to the nabob of Oude, that he thought it incumbent on the board of controul to come forward and state the reasons why they declined to lay them before the house.

Mr. *Wallace* begged the hon. gent. to recollect, that the papers he referred to had not been refused.

Mr. *Wallace* moved also for the copies of several letters, addressed by the residents at the court of Oude, &c. to the governor-general in council; the letters of governor Duncan, generals St. Vincent and Craig, &c. from the year 1785 to that of 1801, together with the political letters of lord Cornwallis, to the court of directors, during the several years of his government in India.—These motions were agreed to.

Mr. *Wallace* then mentioned, that as allusion had been frequently made elsewhere to a letter addressed by the court of directors to the governor-general and council of India, for the purpose of annulling the appointment of the hon. Henry Wellesley to the office of lieut. general of certain provinces which had been transferred to our dominion, he thought it necessary to say that no such letter had ever been sent out. Such a letter had, no doubt, been transmitted by the court of directors to the board of controul; but that board had thought proper to refuse sending it to India, and returned it to the directors, accompanied by a letter containing the reasons of that refusal. Drafts of the original letter, and the reply, it was his wish to have laid before the house, in order that a subject which had been much animadverted upon should be fully understood. The right hon. gent. submitted motions accordingly, which were agreed to.

February 11.

Lord *Folkestone* adverted to the notice which had been given by an hon. gent. near him, (Mr. Paull) with respect to the affairs of India, and to the several papers which that hon. gent. had moved for preparatory to his intended motion. But in addition to the papers on the table, and those ordered to be laid before the house, the noble lord thought the following essentially necessary to a thorough investigation, and full understanding of the subject to which they referred; he should therefore move, 1. "That there be laid before this house, a return of the officers, non-commissioned officers, privates, and recruits belonging to his majesty's service, which have been embarked for the East-Indies, from June 1793, to the last embarkation; and of those

who

who have returned to Great Britain, distinguishing each year." 2. "A return of the cadets and recruits entered and enlisted for the service of the East-India company, who have been embarked for the several presidencies in India, from June 1793, to the last embarkation, and of those who have returned to Great Britain, distinguishing each year." Ordered.

Mr. *Paull* moved for an account of the quantity of specie and bullion which had been exported to the several presidencies in India, since the year 1797; and also an account of the bills of exchange drawn from those presidencies, distinguishing the amount to and from each presidency, and also each year.

February 25.

Mr. *Francis* rose and spoke as follows:—Mr. Speaker; I rise, pursuant to notice, to move for the production of a document, which is at once of considerable importance and curiosity; but, as it relates to a subject which appears not to deserve much interest in this house or in the country, it may not excite adequate attention. I well know, by long experience, that India, and every question connected with it, has no attraction for parliament or for the public; and that now, as well as on all former occasions, I shall still have to contend with the impatience and disgust of a careless unwilling audience. This alone makes the task too heavy for me, and is more than ought to be imposed on any individual, who has laboured for two-and-twenty years to execute a most invidious as well as important service, without reward, or assistance, or even encouragement from any body. It is not possible for the house to believe, that I can have any satisfaction in such a labour, except from the sense of performing a great and urgent duty, the execution of which, in fact, has been a principal bar to all my views in life, as well as a perpetual interruption to my quiet and happiness. So far from having a pleasure in the dry discussion of such subjects, if it were possible for me to command a vote of this house, the first resolution they should pass, should be to close my lips, and silence me for ever, on India affairs. The task I have undertaken, and so long pursued, is difficult, is unpleasing to those most interested in it, and yet, productive of no benefit to the country; still I will go on.—I will not solicit; but I will advise the house, as they value the interests of India, not to discourage the few, who may yet be disposed to investigate that subject, nor to damp their pursuit by a languid, reluctant attention; by, in fact, slighting their zeal. India is every day becoming more formidable to this country, and every thing that relates to our possessions in that quarter imperiously claims the attention of parliament. The question, which I have now to submit to the consideration of the house, does not refer to war or peace, or to any topic of Indian policy. It is merely a point respecting finance; and perhaps will not be a bad preface to the motion of which an hon. gent. on the bench behind me (Mr. Paull) has given notice for this day. Motions of this nature I conceive to be particularly necessary, in consequence of the irregular manner in which the accounts respecting India have been laid before the house, or rather by the neglect, for

for some time, to make any official communication whatever from that quarter. No Indian budget, you will recollect, was produced in the last sessions, and the noble lord (Castlereagh) who then presided over the board of controul, accounted for that singular omission (nothing similar to which, as I believe, had ever occurred before, since the board of controul was instituted) in this singular way; viz. that the necessary accounts had not arrived from India. This was certainly strange: and I recommend it to the particular attention of his majesty's present ministers. Since the end of March, 1803, no statement has been laid before parliament of the situation of the finances of India. If I were to ask the reason why the necessary and usual accounts were not produced, in due time, to enable the minister for India to bring forward the India budget for the last year, it would not surely be answered, that these accounts were not sent from India in due time; for, any such delay unaccounted for, would involve the direct breach of an act of parliament. But if it were said, that the dispatches were intercepted, that the ship which carried them was captured, and that, thus our financial accounts fell into the hands of the enemy; then another question would arise. It is notorious, that every captain entrusted with the conveyance of public dispatches, receives written official instructions from the secretary's office at each presidency, to keep the public dispatches entrusted to him, in a state of preparation; that is, ready slung and loaded with weights to be instantly thrown into the sea from the stern gallery, at any moment when he should see that the capture of his ship by an enemy was unavoidable. — Why were these orders not obeyed? How came those most important dispatches from India, as well as outward bound, which were published at Paris, to fall into the hands of the French? How did it happen that our government, for many successive months, knew nothing of their contents, nor indeed of the state of India, but through the medium of the French newspapers, retranslated into ours? Have the directors made any effective enquiry into the causes and circumstances of this most unfortunate event?—I call it unfortunate only, until I know that it was owing to some negligence, which of itself would be criminal, without supposing a worse motive. The subject of the motion, which I am now about to make, is not, or rather ought not to be, new to this house. I have mentioned it repeatedly, but without success, or being able to obtain the least explanation concerning it. And how should it be otherwise, when, as the noble lord well knows, his interest, which was considerable, and mine put together, could never obtain an audience of more than fifteen or twenty members to *his* India budgets; and that, towards the close of those debates, we were generally left to ourselves, with the chairman of the committee. This supineness on the subject of India, has already produced the worst consequences as to India; and if another course be not adopted, I am sure will be the cause of serious distress, and probably more than distress, to this country. On the 21st of January, 1805. (see vol. iii. p. 50.) I stated to the house, that a sum of money equal to 352,000*l.* had been lately charged

charged in the disbursements of the presidency of Bombay, with no other explanation than these words: "*Lent to the Guicowar.*" —The house ought to know two things; that the several presidencies in India are generally in distress for money, and constantly employed to raise it by every possible expedient; and that Bombay is the poorest and the most distressed of them all. In these circumstances, they profess to have lent an enormous sum of the company's money to this their tributary prince. To save the time of the house, I beg leave to read, what I before said, and which has been some time in print on this subject, as a part of my speech: "In the country of Guzerat, to the north-west of Bombay, there is a prince called Guicowar; a part of his territory has been ceded to the company, partly to make good the pay of our subsidiary force stationed at Poona, and for other objects of indemnification. Out of that fund we ought to have received a considerable revenue; but to that prince the government of Bombay have lent a sum not much less than 360,000*l.* The documents relative to this extraordinary transaction, I think, ought to have been laid before the house, under the orders already given; which would save time and trouble; if not, it must be the subject of a particular motion." I think it is natural to ask on what ground, and for what reason, this loan was made. In the printed papers, I cannot find any thing to throw a ray of light on the subject. The company take possession of the territory of Guicowar, they hold it in his name, and the first thing done is to lend him 352,000*l.*—Why, on the very face of the transaction there is something which calls for explanation. The words of the official dispatch from Bombay relative to this prince and territory, were these—"This state has for its present native ruler a chieftain of avowedly weak intellects. Our support, therefore, must be extended to all the operations of its government; holding as we do, the immediate charge of the Guicowar chieftain's own guard, and dividing with his troops the garrison of his capital."—Does any man believe that the Guicowar ever received a shilling of this loan? If there be really such a man, I shall only say, that that man knows nothing of the politics of India. The hon. gent. concluded with moving, that there be laid before the house "extracts of any letters or accounts received from the presidency of Bombay, relative to the sum of Bombay rupees, 31,25,944, inserted in the account of their disbursements for the year ending the 30th of April, 1803, and said to be money lent to Guicowar."

Mr. *Hiley Addington* said, that had he been a member of the house yesterday when the notice of this motion was given, he would have taken the liberty of asking the hon. gent. to postpone bringing it forward, until the board to which he had the honour to belong, should have an opportunity of considering the subject, and of enquiring into the nature of the papers connected with it. This indulgence he hoped the honourable mover would not be disinclined to grant to a board so recently appointed. The application would not, he trusted, be deemed unreasonable, when the nature of the business connected with their office was taken into view; when

when it was considered that it might be necessary to look over a number of papers which the noble lord on the other side (lord Castlereagh) knew to be pretty voluminous, before an opinion could be formed, whether it would be consistent with the public interest to accede to the object of this motion. As the grant of this paper was not so very pressing in its nature, he hoped the hon. gent. would have no objections to postpone it for a day or two; and he assured the hon. gent. that, in the mean time, the subject to which his motion referred should be carefully enquired into.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he was as ready as any man to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which parliament and the country owed to the hon. mover, for the zeal and assiduity which he had uniformly manifested upon the important subject of our interests in India; and he perfectly concurred with that hon. gent. that it was essentially necessary the house should apply itself to the attentive consideration of those great interests. But, in order to enter into that consideration every part of the subject should be laid before the house. The whole of the question should be completely understood. With respect to the assertion, that the India budget not having been brought forward last sessions was an unprecedented omission, he begged leave to set the hon. gent. right; for precisely the same omission occurred the first year he was president of the board of control. But as to the cause of the last omission, of which the hon. gent. had complained, it was known to have proceeded from the delay of the accounts from India, which were indispensably necessary to the preparation of the budget; and the same cause occasioned the omission which took place before he entered into office. As to the motion before the house, he saw no objection to the production of the paper referred to; but it was for the right hon. gent. (Mr. H. Addington) and his colleagues, to exercise their own discretion. When that paper should be laid before the house, and the transaction to which it alluded should be fully understood, the impression on his mind was, that the hon. mover would find the loan not to have been improvidently advanced; that it was not money lent without a just motive, or without ample security; but, on the contrary, that land was assigned to the company to ensure the repayment of this loan, and that that land was placed under the company's own administration. On the whole, the noble lord had no doubt it would appear, that the advance to this prince was a proceeding which stood upon the best principles of policy, that it was perfectly justifiable, and that no loss whatever was likely to accrue from it. To the hon. mover's allusion, in the style of complaint, to the absence of the directors on this discussion, he should only say, that being this day engaged in attendance at a general court, which, as to-morrow was a holiday, no doubt presented an increase of business, their absence from the house, was at least excusable.

Lord *Morpeth* joined in the request of his right hon. colleague (Mr. H. Addington) that the hon. mover would defer his motion for a few days.

Mr. *Francis* said, he had no thought whatever of attaching blame to, or occasioning any inconvenience to those who now directed the board of control. He brought forward this motion before the house in compliance with a notice which he had given so early as the last

sessions. With the request made to him by the noble lord who had last spoken, and his right hon. colleague, he had no difficulty in complying; but he wished to learn, when the noble lord would be able to ascertain the propriety of acceding to the motion, which he had felt it his duty to bring forward. He also would be glad to hear when the India budget, which was omitted last year, was likely to be brought forward.

Lord *Morpeth* assured the hon. gent. that no time would be lost in enquiring into the subject to which his motion referred. With regard to the India budget, he stated it to be his intention, on the next meeting of the house, to move for the production of the accounts necessary to the bringing forward the budget of last year. How long these accounts might be preparing he could not pretend to say.

Mr. *Charles Grant* said, he had not been in the house when the motion was made. He regretted that the attendance on his duty in another place, deprived him of the advantage of hearing the observations of the hon. gent. who introduced it. By all the information he could collect on the subject, he thought that there would be no objection to comply with it. He was sure it was the wish of the court of directors, that every information in their power should be given. At the same time, he felt it an important consideration, to ascertain how far it might be consistent with the general interests of the company to have their accounts called for on every occasion.—Mr. Francis then, with the permission of the house, withdrew his motion.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

Mr. *Paull* rose and spoke as follows:—Sir, in 1783, India could not be mentioned without filling the benches of both sides of the house; but I believe almost the last time lord Melville addressed this house on the affairs of India, he congratulated himself (in 1800) that circumstances were so changed, and the public opinion and that of the house so favourable, that to its most important affairs he could hardly bring down sufficient members to form a house. On such confidence and change of circumstances he congratulated the country. In such congratulation, I, sir, cannot possibly join; for to such confidence, and to the system pursued for 23 years past, I attribute the growth of an enemy more formidable to the happiness and prosperity of England, than the flotilla that menaces our shores from the coast of France. Sensible of the danger which few seem to be aware of, in the first week of the present session, I gave notice of my intention to bring before the house a subject which, whether considered in a political, in a commercial, or in a financial point of view, was second to none that could occupy the attention of parliament; and, as a ground for future procedure, I moved for a letter from lord Melville to the chairman of the court of directors, which has not yet been laid before the house. With the death of that truly great, illustrious, and ever-to-be-lamented character, the Marquis Cornwallis, I believed, and still believe, the sun of Great Britain set in India; that with him perished the last hopes of the country, for rendering India an aid instead of a burthen to the mother country: at all events, his death stimulated me still more strongly to persevere in the line of conduct I had imposed upon myself; and feeling that delay was most

most injurious to the best interests of the country, I, on a subsequent day, gave notice of my intention of moving for a select committee, to enquire into the truly alarming state of the company's India debt, and into the causes of the disappointment of the just expectations of the public, and the total and entire failure of every term, condition, and stipulation for which they obtained their charter. That such a discussion has not yet taken place, cannot with any justice be attributed to me. It has arisen from the state of the country, the state of the times, the state of the house, the want of a ministry, and especially from the absence of the members of the board of control.—I am this night, preparatory to my intended motion, to move for some official returns, which will, however, occupy little time in the preparation and production, and still less in reading; for, I believe, that six of the eight returns I shall call for, will be answered by six simple negatives; negatives, however, that will prove several gross violations of the law, and high breaches of duty. It will not be considered the least extraordinary of the circumstances of the present times, that lord Melville, who is now under impeachment for a violation of the law, and a high breach of duty, should, in 1793, have brought in a bill for the most important purposes; and drawn up with a care, precision, and solemnity proportionate to the importance of the subject; a bill holding out great political, commercial, and financial advantages; a bill to guard the happiness and prosperity of 40 millions of subjects, and to control an expenditure of upwards of 230 millions; and that, while he is under impeachment, his act has been violated in every section, except one, where "the breach would have been more honourable than the observance." A misappropriation of the public money has taken place to an amount exceeding 20 millions sterling, and the violaters of the law have hitherto escaped without censure or notice. By the act of 1793, after the payment of the military and civil establishment, the act enjoins that a sum not less than one million of pounds sterling shall be applied for commercial purposes, and remitted to Great Britain, to form a part of its national wealth. Since 1798, no sum whatever has been applied to commercial purposes, and the law has been violated in this single instance to a sum exceeding 8 millions. To this extent, and to this amount, has this commercial nation been deprived of such an import from our colonies, which the law ordered and enjoined. By the 109th clause of the same act, the law provides that the governor-general, to reduce the India debt of the company, which was considered as the most formidable enemy to its happiness and prosperity, and which amounted in 1793 to 7 millions, should draw for a sum amounting in each year to 500,000*l*. which was to be applied to no other purpose, to no other account whatever, except to the reduction of the debt. Eight millions have been drawn from, and not one shilling has been applied to the purpose ordered and enjoined by the act of parliament. Bullion has been exported to the amount also of 8 millions, for the same purpose, and no part of the amount has been applied towards the overthrow of an enemy, considered by every person, conversant in the affairs of India

India, as fatal to the prosperity of India and England.—By the 111th section of the act, after payment of the said sum of 500,000l. to be drawn for the reduction of the debt, which was to be reduced to two millions of pounds sterling, the law allows of a dividend of ten per cent. per annum to the proprietors of East India stock. This part of the act, and this part only, has been complied with; and I maintain, that this ought only to have been the case had funds been remitted from India from the surplus revenues of India. Now, sir, no such thing has been the case. These dividends, sir, to the amount of 600,000l. yearly, have been paid from property provided in India, with money borrowed at an enormous rate of interest, in the first instance saddled with an enormous commission, in the next to the commercial servants of the company; and the sales of this property, which had to pay the principal borrowed in India, the interest of 12 per cent. at the lowest, a commission of 10 per cent. to those that provided the investment, and a dividend of 10 per cent. to the proprietor, have, I am ready to substantiate, invariably produced a considerable loss. But, sir, the payment of these dividends, for which the public must ultimately be answerable, ought not to have been paid from any funds except the profits arising from investments provided with the surplus revenues of India, and not payments from funds borrowed in India, and which have tended to increase the debt to 30 millions, instead of two millions enjoined by the law, has been a violation of the same, a high breach of duty, and has tended, amongst other causes, and in no inconsiderable degree, to produce the state of embarrassment so much to be deplored, and tended not only to deprive the public of their just but small participation, but will in the end saddle them with a debt, which never now can be paid by the India company, within the period of their charter. After the payment of this dividend, the law provides, "that the East India company, in addition to the millions of wealth to be yearly imported into Great Britain, which I maintain can be considered in no other light than as an income from an estate belonging to the nation, the East India company stipulate and agree to pay into his majesty's exchequer, in half-yearly payments, as profits, or direct advantage, a participation of 500,000l. to the public in each year; but if a failure takes place, it is to be carried as a balance to the succeeding year, and may be levied by a suit at law, with a penalty of 15 per cent. for each failure.

No payment, sir, has been made, I believe, except in the first year; and the balance now due to the public amounts to nearly seven millions of pounds sterling; but which, with interest and penalty, would produce a sum sufficient to the purchase of upwards of thirty-five millions of the capital of the debt of Great Britain.—The 115th clause provides, that the surplus funds of the company shall be laid out in stock, until the same shall amount to twelve millions of pounds sterling, which is to be placed, from time to time, in the bank of England, there to remain as a guarantee fund for the amount of their capital stock: and by the 116th clause, the governor and company of the bank of England are ordered and required to produce the account of such stock, and lay the same before both houses of parliament, on

on the 15th of February in each year, if the parliament be then sitting, or within fourteen days after the commencement of the then next session. No such returns have been made, and the public are yet to learn what stock has been purchased, and whether or not the capital of the company, on the expiration of their charter, is to be without the guarantee so solemnly stipulated for by the act of parliament: and by the 121st section of the act, it is ordered and enjoined, that, if the directors shall be unable to make good such payments to the public, they shall make representation of such inability to the chancellor of the exchequer, or the lords commissioners, who are empowered to issue an order, suspending such payments; but are required to come within fourteen days to parliament, and produce such representation and order, and evidently to obtain the sanction and approbation of parliament. Here again, sir, the law, I believe, has been grossly violated. Had such yearly representation been made, as the law required, long ere this, I am satisfied, the house, and the public, would have found themselves compelled to revise a bargain, thus rendered nugatory, violated, and broken in all its parts. To enable gentlemen to meet this great question, I am this night to move for documents to prove the allegations I have now made; and I hope to this question, gentlemen will come with unbiassed minds, and not shut their eyes to conviction, merely because the question is Indian, and because it is brought forward by a man new to this house and the public. The affairs of India must now force themselves on this house, however the evil hour may be delayed, and an attack on the purses of the people of Great Britain, and a certainty that, after a waste of much blood, and much treasure, they will still be called upon perhaps to pay, certainly to guarantee, a debt of 45 millions sterling. These considerations will demand an attention, that the cries of millions, and the devastation of defenceless provinces, have been unable to effect.—I therefore move, "1. That there be laid before this house, an account of all the sums of money which have been paid by the East-India company into his majesty's exchequer, in obedience to the 111th section of the 33d of the king, c. 52.—2. A copy of all the representations which have been made to the lords of the treasury, in obedience to the 121st section of the said act.—3. A copy of all the orders which have been given by the lords of the treasury, for the suspension of the payments of the money due from the East-India company to the public, in obedience to the same section.—4. A copy of all the orders and representations as aforesaid, which have been made by the commissioners of the treasury to parliament, in conformity to the same section of the act.—5. An account of all the stock purchased towards the guarantee fund of the company, limited by the 114th section of the act to twelve millions sterling.—6. The yearly accounts of such stock, and of its appropriation, which, by the 116th section aforesaid, the governor and company of the bank of England are required to lay before both houses of parliament, on or before the 15th of February in each year; and if parliament shall not then be sitting, within fourteen days after the commencement of the session

session of parliament.—7. An account of all bills of exchange drawn upon the court of directors from 1793, to the latest period; specifying the amount from each presidency, and the sum total in each year.—8. An account of the value of specie and bullion exported within the same period to Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; specifying the amount in each year, and any sums re-exported from Madras and Bombay to Fort William, in consequence of any orders from the governor-general of India.—9. A copy of all applications made by the governor-general in council to the chief supercargoes at Canton for pecuniary aid, with the answers or returns made to such applications from 1793, to the last accounts from that factory."

Lord *Castlereagh* hoped the house would excuse him if, having been trusted with an important office in the administration of India, he felt that he could not sit silent, after the observations which had been made by the honourable member who spoke last. It appeared to him, that the honourable gentlemen had either misconceived the act he alluded to, or else he must have read it very hastily, as he had blended together the territorial and the commercial revenues, which should be considered as distinct things. As to the sending of bullion to India, in payment for its colonial produce, whatever prejudice there might once have existed against exporting bullion, in modern times, it was considered as an article of commerce, which might be exported without danger in its consequences. The honourable gentleman had blended together many other considerations, which ought to have been kept distinct. He had not distinguished the debt and the assets abroad or at home, nor taken notice of that intermediate measure, the arrangement for the transfer of part of the Indian debt to this country. As to the act of appropriation, the only way that the house did, or could, in common sense, have ordered the appropriation was, that, in case of a surplus, there should be set apart, in the first place, a sum for the military expenses; in the next place, for the civil and commercial affairs; and then, that the remainder should come over in investments. The honourable gentleman was much mistaken, if he thought that a single enactment would be sufficient to allow the country to participate to the amount of the half million stated. Unless there was a surplus for such sum to come out of it, it would be impossible that it should be paid. When there was no surplus, it was also impossible, that annual accounts should be laid before the house of an appropriation of a surplus. The honourable gentleman seemed to be in a mistake throughout the whole of his speech, in only considering the surplus of territorial revenue, instead of the net proceeds arising from the commercial transactions of the East-India company, combined with their territorial revenue. The guarantee fund which he mentioned, was only to be created after the debt should be reduced to two millions.—As to the superintendance of the board of controul, the noble lord said, it had, in fact, been confined, as the law directed, to the civil and military government and revenues of India. As to the commercial interests and concerns of the company, and their exclusive right to conduct their trade, and to instruct their presidencies,

dencies concerning the provision of their investment, and on every subject connected with this part of their charter, the court of directors had been left to their own unbiassed discretion; and the board of controul had never interfered with them, much less had it ever thrown any impediment or embarrassment in their way.—In the present state of the finances of the East-India company, it must be recollected, that the last two or three years, and since the commencement of the Mahratta war, have been the times of the severest pressure. Up to the month of April, 1802, he had frequently stated to the house, that the financial situation of India was a situation of great prosperity, affluence, and abundance, and such as justified the expectation which had been so long entertained of this country participating in the prosperity of the company. He should not speak either of what might be the financial pressure at the present moment, nor of the means that the company had of surmounting this pressure; but he thought it would be impossible for gentlemen to form a right judgment of the present state of Indian affairs, until the accounts of the years 1803 and 1804 were before the house. He concluded by asserting, that, if it had not been that the subsequent expenses of the war had disturbed unexpectedly the prosperity which prevailed in 1803, the statements he had made would have been realized.

Mr. *Fuller* could not think with the honourable mover, that the sun of Britain had set at the death of the marquis Cornwallis. He did not despond so. Men of talent could always be found for the service of the country. This led him to suggest to his majesty's ministers, whether something ought not to be done for admiral Cornwallis, the brother of that great man, who had distinguished himself so much by his blockade of the enemy in Brest.

Lord *Folkestone*.—Mr. Speaker, the noble lord (Castlereagh) in the latter part of his speech, has chosen to advise the honourable gentleman, who made this motion, to confine his enquiries about the finances of the East-India company to the period of the two last years; and he says, that it will be best for his own purpose to do so. I do not know what purpose the noble lord imputes to the honourable gentleman, but I know with what view I shall support the motion he has made. I wish the whole state of the affairs of the company to be fully and completely examined, and the true condition of them to be made known to the house and to the country; and, for this reason, I hope the honourable gentleman will not follow the advice of the noble lord, but will persevere in his intention of enquiring into the management of these affairs during the whole period of the existence of their charter.—Sir, the noble lord has further imputed to the honourable gentleman, a careless and negligent perusal of the act by which this charter was granted; and accuses him of not understanding it. Undoubtedly this act is a very long one, and in some parts a little confused and unintelligible, particularly to those who are not acquainted with the local circumstances of India; but the part of the act to which alone the motions of the honourable gentlemen apply, are so plain, that I think it can be necessary for a gentleman to do nothing but read them,

them, to be persuaded of the truth of what the honourable gentleman has stated, that the provisions have been violated in almost every particular. But the noble lord says, the act provides for the appropriation of the surplus, if any; but could never mean to enact, nor could even be constructed to mean to enact, that there should be a surplus. I conceive, sir, very differently. I confess I look upon this act as an agreement and bargain, between the company of merchants trading to the East-Indies, and the government of Great Britain. The government, for the public, gave to that company the exclusive right of trading to that part of the world; they surrender the right of the public to participate in the advantages of this trade; and, in return, require certain things at the hands of this privileged company. The remuneration, to be sure, is small enough. In return for the advantage and profit of an exclusive trade, the public ask for nothing but an annual payment of 500,000*l.* But surely, sir, that is as much a contract as can be entered into; and, if the terms of the agreement are not fulfilled on either side, the contract is at an end. Now, sir, what is it that the law requires of the company, in return for the advantages conceded to them; how is the money arising from this lucrative trade appropriated? In the first place, the act provides, that the military and civil establishments in India should be defrayed from the profits of the territorial revenues of the company; and then, that a sum, not less than a million of money, should be set apart for the purpose of purchasing goods to bring to Europe, or, to use the words of the act, for providing an investment. The noble lord may perhaps say here, that no man could suppose that a law would be passed requiring that there should be such profits. But, when two parties enter into an agreement, and one takes great exclusive advantages, and promises to do certaint acts, I should be glad to know, whether the non-performance of these acts is not a termination of the contract altogether. The company take the advantages offered—they take the profits: the act gives them up this; and then says, they shall do so and so with them: are they to continue to enjoy these rights and advantages without performing what the act requires?

Well, sir, this investment, so purchased, is to be brought home, and sold for the benefit of the company, and the profits arising from the sale are to be disposed of, 1st. in paying the dividends; 2d, in honouring bills of exchange to the amount of 500,000*l.*; and, 3dly, to paying 500,000*l.* more into the exchequer, for the benefit of the state. Now, sir, there is a curious question arising here, and I am inclined myself to lay great stress on the argument of the hon. mover; viz. that, if this investment is really not purchased with money arising from the territorial revenues, after the expenses of the civil and military establishments have been provided for, the dividends really ought not to be paid; for the act only allows them to be paid out of the profits arising from the sale of investments so purchased. However, be this as it may, the other appropriations of the said proceeds of the sale of investments have never been complied with, at least as far as the public is concerned. Except in one instance only, no payment has been made to the exchequer; and as I contend

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this act must be considered as an actual agreement, and this payment as a remuneration to the public for the advantages they had foregone, I must think, that the charter has been forfeited altogether. It is true, indeed, that, in a subsequent clause, the act admits the possibility of such payment not being made, but provides a regular manner by which it shall be dispensed with, and the parliament made acquainted with it.—Has this mode ever been adopted? Has parliament ever been informed? No, sir; the act here again, has been over and over again broken and violated.—The motions now before the house are calculated to ascertain and to inform us of the extent of such violations of the act.—I think it is highly desirable they should be known, and therefore I shall certainly support them.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he had not wished to confine the enquiry to the two last years; on the contrary, he had stated that he was ready to prove, that the finances of the India company were in a flourishing state at the time he brought forward the last budget.

Mr. *Francis*. — Mr. Speaker; since I have had the honour of a seat in this house, I have heard many extraordinary propositions stated and argued on, as if they could not be disputed; but, in my whole parliamentary life, none more extraordinary than some, which have escaped the noble lord this night. I shall state them briefly as they occur to me, and while they are fresh in my memory; observing only, that we are not talking now of the political government of India, or of the wars in that country, or of any question or subject in which the policy of England in regard to the territorial possessions is concerned. The noble lord asserts, that the superintendance of the board of control has in fact been confined, as the law directs, to the civil and military government and revenues of India. As to the commercial interests and concerns of the company, and their exclusive right to conduct their trade, and to instruct their presidencies concerning the provision of their investment, and on every subject connected with this part of their charter, on all these points the noble lord affirms, that the court of directors has been left to their own unbiassed discretion; the board of control had never interfered with them; much less had it ever thrown any impediment or embarrassment in their way. Is this the fact? If it be, I call on the directors to confirm it; if not, to tell us the real state of the case. Have the commissioners never interfered with their trade, or with their lawful discretion over their own proper concerns? I think I remember some strong instances of the contrary. What part did the commissioners take in the great question between the company and the private traders? Was it a political or a commercial question, when their secretary (Mr. Broderick) informed the directors "that it would be unnecessary to send out any paragraphs, the tendency of which might be to occasion uneasiness in the mind of the governor-general?"* I am sure that

* On the 26th of March, 1802, the chairman acquainted the court, that Mr. Broderick had sent to him, by order of the board of control, certain drafts (viz. of orders to be transmitted to India)—that he had laid those papers before the special committee, who had made a report thereupon, of which the following is an extract:— "The committee feel themselves constrained to report to the court as their opinion,

that various other facts of the same kind might be produced, though I cannot immediately recollect them. The second proposition asserted was, that the exportation of bullion to India (for observe we are not speaking of China), was no disadvantage to the company or to this country;—that bullion was just as much an article of export as any other commodity; and that whether they exported that, or an equal value in manufactures, was just the same thing in a commercial sense. In a nation over-run with paper as we are, this is, at first sight, a strange proposition. The export accounts for the scarcity of specie, and that scarcity accounts for the abundance of the paper. But, is the proposition true in a commercial sense? Has the noble lord never heard of the balance of trade between one country and another? Certainly I do not pretend to much knowledge on these subjects: but, I have read a good deal, and I appeal to all the written authorities, and more especially to the merchants of England on this question —Whether a nation, that constantly pays its commercial balance in specie, is not universally understood to be the loser by that commerce? In former times, we never exported an ounce of silver to India. The investment, for a long period, was annually supplied out of resources of one kind or other on the spot; for several years, out of the surplus of the territorial revenues. While those latter resources lasted, the company obtained their investments for nothing. It was the only possible course by which a tribute could be remitted from Bengal to England. Those supplies have been gradually exhausted. But they have left behind them the habits and the consequences of an unnatural precarious abundance; I mean expensive establishments, and extravagant habits.—The result, as I am informed by persons who understand this subject much better than I do, and as I firmly believe to be true, is, that the company are considerable losers on the prime cost of their Indian investment, including all charges. What the consequence has been, or is likely to be to the state of the company's affairs at home, I need not argue at present. It will speak for itself when the directors apply, as I believe they will do, for relief and assistance from the public.—It will then be a national question in this house, to what degree the property of the public shall be applied to support the instant demands and necessities of the India company. On that day, they shall find me, what I have been through life, their real friend; not hired, not paid, not thanked by them; but, serving them

&c. that the letter received this morning from the board, together with the two commercial praragraphs to be transmitted to India, when taken altogether, demonstrate a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the East-India company. Still, however, flattering themselves that those rights, solemnly and deliberately granted to them by the legislature, will not be forcibly superseded or destroyed. Resolved unanimously, that this court approve the said report." Another letter of Mr. Broderick, alluded to by the hon. gent. contains the following passage, on a subject purely commercial: "Under the present circumstances, they (the board of controul) conceive that it would be unnecessary to send out any paragraphs, the tendency of which might be to occasion uneasiness in the mind of the governor-general. Dated 21st July, 1801."

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them to the utmost of my ability, in spite of their blindness to their own true interests, and in spite of their ingratitude towards me. But, to do this, one condition is indispensable, viz. that a full and clear account of the state of their affairs, commercial and financial, shall previously be laid before this house. I will maintain their dividend if it be possible, because I well know the distresses and sorrows to the innocent proprietor, that would attend a reduction of it. I do not now mean to blame the directors, and much less the body of proprietors, who, in fact, are the company, for many things which have been done of late years. The company have been the victims, not the authors of the system, which has been followed. The principal point, on which I question the conduct of the court of directors is, that, from the renewal of the charter in 1793 to this hour, and while they have seen their property running, from year to year, to ruin, they have never brought forward a state of their affairs as they ought to have done, by petition to this house, or by any public parliamentary remonstrance against an over-ruling power, if they were over-ruled. Have they ever, in any instance, appealed to the king in council against the board of control? To this objection it is no answer to say, though in fact it might be true, that they are not free agents. When the first attempt to deprive them of their free-agency was made, then was their time to resist, or to remonstrate:—not by secret conferences with the members of the board of control, but by appeal to the wisdom and justice of parliament, or by some other public and honourable proceeding. A preconcerted harmony between the two powers, one of which is to originate all the acts of Indian government, and the other, to control and correct them, if necessary, was not, and could not be the parliamentary object of the institution of the superintending power. Otherwise, the board of control ought to govern, in the first instance, by its own acts. I do not mean to defend the system: but, I say the system, bad as it is, is infinitely better than the practice. This pretended harmony, I believe, will be found, upon examination, to be nothing more, or nothing better, than a good understanding between the president on one side, and a secret committee of directors on the other. The court of directors, as such, know little or nothing of what is going forward between those two parties: certainly not in any thing that concerns the political government of India.—Once more the noble lord resorts this night, as he has often done before, to his old friend, and never-failing associate, the Mahratta war. This war, in his lordship's contemplation, is, like death, I suppose, a cure for all things. If nothing else will do, it furnishes an inexhaustible source of relief to his own noble mind, when any Indian difficulty is to be discarded. He forgets that, in his speech of the 19th of July, 1804, he has already most solemnly assured this house, and the public too, in print, that the ten years ending in March, 1803, was a period of nearly uninterrupted war, and that the Mahratta war, the merits of which are not, and cannot be, in question in this debate, did not commence until August 1803, consequently has no connection with, nor can, on any rational

tional ground of argument, be pleaded to account for that state of India, and of the company's affairs, which is up to this day officially known to the House of Commons. Admitting the Mahratta war to be a merit or a remedy, and not at all a disorder, it is not in the power of human wit to connect it with the case in hand. The accounts actually before parliament, reach no farther than to April, 1803, and at that period the company owed twenty millions in India, to say nothing of their immediate debts and difficulties at home, which even then were intolerable. As to the general allegation of uninterrupted war, to account for the debts incurred, and the total failure of all the pecuniary engagements, contracted with and for the public, and in behalf of the company too, I say that the plea would not be a good one, if it were true. But I deny the fact. The war, which preceded 1803, will not account for the consequences imputed to it. The noble lord knows that I have maintained this opinion in another form; and, as I think, with arguments which I may defy him or any man to answer. [This refers to Mr. Francis's "Observations on lord Castlereagh's speech," printed in 1805.] The next assertion of the noble lord is eminent indeed, even among the prodigies of his own speech. He solemnly assures the house, that, in April, 1803, (in reference to the finances and pecuniary resources of the company) the state of their affairs was prosperous, affluent, and abundant. These were his words. Now, there are only two ways in which such an assertion, on such a subject, can be true, positively or comparatively. The noble lord may take his choice. On the 30th of April, 1803, the India debt is stated to you, by the directors, and by himself, to have amounted to 19,800,000*l.* and all the Indian estimates for the ensuing year take credit for expected receipts to an enormous amount, external to the proper resources of each presidency within itself, that is, to be derived from new loans, from draughts on the company, and from bullion expected to be received from England. On the 1st of March, 1803, their bond debt in England amounted to about 1,750,000*l.* Their debt to the bank was then 700,000*l.* and even that loan could not have been obtained without a mortgage of their annuities, which they were empowered to sell. In order to exhibit a favourable balance on the face of their stock account, the directors were reduced to the necessity of leaving the capital of the company, for which the corporate body had received 7,780,000*l.* from the subscribers, totally out of the state of their debts. For this omission, it is true, they pleaded an order of the House of Commons, when official orders were moved for without notice, and granted as a matter of course. Such is the evidence of the noble lord's assertion taken positively; and without saying anything of the reasonable and obvious conclusion to be drawn from it, viz. that the India company must have been then in a condition to begin to liquidate their engagements, or, at least, so much at their ease, that they would want no assistance from the public. Now is that the case? Just the reverse. Their Indian debt, instead of being reduced in the last three years as it ought, if the means were so very abundant in March, 1803, I am sure will be found to amount to

30,000,000

30,000,000*l*. more or less, I mean on this day. As to the application of this boasted abundance of means and assets to the relief of the company's difficulties in England, I will not anticipate what the court of directors will soon be compelled to tell you on that subject. But perhaps his lordship means, that the prosperity and abundance, he alludes to, are to be understood comparatively. Comparatively! with what? why, with the state of the company's affairs in the three succeeding years, of which no account has yet been laid before parliament, and of which this house literally knows nothing, except the happy information which they have just now received from himself. In April, 1803, the company were nearly overwhelmed with debts and difficulties of every kind; but that, he assures you, was a state of affluence, prosperity, and abundance, compared to the present state of facts, as you are to find it in the accounts of the next three years, whenever they are produced! Then, indeed, but not till then, the noble lord may call in the Mahratta war to his assistance. We shall see how far it will avail him. In the mean time, he supplies us with topics of consolation; with which, if we are not thoroughly comforted, it must be very much our own fault. Your situation was bad enough three years ago; but that was a state of delight and enjoyment compared to what, he solemnly assures you, you will find to be at present! That is, you were troubled with a plethora in 1803. By copious bleeding, and a free use of drastic medicines, those symptoms are removed. Your complaint has taken a different turn. All you want now is a powerful restorative, at the expense of those whom it concerns, to save your life.—I have said, sir, and I affirm it again, because it is true, that I have been, through all my political life, the sincere friend, as I was, for some years, the faithful servant of the India company; that is, the proprietary or body corporate, though not always in their sense of their real interest; which, in my opinion, they have sometimes misunderstood. Of this disposition and conduct I shall give one instance, which, as far as concerns my sincerity, ought not to be disputed, because I could not but know that the opinion I allude to was not at all likely to be favourably received, and because I might easily have withheld it. I endeavoured to serve them then, as I have done in other cases, and in another situation, against their will. So long ago as the year 1777, I represented to his majesty's ministers, and through them to the India company, in a letter which has been published, the evil consequences, which, as I thought, must follow, not only to India but to the company itself, from their continuing to hold the sovereignty of Bengal ostensibly in their hands. It happened, sir, that, in the whole of that representation, I had not only the entire concurrence but the able assistance of the present chairman of the court of directors. In those days we lived together on terms of real friendship and unreserved confidence, which, at that time, he thought no disparagement to him. When the charter was renewed in 1793, as well as on various other occasions, I renewed my arguments and objections on this point. All the documents, that relate to it, are in print. The arguments were never answered; nor, in my

judgment,

judgment, is it possible to answer them. In 1793, and for many years before, their sovereignty, or their political power over the Indian empire, was little more than nominal; nor could it be otherwise. Well, what has been the result? Exactly what they ought to have foreseen. When they determined to be sovereigns instead of merchants, or to unite in the company those two incompatible characters, what could they expect but, whether they liked it or not, to be made warriors and conquerors? That is, that their pretended servants in India, over whom they had no control, nor real authority, would pursue the old game of war and conquest, in their name, at their expense, and finally to their destruction. Look at this result in another point of view; and, if it be not too late, learn wisdom at last from the awful lesson, which the state of your commercial connexions with the eastern world ought to have taught you long ago. In that part of Asia, in which the India company has been a sovereign, a warrior, and a conqueror, they cannot trade without loss. The sale of their Indian investment, to say the best of it, after paying prime cost, interest, freight, insurance, duties, and charges of merchandise, leaves no profit. Now look at China, where they have no territorial revenues; where they have made no war; and where, I hope, even for their own sake, they will never make a conquest. With that country only, they carry on a beneficial trade. From that trade only, they derive the only profits that enable them still to exist in Leadenhall street.

Lord *Castlereagh*, in explanation, stated that his sentiments as to the prosperous state of the company's affairs in the year 1803, were founded on the fact of there being a clear surplus of 1,150,000*l.* after the payment of all charges in India. The reason why the public did not receive the 500,000*l.* on this occasion was, that this sum was payable, not from the Indian funds of the company, nor from the home funds, but from a combination of both. An increased duty laid on teas had produced a diminution in the sale of that article in that year, which, instead of so great a surplus, left a defalcation of half a million, and thus the claim of the public was destroyed.

Mr. *Charles Grant*.—This discussion, sir, has unexpectedly branched out into a variety of topics of great importance, for which I must regret that I am not better prepared. Some observations however, particularly on what has fallen from the hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) I shall beg leave to offer to the house.—The hon. gent. has stated it as his opinion, that the company would have done well to have relinquished the sovereignty of their territorial possessions, and to have confined themselves to commercial pursuits; for that they have, in fact, been ruined by those acquisitions: sir, I differ very widely from the hon. gent. on these points, and think the doctrine he has advanced, respecting the political government of India, a very dangerous one. I consider the East-India company as the fittest organ by which this country can beneficially manage and govern its empire in the east. It is the fittest for securing the possession of that distant dependency to Great Britain, and for securing it without any danger to our own constitution. If the government of India were

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to be vested immediately in the crown, I scruple not to express my apprehension, that the consequences of such an arrangement would be finally the loss of that country; and if the patronage of India were in the disposal of the crown, our own constitution might be overset; whereas that patronage, in the hands of a numerous body belonging to the middle classes of society, can be attended with no political danger. And here, sir, I cannot refrain from taking the liberty to exhort those distinguished persons, who are high in his majesty's counsels, to be extremely cautious of encouraging any idea of altering the constitution which the law has established for British India. After a long acquaintance with that country, I feel myself warranted to say, that no other constitution would be so beneficial or so safe for it. The Indian empire was originally acquired, preserved, and maintained by the company, at their own hazard, and with little assistance from the state; and they have since managed it more for the benefit of both countries than for their own; for they derive nothing but their dividend from all their vast concerns. The advantages received from India do not result from investment only. The tide of private fortunes, which is continually flowing to us from it, greatly enhances our national wealth; the customs and duties paid on the commerce with it augment the public revenue; and how much does the possession of an empire there raise the political consequence of this nation? It is true these advantages result rather to the public at large than to the East-India company: but the company are not therefore to relinquish their rights of sovereignty. They have also still a large eventual interest in its prosperity by the settlement of the guarantee fund, although the fatal event which deranged the state of Europe (the French revolution), has hitherto frustrated much of the benefit reasonably expected by us from India. To a period of war during twelve years, the consequence of the French revolution, and to that chiefly is to be ascribed the failure in the annual payment of the 500,000*l*. stipulated to government. The increased expenses consequent on European war, and of expeditions undertaken in India against the enemies of this country, absorbed the funds from which that payment was to come. There never was, after the first year, such a surplus as was in contemplation of the law; nor, therefore, has any payment been since made, nor any debt incurred on account of it; but the noble lord (Castlereagh) has explained the whole of this subject so clearly, that I need say nothing more upon it.—The hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) has said, that the company cannot even purchase their investment without loss: that, having been habituated to obtain it, in fact for nothing, they fell into habits of extravagance in the provision of it, and lost sight of true commercial principles. I can assure the house, that since the first arrival of lord Cornwallis in India, now near twenty years ago, the company's investment has been purchased as carefully and economically as the goods of private merchants can be. I have something more than mere knowledge for this assertion. The hon. gent. who has brought forward this motion has affirmed, that the company derive no profit from

from their Indian commerce, indeed that they have no such commerce; but that even their dividends are paid from money borrowed at a high interest in India. Sir, this is a monstrous proposition. I am ready to prove, that the company do derive a profit from their Indian commerce even now, when their investments from abroad are much reduced, and the times are unfavourable, and that the dividends of the company arise from commercial profits. The same hon. gent. has said, that the company have remitted to India to the amount of 8 millions sterling in money and goods, and that bills to a like amount have been drawn on them from India. These assertions must suppose that the company receive large supplies from India, and in goods too; because goods furnish the only mode in which such supplies can come; else how could the company make such payments here? for their capital is not nearly equal to them, and is so diffused in their concerns as not to be annually revertible to such purposes.—As to the export of bullion to India for the purposes of commerce; nothing is now better understood than that bullion may be employed like any other article of merchandize, and may sometimes be the most advantageous export for the purchase of commodities abroad. So it has often been found in the commerce between Europe and Asia, as well by the ancients as in our own times; and the reason is plain: the mutual wants of Europeans and Asiatics for the commodities of each other are not equal. The Europeans demand more of the productions of Asia, than the Asiatics will take of the commodities of Europe; of course the difference must be paid by the common medium of bullion. But this, if it were a loss to Europe in general, is no loss to this country; because we receive the bullion from abroad in exchange for our own manufactures; and whether we send to India our manufactures, or the bullion paid to us by other countries to them, is much the same. It is true, that for some time after our first acquisition of Indian territory, the large surplus of revenue rendered it unnecessary for the company to continue the exportation of specie. This again, from the diminution of our surplus revenue, and the increase of trade, has altered, and bullion is now exported by private merchants as well as the company, upon the truest principles of trade. The company have sent bullion to India for other purposes, and these, perhaps, the hon. gent. confounds with commercial remittances. A judicious plan was formed a few years ago, principally by the noble lord (Castlereagh) near me, for the liquidation of the Indian debt. The principle of the plan was, by an augmentation of the net surplus abroad, and commercial profits at home, to raise a fund of 2 millions annually, for the reduction of the debt. The increased exports of goods and bullion from hence, which this plan required, were accordingly made; but all the bullion, as soon as it reached India, were applied to the purposes of war, which has continued to defeat the effects intended from this salutary plan. From the same unhappy cause, the India investments, which were intended to be larger, have fallen short of their usual standard, and in the present year are greatly reduced. With respect to the freedom of the company in the management of their affairs, this

this is a delicate subject. The law has appointed a board of commissioners to superintend the conduct of the directors in all matters not commercial. The board exercises this superintendance, and from the manner of exercising it, differences of opinion have not unfrequently arisen. But, in matters purely commercial, the court are left at perfect liberty, except as to the amount of funds to be applied in India to the purpose of investment. In the species of goods to be traded in, in their cost and quality, in the ships to be employed, the times of their dispatch, and the sale of goods, the company are left at perfect liberty; but if commercial questions arise, which, in the opinion of the commissioners, involve points of a political nature, they will interfere. Such they held to be the question of the private trade, agitated a few years ago, in which the directors thought themselves hardly treated. In points of a political and financial nature, the court have often differed with the board; but, having done their duty in stating their sentiments, they have commonly yielded to the authority which the law has placed over them. I have no objection to an investigation into the conduct of the directors; and I am a friend to sober enquiry respecting the application of the company's property; but no advantages can result from such exaggerated statements as the hon. gent. who has made this motion brings forward. In asserting the misapplication of 20 millions of the public money, he is totally unfounded. He will not be able to show the misapplication of one million, nor of a single pound. The debt of the company is undoubtedly a subject of very serious concern; but it has, contrary to the hon. mover's assertion, been enhanced chiefly by the wars which have existed in Europe and India, and the military expedit ons fitted out in the latter country, by order of his majesty's government, for the expense of which the company have been very imperfectly paid. The debt has rapidly increased within these few last years; it is now above 27 millions, and may be near 30; notwithstanding which, part of the expense of the recent wars in India has been defrayed, as already noticed, by money sent from Europe; and, unless the expenses there are materially reduced, the exigencies of India will continue to require supplies from this country: if, above all, the debt goes on increasing, it may be attended with the most serious consequences to the company and to the country at large. The company are, however, not to blame in this, nor the administration at home. The late wars were commenced so suddenly, that there was not time for any instructions from home. I deeply lament the state of our affairs abroad, and the system of policy that has brought the company's affairs into such a state; but on this subject it is not my purpose now to enlarge.—I have heard something, sir, of an intention to move for a select committee, to enquire into the rise of the company's debt. I conceive no committee can be necessary for any such purpose. The company's accounts will clearly furnish the information wanted, without the labours of a committee. The gradual progress of the debt, and the means by which it has been incurred, can be distinctly shewn to this house; and indeed the accounts annually laid before parliament

parliament are sufficient for the purpose. I must, moreover, deprecate the manner in which the hon. mover announces his opinions and enquiries to the house and to the public; a manner calculated to do mischief both abroad and at home; to excite suspicions and apprehensions in the public mind, which may even affect the credit of his majesty's government, and unsettle the minds of people in India, who may be doubtful with what designs, and to what extent, such enquiries may be prosecuted; because, instead of confining the enquiry to the subject directly avowed (to investigate which, if sufficient reasons are assigned, there can be no objection), the researches may be consequently carried into many other subjects, concerning which nothing has been before said, and pursued with views not beneficial to the public. For these reasons, I think, all such enquiries into India affairs, unless evidently necessary, and especially undefined enquiries by committees, ought to be avoided.

Mr. *Francis.*—Sir, I did never say, that the mode, now established by law, for governing India, ought at this moment to be changed; no, nor one word to that effect. I said nothing prospectively. The general opinion I alluded to, was given near 30 years ago, and to that opinion the worthy chairman was then, *bonâ fide*, as much a party as myself.

Mr. *Secretary Fox* observed, that the few words of explanation which had just fallen from his hon. friend, rendered it less necessary for him to enter particularly upon this subject. He had understood him precisely as his explanation imported. He agreed that we were not now to revert to original theories; but when we were examining into the causes of important events which were extremely complicated in their nature, it was somewhat difficult to do so without, in some measure, adverting to such original theories. He, however, did not mean to say that any alteration ought at present to take place in the general system of Indian government as now, by law, established. He had occasion to state, at a former time, that there was a wide difference between disapproving of measures at their commencement, and afterwards rescinding them when they had been some time in practice. This he had said with regard to the union with Ireland. He had strongly disapproved of that measure when it was proposed, because he was then convinced it was a bad one, and was still convinced that it would have been much better for the country if it had never taken place. He had also disapproved of the plan for the government of India, but what he had said with regard to the union with Ireland, he now said respecting this plan of Indian government. It was, in his opinion, a bad one from the beginning, but as it had been adopted and acted upon, it was not now to be lightly rescinded. In ninety-nine cases, of this nature, out of a hundred, it was better to put up with many inconveniences arising from the first adoption of a measure, than hazard worse evils by premature and ill-considered alterations and innovations. This was his opinion.—Now, the hon. gent. had said something about a committee to investigate the rise and progress of the debt. This was the first time he had heard of any such committee. But when he said the

this, he begged leave to be considered as not pledging himself in any way upon the subject. If, however, upon examining into the state of the finances of the company, there should be any thing which, though clear to the hon. gent. might not be so clear to the house in general, he did not say but that in such a case he might think a committee extremely advisable. If, on the other hand, the accounts should place the matter in a plain and clear light, the appointment of a committee would be an useless trouble.—Now, with respect to the details of this debate, he, speaking on the part of the public, would certainly say, that it was a most monstrous proposition to assert, that in the year 1803, the state of the company was highly affluent and prosperous. To be sure, the act of 1793 only applied to the surplus of the produce. But then it supposed that such a surplus was likely to exist, otherwise it would have been perfectly nugatory from the beginning. We were surely to conclude, that there might be a surplus in such case. This certainly was not too much. But when we find that from 1793 to 1803, a period of ten years, no surplus had in fact existed, and that nothing had been done on the provisions of the act of parliament, such a long experience might be sufficient to convince us that the affairs of the company had not been in the very flourishing state in which they had been asserted to be. But we must say, after the passing of this act, and the long time that had elapsed, during which nothing had been done upon it, that the fair conclusion was, either that the surplus had been misapplied, or that the country had been most grossly deluded, and that, instead of being in a flourishing condition, as had been pretended, the affairs of the company had in fact been in a most alarming situation,—a situation which ought to have been explained, and laid open to the public, instead of being carefully concealed from the public view. In his opinion, the unprosperous condition of the company's concerns had never been sufficiently accounted for. He did not say that he had not heard a great deal on the subject, but what he had heard in general, proceeded on false facts, and false principles. We ought to have the accounts of the company before us, with a view to a full and complete examination, not for the purpose of retrospective enquiry into the conduct of the managers of the affairs of India, with the intention of throwing blame upon any body, but for the purpose of warning us, the present administration, against the errors which others had committed. In one thing the present administration would certainly not follow the example of others, and that was in holding out false and delusive hopes to the country. The hon. gent. (Mr. Grant) had said, and justly too, that it would be mischievous to spread alarm among our friends, and inspire confidence into our enemies, when no necessity for it existed. But without pretending to underrate the value of the observation, he must say, that this had been a common-place argument on one side of the question. It might be improper to excite alarm when there was no necessity for it, but it was much worse to conceal danger when it actually existed, and thus lead people on blindfold to their destruction. It was worse in any department

ment of government, but more particularly so in the case of the East-India company. But he would put it to him, whether of late the error had not been committed, much oftener in the way of delusion, than in the way of alarm, at least as far as regarded this subject? Now, experience would teach the wise to avoid those faults into which they had found others most apt to fall. Certain it was, that much less was to be apprehended from too much jealousy, than from too much negligence. No objection had been made to the motion of his hon. friend near him (Mr. Francis). He had only been requested to postpone it upon a point of convenience; to which he had properly agreed. Before he sat down, he could not avoid paying that tribute of praise to the industry, perseverance, and clear-sighted policy of his hon. friend, on questions relative to India, which they so much deserved. In his opinion, there was no one subject in his majesty's dominions, whose merit, with regard to the affairs of India, could be put in competition with that of his hon. friend.

Lord Morpeth observed, that there appeared to be no objection to the principle of these motions. It would be in the recollection of the house, that the half million which the company had engaged to pay to the public had only been paid in one instance. This was a matter of complete notoriety. He should be sorry to withhold any information; but he submitted to the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) whether it was necessary for him to press his motions, as they related only to points which were universally known.

Sir *T. Metcalfe* assured the house he would only trouble them with a very few words. It was extremely well known to every member in that house, that for many years past the expenses of the company had been very much on the increase; and nothing could be more self-evident than this, that while expenses were increasing, there could be no surplus. He only wished on one point to shew, that during the time the 500,000*l*. had not been paid to the treasury, government had received advantages which were abundantly adequate. He begged the house to recollect, that at the period when the right hon. gent. at the head of his majesty's government, brought forward the tax of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on teas, by way of commutation for other taxes, no one thought the company would have, afterwards, more to pay than that tax of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Instead of which, the tax on teas had since been raised to 95 per cent. If the duty during that period had continued at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. the company would have paid somewhat more than five millions, but from the progressive rise of the duty to its present amount, they had paid upwards of seventeen million, so that the treasury had received twelve million more than they would have done, if the first stipulation had been adhered to; and thereby the public had derived more advantages than the company, who have been also deprived of that sum towards the discharge of the payments alluded to.

Mr. *Alderman Prinsep* said, he felt as much as any one the danger of alarming the public mind, in respect to the state of the company's affairs; but he had thought it his duty, more than once, to state to the house what he thought on

on that subject, when it occasionally came before them for their consideration. He was now of opinion, that his majesty's ministers, who had lately taken upon them so great a responsibility, ought, in duty to themselves, to cause such investigations to take place, as to satisfy themselves, whether the amazing amount of the present debt had accrued from a loosing commerce, or from a great increase of military force and military expenditure. They ought to endeavour to find out the means of reconciling the paradox of a surplus, and an increasing debt, a flourishing state of affairs, and an exhausted revenue, and decreasing commerce, existing at one and the same moment, in the concerns of the same company.—He hoped some enquiry, either public or private, would take place, and that speedily; for, as to the present system of revenues and resources, he saw nothing in it but delusion and deception, highly dangerous in their continuance.

Mr. *Johnstone* observed, that he would not trouble the house with many remarks on this business; first, because the question was premature, since it would have come forward much better after the accounts had been laid on the table; and next, because the attention of ministers ought not at present to be turned away from affairs that required their more immediate labours. But he would say, however, that no blame whatever attached to the company, as it was clear from the accounts, that their failure to pay the sum agreed upon to the public, arose from the wars in which they had been engaged. No committee, he contended, was necessary, as every thing was detailed in the accounts in the clearest and minutest manner. And when differences arose between his honourable friend (Mr. Francis) and himself on the one side, and the noble lord (Castlereagh) near him on the other, the cause was, that the noble lord founded all his arguments upon estimates, while they constantly argued from results. There were no differences as to facts.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* said, the reason why government had not participated in the promised payments was, that in 1793, when the charter was renewed, hopes were entertained, that the war would very soon be at an end; but, unfortunately, those hopes had been disappointed, and we had ever since been engaged in war, either with the French or the native powers, and sometimes with both, by which the debt had been enormously increased, and the expenses of the war had been placed to the *debit* of the company's accounts, with no other allowance than the difference between a war and peace establishment; and yet, from the account made out since 1793, it would appear, that the company's dividends had been paid out of the profits of their trade. As to a select committee, he was certain nothing could be done by it that would not be better effected by his majesty's ministers forming the board of controul.

Mr. *Paull* replied, at some length, to the various arguments that had been made against his intended motion for a select committee. The noble lord opposite, (said the hon. gent.) accuses me of reading the act rather hastily: to that observation I shall make no reply. The noble lord (Folkestone) who, with so much honour to himself, and

and advantage to the public, has this night seconded and supported my motions, has made so able a reply, and joined so cordially in my construction of the act, that any observation on my part, would only weaken the arguments of that noble lord; happily, too, I am borne out by the opinion of the right hon. secretary, (Fox) of which I am not a little proud. The noble lord has said, that the situation of the company, in 1802-3, was flourishing, prosperous, and happy, and their resources ample, and possessed of the means of fulfilling their engagements made in 1793. The present is not the time for the proof of this assertion; but I hold in my hand an opinion not likely to be controverted, that of the directors themselves, which I beg leave to read; it is from the third report of the select committee, dated in the very year 1802, that year so triumphantly referred to by the noble lord. In the third report of the select committee of the court of directors, after alluding to the letter of my lord Melville, they say, "Mr. Dundas (we quote his own words) says, "When I saw the Indian debt rise to above ten millions, bearing interest, and still likely to increase, I thought it my duty to state to you the propriety of restoring to India, from your treasury at home, a part of that balance; and this led me to state, that I was ready to meet the Indian debt, even at the large amount of fourteen millions.— Every person conversant with the affairs of India, will concur with Mr. Dundas, that the safety of the empire depends, amongst other things, on the comparative magnitude of the debt. He was alarmed, and with reason, when the amount was ten millions; but, as an exertion, and with a responsibility of which he appears to have felt the weight, he was ready to meet it on the 30th of June, 1801, at the large amount of fourteen millions. However discouraging the prospect may be, (alluding to the debt at sixteen millions) it is aggravated by circumstances which never existed before. The establishments are increased, the political resources absorbed, and it is further intended to deprive the company of a resource, essential to save it from utter destruction." It is for the noble lord to reconcile these contrary opinions. The hon. chairman (Mr. Grant) has said, that the trade of the company has been profitable; but what trade, I ask, and I ask it confidently? The trade of China has been most lucrative; for there we have no territory, no armies, no establishments; but I am ready to meet the hon. gent. and to prove, that the investments from Bengal have been purchased with money produced by loans at a high rate of interest, saddled with a farther commission of ten per cent. to the commercial servants; and that the Bengal commerce, during the last five years, has produced a positive loss of not less than three millions sterling in the amount invested; and now the debt and interest remain, and must remain to the last hour of the charter, a debt due in India by the company. The noble lord and the hon. chairman, have maintained, that the increase of the debt has arisen from wars. Now, sir, *primâ facie*, the same, in the first place, is contrary to your laws, and the argument, unless the wars can be justified, a very unsatisfactory one. But I deny the fact; and, if there is one part of lord Wellesley's conduct

duct more to blame than another, it was the unprepared state of our army, in every essential, for commencing active operations, when hostilities commenced. So unprepared was lord Lake for taking the field, that government was forced to means unjustifiable, oppressive, and unjust, to enable lord Lake to move from Cawnpore. Let the requisitions made on the vizier, for elephants, camels, horses, bullocks, waggons, and bearers to carry the sick and wounded of the army, decide the question. I deny again, that to the war is to be attributed the alarming state of the debt; it will be found in your system of finance, in the provision of your investments, and in the profuse, wasteful, extravagant, illegal expenditure of the public money by the late governor-general. I was anxious and eager to abstain from all mention of that nobleman on the present occasion; but, when causes unfounded, in fact, are to go forth to the public, I feel it my duty to state the true causes of the increase of the debt which we so much deplore, however galling they may be to the noble lord alluded to.—Another hon. gent. (Mr. Johnstone) has stated this motion as premature, and advised me to stay for the budget. Sir, the budget has nothing to do with the object I have in view; it is to the *errors of the system* I object. Besides, who, I ask, attends to the voluminous accounts yearly produced; they are only calculated to tire the reader, not to instruct. But, sir, I repeat again, the correctness of the accounts, and the sums total, are foreign to the object of enquiry I have in view. The system of finance, of commerce, of expense, are all faulty, all defective; and it is to these I wish to apply a remedy through the means of a select committee.—I would willingly comply with the suggestions of the noble lord, (Morpeth) did not a sense of duty prevent me.—The negatives will prove the breaches of law; and I must persevere in my motions, and divide the house, if they are objected to. One word more, sir, and I have done. The line I am pursuing is to me a troublesome one, and no personal advantage can possibly result to me from it; on the contrary, I know I subject myself to much obloquy and much inconveniency. But, sir, viewing the evil as I do, and perceiving that if a remedy is not speedily applied, an experiment must be tried, that may level with the dust the public funds of Great Britain. I shall, at all events, do what I feel to be incumbent on me; and, should the house neglect the warning I have given, and shut their eyes to the approaching danger, gentlemen will lament, when too late, their fatal credulity. Under every consideration of the subject, I must take the sense of the house on the motions I have this night made.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* wished that the honourable gentleman would withdraw his motions; because, as it was known that there were no such papers as he called for, they were mere nullities, to say no worse. He seriously deprecated the prominent disposition manifested so frequently by the hon. gent. who spoke last, to asperse and criminate the character of a noble person, not now present to defend himself, and this before any document to sustain his allegations, or any regular enquiry into the noble person's conduct was before the house.

house. At least, he was sure if the hon. gent. did not condescend to take the advice he now took the liberty to offer him, he had sufficient experience of the candour and liberality of the house, to be convinced that such allegations, thus unsupported by any thing but assertion, would have no weight in their opinion.

Dr. *Lawrence* said, that this was a common mode of proving that there were no such papers by having a return to that effect. He supported the motion of the hon. gent. and observed, that it now appeared the noble lord's flattering statement of the abundantly prosperous state of the affairs of the company, in 1803, was entirely founded upon a prospective supposition of a permanent peace; whereas, in one month afterwards, his majesty's message was brought down to the house, announcing the explosion of a new war.—Mr. Paull's motions were then put and carried.

February 28.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* rose, to make the motion of which he had given notice yesterday. The object he had in view was to ascertain the proportion our commerce with India bore to that with China, and the relative amount of the capital borrowed in India, for the prosecution of each trade. He had another object in view, which was to ascertain whether the amount of stores was or was not included in the account of territorial revenue applied to commercial purposes. He conceived it very material to have these objects elucidated, and he thought they would be explained by these papers. He moved, therefore, "that there be laid before the house, an account, shewing the annual amount of stores and merchandise respectively exported by and for the service of the East-India company to India, from the year ending the 1st of March, 1793, to the 1st of March, 1804; together with the expenditure and sales thereof at each presidency, and the respective balances in store and afloat, on the 30th of April, 1793, and the 30th of April, 1803, as far as the same can be made out. Also, an account, shewing the annual amount of bullion, stores, and merchandize, respectively exported by and for the service of the East-India company to China, from the year ending the 1st of March, 1793, to the 1st of March, 1804; together with the sales thereof at Canton, and the respective balances in store and afloat on the 30th of April, 1793, and the 30th of April, 1803, as far as the same can be made out."

Mr. *Francis* seconded the motion. He was determined to second and support every motion, the object of which was to obtain information of the commercial and financial affairs of the company, unmixed with political matter, and thus to promote the great point he had so long looked to, to save the company from ruin, and with the company the country, which would have to bear the burden of the ruin, if the company should fall. He complained, that the directors never gave an answer, even when papers of the slightest moment were moved for. The board of controul always came forward, or one always referred to that board. The constitution of the company required, that the directors should act in the first instance; and that the board of controul should interfere only when it was necessary to check them.

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He did not like that the court of directors and the board of controul should act together as they had done for some time. This had not so much the appearance of a laudable harmony, as of a secret understanding.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* thanked the worthy alderman for having given notice of this motion; a consideration which he hoped the house would think due to a new board, yet unacquainted what papers ought or ought not to be produced. He saw no objections to these papers; only, as an account of the bullion exported to India had been already ordered, it would be advisable to omit it here. These papers, however, could not be produced very soon, as the clerks were employed in preparing the accounts for the India budget. The board of controul did not wish to interfere with the court of directors; but, as a great responsibility rested upon the board of controul, it wished to discharge its duty; this, however, without interfering with the proper objects of the company's care, and without resisting the production of any necessary information.

Sir *T. Medcalfe* said, that however much the hon. gent. who seconded the motion might vaunt himself the company's friend, he never could consider him as such. As to the reserve shewn by the court of directors on motions for papers, it was sufficient to state, that all the papers were in the office of the board of controul, and that no director could, without a violation of his oath, produce any one paper without the consent of that board. The East-India company was not an insulated company, but a company whose interests were blended with those of the country. He would avail himself of this opportunity to explain the capture of letters in the Hope packet, dwelt on in such a criminatory manner by the hon. gent. on a former night. The Hope was a country ship, taken up by the government of Bengal to bring home the dispatches. On her passage she fell in with Linois, in the Marengo, accompanied by the Pelle Poule, by whom he was taken. The boxes containing the dispatches were prepared to be sunk, with sand bags tied to them. The captain did not arrive here till July, 1805, when he underwent a short examination, as every captain in the company's service did, however fortunate his voyage might have been. Captain Dunbar, of the Hope, stated, that a chain-shot had cut the ends that fastened the sand bags to some of the packages containing the letters, and thus these packages floated when thrown over board, and were picked up.

Mr. *Francis* warmly replied, that the dispatches, even if shot away, could not have floated, if loaded with chain-shot, as was the custom in his time; but, if the house were satisfied with the strange explanation now given of it, he had done with the business; though *primâ facie*, a communication of intelligence to the enemy was a high crime and misdemeanour; and, if done designedly, which he did not think to be the case in this instance, would amount to high treason. But, whatever he might think of that transaction, he believed it to be true, that the court of directors was under the guidance of his majesty's ministers. The honourable baronet seemed to insinuate, on other occasions, as well as the present, that he was the enemy of the East-India company. Whoever thought so, should bring it

forward boldly, in the way of accusation; and if defiance and challenge could do any thing with the honourable baronet, he would defy and challenge him, or any man, to bring forward and substantiate such a charge against him.

The *Speaker* here reminded him that he was out of order.

Mr. *Francis* then said, he must submit to authority; but would beg leave to state, in explanation, that he still continued to think and assert, that in all motions for papers, the court of directors was absolutely nothing.

Sir *T. Medcalfe*, in explanation, said, that as the hon. gent. often vaunted himself to be the true friend of the East-India company, he considered it no attack on him to say that he never thought him so.—After this, the motions were agreed to.

March 10.

Mr. *Johnstone* rose, pursuant to notice, to move for copies of two letters written by lord Cornwallis to the court of directors; as also of a letter from sir George Barlow, his successor in the government of India. He disclaimed any personal animosity to the marquis Wellesley, or any wish to bring charges against him; but he thought it was necessary that the house should at length turn its attention to the mode in which India had been for a long time governed, and that the members should compare the system of lord Cornwallis with that of his predecessor, and make up their minds on the subject. As for his part, he felt that the empire was indebted to the marquis Wellesley for so much of his system as established our military reputation and ascendancy in India, but he highly disapproved of the lengths to which that system was afterwards pushed, when, under pretence of defensive war, all the native powers of India were forced to receive British garrisons, and were kept in greater subjection in their own capitals, than the kings of Wirtemburgh and Bavaria are at this moment by the emperor of France. Under vague pretences, a great part of the territory of our ally, the nabob of Oude, was wrested from him, and the possessions of the nabob of Arcot were seized under the pretence of treason, said to have been committed by that prince almost under the eyes of lord Cornwallis. Highly as he disapproved of that part of lord Wellesley's system, he by no means meant to bring any charge against him on that account, as he could not impute to him any improper motives. He only considered that his lordship was possessed of too ardent a mind, and views of too great ambition. He hoped the house would recur to their former resolution, and that that would be, for the future, the established system of Indian government. Under the former system, a noble lord (Castlereagh) had often expatiated on advantages that were to result from it, but which promises were never realized; whereas, on the other side, it appeared that the real situation of our affairs in India has become so distressed, that 200,000*l.* have been stopped from the treasure destined for China, and 50,000*l.* borrowed from the government of Madras, to help to defray the arrears of pay to a number of irregular troops, which are kept up at an expense of 60,000*l.* per month, and whose support is stated to be much more injurious to the company than their hostility in the field could possibly be. The hon. gent.

gent. then took a review of the various treaties entered into by the marquis Wellesley, with the native powers, most of which he thought highly impolitic. A very short time after the treaty with the rajah of Bhurtpore, that prince admitted our enemies into his fortresses, and the British army lost above 3000 men in vainly endeavouring to take his capital. The treaty with Scindia he equally disapproved of. Some disputes had arisen about the construction of some of the articles of that treaty, and Scindia immediately seized and imprisoned the British resident in his dominions, which was the occasion of the present war in India. He thought it was full time for parliament to lay down some fixed principle, and he hoped the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) would consent to the papers he now moved for, and would pursue, in practice, those principles which he had so often professed on Indian affairs. He thought it necessary, that the government should now declare the precise plan, on which they meant that India should be governed in future. The hon. gent. concluded by moving for "copies of letters from lord Cornwallis to the court of directors and select committee, dated the 1st Aug. 1805, and to the court of directors, dated the 9th of Aug. 2. Copy of a letter from sir George Barlow to the chairman, dated the 6th of Oct.; and copies of letters from lord Cornwallis to Scindia and lord Lake, dated the 18th and 19th of Sept. and enclosed in sir George Barlow's letter: 3. Copy of a letter from sir George Barlow, dated the 23d of Oct."

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, that he had no intention whatever to object to the production of the papers moved for, although he must observe, that his hon. friend did not appear to him to have stated any necessity or parliamentary ground, upon which they ought to be laid before the house. As to the hon. gent.'s allusion to the propriety of a declaration on the part of his majesty's ministers, relative to the system of government meant to be acted upon with regard to India, he was at a loss to conceive any reason upon which that demand could be justified. No disposition was manifested to deviate from the course which was now pursuing respecting India; and until such disposition should appear, he apprehended that is was quite unnecessary in ministers to make any declaration upon the subject. Indeed, it seemed to his mind that, according to practice, some resolution should be adopted by the house, expressive of its opinion and wish, before ministers were called upon to enter into the question. The hon. gent. had alluded to the opinions formerly delivered by him, relative to the government of India. To these opinions, he could assure his hon. friend, that he still completely adhered. They were declared above 24 years ago; and, as far as he had since had opportunity of observing the affairs of India, to which, perhaps, he had not attended as much as other men had done, or as much as he ought, he had never seen or heard of a transaction which served to weaken the confidence he entertained in the justice of his original opinions, but which did not rather tend to their complete justification. However, an act had passed in consequence of the resolution upon the subject of India, which he had the honour of supporting. That act had been now proceeded upon for a series of years, and when the

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subject should be regularly brought forward for discussion, he would be perfectly ready to state his sentiments respecting it. At present he should only say, that, under that act, a board of controul had been appointed, and of all the boards which had presided over the government of India, he saw least ground to question the intentions, or to ask explanation as to the views, of the present, by whom every disposition was shewn to follow the course prescribed in the resolution formerly adopted by the house, and of which the hon. mover professed to approve. No one could doubt the propriety of entering into an investigation of the affairs of India: but the present did not appear to him to be the proper time. When the India budget shall be brought before the house, his hon. friend was aware, that the statement to be looked for on that occasion, would naturally be connected with the political system of India, and that then would be the proper time to select for a full discussion of that subject. The right hon. gent. repeated his disinclination to oppose the production of those papers, although no adequate reason was assigned by the mover, although no intention was announced, proposing an enquiry, or of grounding any proceeding upon them. At the same time he took occasion to remark, that he could not conceive any good reason for the alarm and anxiety which was, by his hon. friend, and by other friends, for whom he had a high respect, so particularly stated to prevail with regard to the government of India. It really appeared to him very strange, that a much greater degree of jealousy should seem to apply to the present board of controul, than to that which preceded it.—Upon the whole, the right hon. gent. did not feel the propriety of calling upon ministers for any distinct pledge as to the course of policy which they meant to follow with regard to India. No intention appeared to exist, either on the part of his majesty's government, the board of controul, or the court of directors, to abandon the course of which all sides of the house expressed their approbation; and therefore no pledge was requisite. If any variation of circumstances should call for a change of system, an explanation would of course become necessary. But in the present instance he did not think that any further explanation or pledge could be fairly required.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* concurred with what had fallen from the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox): he did not see that any necessity had been shewn for the production of the papers which had been moved, but at the same time he saw no objection to their being produced, especially as the contents of them were already pretty public, and as the hon. mover had, in his speech, read a long extract from one of those letters (which, as an East-India proprietor, he had seen) he thought that it would be the best way to produce the papers, in order that the whole of the letters might be before the house, instead of a partial extract. He, as a member of the board of controul, had considered those treaties on which the hon. mover had made so many observations; and he viewed those transactions in a very different light. As to that with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, it would not be fair to charge the failure of the treaty upon the maker of it.—The

The failure was owing to the unexampled treachery and perfidy of that prince, and not to any improper conduct in lord Wellesley, who concluded the treaty with him. He sincerely gave the honourable mover the greatest credit, for the motives which had induced him to bring forward the present motion, and was sure, that it was not at all dictated by any personal animosity to marquis Wellesley. He hoped he might also obtain credit, when he stated, that it was from public motives alone, that he was averse to prejudging any part of the conduct of lord Wellesley, which, on a future day, would come before them more regularly for discussion.

Mr *Charles Grant* allowed, that the system pursued by lord Wellesley, was, as a military system, very splendid, and attended with many advantages. But he could not think that a fit system for tranquillizing India, the effect of which had been to involve us in quarrels with all the native princes. In order to procure the re-establishment of the pacific system, the court of directors had, with all their exertions, promoted the return of lord Cornwallis to India. This nobleman's death was much to be lamented, but there was no doubt that his successor would follow up his plans. He was happy to hear this system was to have the support of his majesty's government. With respect to the measures of lord Wellesley, the court of directors neither approved of them, nor was aware of them, till they were carried into effect. He thought that the name and character of sir George Barlow, ought not to be called in question, because he was not here to defend himself.

Mr. *Huddlestone*,—I rise, sir, to support the motion, and shall endeavour, as briefly as I can, to state the views in which I think it of importance, that the papers moved for should be laid before the house. The usual argument of danger to the public interest from the disclosure of papers, is effectually done away with respect to Indian papers, by those which have been already published, and most especially by the late intercepted letters which have been published, both in France and in this country, in which whatever can either inform or irritate our implacable enemy is laid open to his view. After that complete developement, I apprehend no one will talk of danger to the public interests, from the disclosure of any India papers; but, with respect to those now moved for, I am of opinion the disclosure of them, instead of producing mischief, will tend to correct the mischief which the publication of the late intercepted letters was calculated to produce, by destroying the hopes which the enemy must have indulged, of our persevering in a system that was leading us to ruin. And here, sir, the production of these papers will be of solid benefit, by shewing the true nature of that system, stripped of these ornaments and decorations which dazzled the eyes, and, for a time, led captive the understandings of good and able men in this country. They will shew, upon an authority which no eloquence can gainsay, the real value of that for which so tremenduous an expense of blood and treasure has been incurred. With respect to the executive body of the East India company, I have no hesitation in confessing, that I am glad these papers have been moved for, and by an hon. member who

is unconnected with the court of directors. It is true, another hon. member, who has given more attention to India affairs, perhaps, than any other person, and who has brought to the subject talents proportioned to its magnitude, has declared the India directors free from any blame for the existing evils. But these papers will shew, that the directors have been as anxious to terminate those evils as they could have been if they had themselves been the authors of them; and they will give the house the satisfaction to know, that much was done towards the termination of them, even in the few weeks that lord Cornwallis was spared after his arrival in India. They will enable the house to appreciate the great services rendered by his lordship, even in that short period, and they will shew how, and by whom, those services were procured. These papers will also have the effect of removing all doubts as to a fact, of which I have heard, with surprise, that doubts have been expressed in this house, namely—that the Mahratta war has been the great preponderating cause of the present deranged state of the finances of the East-India company. Not the only cause, I admit; for the same system which gave birth to the war, gave birth to a system of finance and expenditure, which would have absorbed nearly the whole revenue, even on a peace establishment. But when war was added to the scale, it was impossible for the finances to bear up under the accumulated weight. These papers then, sir, will shew that the present financial difficulties of the East-India company are among the serious evils occasioned by the late system; a system of which I question only the wisdom, not the intention or integrity of mind with which it was undertaken: I can also, as well as the hon. gent. with the utmost sincerity, disclaim any motives of personal ill-will to lord Wellesley, and whatever may prove to have been the object of calling for a great variety of India papers, I concur entirely with the hon. mover of the question, that it is extremely desirable that parliament should come to some resolution, that should re-establish the principle unanimously adopted and declared by this house in the year 1784. The papers in question will shew, that a change of system, in India, is both resolved and entered upon; but the transactions of the three past years, and the death of the marquis Cornwallis, may make it difficult to induce a belief, that the change is sincere, or likely to be permanent; painful experience has wrought the conviction here, which reason and argument failed to produce;—that if India is deemed worth preserving, the system and principles of that great man, whom the whole Indian world is now lamenting, must be followed up; and faithfully to adhere to his policy, was the only true wisdom for governing India: and its wisdom consisted in its simplicity, in its justice, moderation, and forbearance, alike to the strong and to the weak, alike in success, and under adverse fortune. Had the marquis Cornwallis remained in India, instead of coming home, after his first administration, the most sanguine expectations of advantages from India would have been realized, and that for which we have contended at such dreadful hazard and expense, would have been forced upon us by the affections of the people. The British government would have been voluntarily

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looked up to as the universal umpire throughout India, the dispenser of peace and happiness through regions larger than the whole extent of Europe.—I am anxious then, sir, for a resolution that should pledge this house in favour of the system and principles of the late marquis Cornwallis, and bind all our future governments in India to emulate his example. And if an hon. gent. below me (Mr. Francis) would permit me, I would call upon him to bring forward such a resolution, or to renew a proposal which he brought forward last session, and which was then unhappily rejected. I say unhappily rejected, because I am persuaded that that resolution, had it been carried, would have proved of great importance, by strengthening the hands of lord Cornwallis, and enabling him to shew the Indian states, that the principles on which he professed to act, were not his only, but those of parliament, and the country at large. Sir, it was a resolution directly in the spirit of that great man, on the re-appointment of lord Cornwallis to the government general, to which his majesty's ministers had just given their sanction. And I therefore witnessed, with equal surprise and concern, the exertion of that transcendant eloquence which prevailed on the house to reject it; how often that eloquence was exerted for the welfare of the country, no one can be more sensible than I am; but in this instance, I shall ever think it was misapplied.—I rejoice in the belief that his majesty's present ministers have not entangled themselves in the mazes of the late system, nor been deluded by the splendor and glare attached to it. I have heard with pleasure the sentiments delivered this evening, by a hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) I recollect with pleasure the sentiments delivered last session, by a right hon. gent. now high in his majesty's councils. I hope and trust that that right hon. gent. and his colleagues, will now act up to them, and if they do, much may yet be retrieved. In the present moment, which I believe to be not less awful in respect to India than Europe, nothing—no individual measure, could produce more salutary effects, than a resumption of the discarded principles to which I have alluded. And the hon. gent. who brought forward the resolution last session, might now offer it under happier auspices. I owe it to myself, as well as to that hon. gent. to declare, that I concur in almost all I have heard that right hon. gent. deliver in this house, on the affairs of India; his view of the whole subject is that, which, without any conversation with him, my mind has long taken; and whether he be a friend to the company or not, of this I am sure, that the most determined friend of the company could not have offered opinions and advice more friendly to their interests than those which I have heard that right hon. gent. deliver in this house. It is in reliance on that friendly disposition towards the East-India company, that I have presumed to urge him to renew his proposition, and my apology must be the perception which I have, in common with him, of the calamities which have followed our departure from the wise principles which it was the object of the proposition to enforce. And I hope the house will accept the same apology for my trespassing so long on their patience. Few other subjects could overcome

overcome my reluctance to such an intrusion.

Mr. *Paull* denied that the failure of the treaty with the rajah of Bhurtpore was owing entirely to the treachery of that prince; and read an extract from a letter of lord Wellesley, written in the month of Oct. 1803, which shewed that his lordship had a high opinion of him. He took notice of the appointment of sir George Barlow, as a proof of the acknowledged necessity of changing the Indian system.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* requested the indulgence of the house, merely to state, in allusion to what had fallen from the hon. director, (Mr. Grant) that his majesty's ministers did not, in the appointment of sir G. Barlow, mean to pledge themselves to the pursuit of any particular system of government in India. The fact was, that the appointment of the hon. bart. referred to, for whom he entertained a high respect, was made even before the present administration was fully formed, in order to prevent the inconvenience of any interregnum in India.

Lord *Temple* declared, that he would not have said a word about the transaction of Bhurtpore, were it not for an extract having been read from a commendatory letter, written by lord Wellesley at the time that he entertained a favourable opinion of the rajah; but, in a very short time after, he detected a correspondence of his with Holkar, for the purpose of forming a project to drive the English out of India. He pledged himself to prove, when the discussion came on, direct treachery on the part of that prince; and that the ruin of Holkar was only prevented by his lending him the cannon of the fort of Bhurtpore, at the time that he was himself in alliance with the company. He begged of the house to suspend, till the discussion came on, their opinion of the conduct of the noble marquis, which was approved of by the secret committee of the court of directors, whose orders he was bound to obey.

Mr. *Francis*.—Sir; before I begin what I intended to say on the present motion, or rather on some collateral subjects connected with it, I beg leave to take notice of a passage in the latter part of the speech of the hon. director on the other side (Mr. Grant.) He said that the name and character of sir George Barlow ought not to be called in question, because he was not here to defend himself; much less was it just or decent to canvass the merits of any man by anonymous publications in the newspapers. That he was a person of long standing and great merit in the company's service; that, on this ground, he had been confirmed in the office of governor-general by an unanimous resolution of the court of directors, confirmed and ratified by a most deliberate and most solemn act of his majesty's present government, which he had no reason to think was not the act of the whole administration. At all events, he was now fixed in his office by concurrent resolutions of all the lawful authorities of this country. That he ought to have fair play; that his merits should be tried by his future conduct: and that on no account would it be just to condemn the said sir George Barlow unheard; with many other general topics of the same. Now, sir, I desire it to be observed, that though this gentleman's name and merits have been repeatedly introduced in this house, they never were

were mentioned, much less have they ever been canvassed by me, either here or any where else; and for a very good reason; because I myself know nothing about him. In that question I have no personal interest or information, nor a concern of any kind. What I have heard of his conduct in office, from pretty good authority, is certainly not in his favour. My information comes to me, in various ways, from the India House, and nominally from some gentlemen in the direction, who, till very lately, made no secret of their opinion. Now I would ask the hon. director, a few plain, and, as I think, parliamentary questions on the case in hand, if he will allow me that freedom. Do the court of directors, does he himself approve of lord Wellesley's proceedings?—of what part? and to what extent? Or do they and he condemn those proceedings, without any saving clause, without a reserve or a qualification of any kind, excepting perhaps the second war against Tippoo Sultan? If he answers this last question in the affirmative, as I am sure he will, I then ask him what was the conduct of sir George Barlow, who stood next to the governor-general, and was the first in his council? Did he ever oppose or even remonstrate against any one act of lord Wellesley's government, good, bad, or indifferent? Did he not vigorously support, did he not heartily concur in all those acts? Did this conduct of sir George Barlow entitle him to the approbation of his hon. employers, or did it meet with their severest indignation? But now he is immoveably fixed in his high station, and we ought to look forward. I think so, not generally, but in this special case, because it will not bear a retrospect. As I perceive that the motion made by my hon. friend is not to be opposed, I shall content myself with saying that I should vote for it on the same general principle on which I have always acted. And, indeed, how is it possible, that this particular motion should be resisted? The papers in question have been made public by the court of directors. They have been communicated to a general court of proprietors, and laid open to the inspection of every individual owner of India stock. Can the intelligence contained in such papers be called a secret? or is the house of commons alone unfit to be trusted with it? Why, sir, a most material article in this intelligence is already in print. I have read this day in a newspaper, an extract of a letter from lord Cornwallis, dated the 9th of August, 1805, in which he tells the directors, "that an enquiry into the state of their finances afforded the most discouraging prospect; that, unless some very speedy measures were taken to reduce their expenses, it would be impossible to meet, with effect, the contingency of war; that the most burthensome and least useful part of the existing military expenses arose from very numerous bodies of irregular troops, entertained at an expense of near 60,000*l.* sterling per month; who, if dismissed, would be less formidable to us in the field, than while they remain so distressing a drain upon our finances! At this period, your regular troops are little short of five months, and many of your public departments, on which any movement of your armies depends, still more in arrear!" The only expedient which occurs to his lordship for relief, is "the detention of the treasure destined for China,

viz.

viz. 200,000*l.* and strongly to urge the government of Madras to spare 50,000*l.* of the specie allotted for the service of that presidency." This is bad news certainly, and impossible to be concealed. Or would it mend the matter, if you were able and willing, to suppress it? I shall vote, I say, for this motion on the same general principle on which I have always acted, and which has been professed by persons of greater authority, full as explicitly as by myself, I mean by the board of controul, ever since its institution, and particularly by Mr. Dundas and lord Castlereagh at all times. Their avowed principle, with regard to all Indian transactions or concerns, was publicity. They courted, they invited discussion. On these subjects, they were quite delighted to have their accounts examined, and their opinions sifted to the bottom. Nothing could exceed the good humour of Mr. Dundas, or the politeness of the noble lord. They always appeared to listen to me with an air of civility, and sometimes, I confess, with an appearance of attention. But I hope no man suspects me of the vanity of presuming that they ever paid the least regard to any thing I said. I am sure they will both acquit me of having ever interrupted their Indian repose for one moment. For my own part, sir, I have no idea of what can be seriously meant by an Indian state secret. As to an European enemy, they are full as well informed as we are; sometimes much sooner, and much better. But perhaps the papers printed for the use of the House of Commons, and our debates on the contents, may be carried back to India, may be read by the natives, and either alienate the princes of that country from us, or furnish them with dangerous information. Now, sir, I remain to be convinced, that, out of Calcutta, and above the rank of a Banian, there exists a Hindû, a Mohammedan, or a Mahratta, who ever did or could read, I believe I might safely add, who ever heard of an English newspaper. But, were it otherwise, the distance alone would make the publication of any opinions in England, on any given transaction in India, utterly useless and indifferent to those princes, who might have been originally most concerned in it. Observe the case as it always is, and more or less as it always must be. An act done ten or twelve months ago, many hundred miles north-west of Calcutta, falls under the consideration of this house. After many adjournments, and sundry debates too, either here or at the India house, some rapid resolution is taken in three or four months. Another year carries back the echo of the first intelligence from London to Lucknow, to Agra, to Delhi, to Ugein, or to Nagpour. Why, sir, long before it is possible for the act or resolution here to reach its destination, a brilliant victory has put an end not only to the original question, but to all the adverse parties concerned in it. The survivors, if any, are left, and if any of them can read English, may find a sufficient consolation, where they are not very likely to look for it, in the English newspapers, namely, that all such proceedings are severely condemned by the British parliament; I ask pardon of the house: I am ashamed of arguing these absurdities any longer. The only imaginable case, in which it might be dangerous to publish any information, would be a return of the state of our mili-

tary force in India, supposing it to be weak in numbers, or otherwise unprepared for service. Not that I believe that even such a publication would tell the enemy on the spot, much more than he might easily have known without it. But is it possible that a member of this house, that any but a fool or traitor, that any man in his senses would offer such a motion? And, if he did, could such a motion prevail? Would the house suffer it to pass? Would they endure to hear it proposed? I put the case only as applied to an army greatly reduced, and actually weak or unserviceable. For otherwise, if the army in India were strong and complete to its establishment, and as well equipped as it ought to be, I am not at all satisfied that there might not be an advantage in making it known to our enemies on the continent. It might probably deter them from attempting to disturb us in India. Sir, I will not descend so low as to disclaim any idea of personal emnity to lord Wellesley, or to admit the possibility that such a disclaimer, on my part, should be necessary. I defy the acutest human sagacity to assign a rational motive, of any kind, for such animosity. But, without a ray of wit or wisdom, it is easy enough to discover a very sufficient motive, which might have induced me to take an opposite course. Setting aside these low as well as useless personalities, what has been the general current of the debate this night, with only one exception? Has it not run entirely on the rectitude of the principles exclusively attributed to lord Cornwallis, and the merit of his conduct acknowledged by all men? Why? Because the principles and the conduct, so universally approved, were in direct and irreconcileable opposition to those of lord Wellesley, whose acts were cut down, whose whole system was subverted, root and branch, without reserve, without even the form of a personal palliation, by his noble successor. Now I appeal to the honour and to the justice of the house, and of every man who hears me. What do all these acknowledgments of exalted merit in lord Cornwallis, and all this approbation of his conduct amount to, but an admission, nay much more than an admission, a positive parliamentary assertion, that, from first to last, every thing I have said and done about India was right? Is it possible for the court of directors, or for my right hon. friend (Mr. Fox) to concur in the principles, and to applaud the proceedings of lord Cornwallis, and not to condemn lord Wellesley? Those extremities can never meet. No human faculty can reconcile such contradictions. To endeavour to trim or to balance between them would be as useless and ineffectual as it would be criminal and contemptible. I shall now, sir, request the benevolent attention of the house to a short digression, by no means unconnected with the subject of this debate, though relating immediately to myself and to my own situation. It is the only return I shall ask, for a faithful service of thirty years in this department; because it is all that I expect to receive on that account. I hope the house will hear me with indulgence; and the rather as it will probably be the last time, that I shall ever address you on any interest of mine connected with the subject of India. I state it then as a narrative merely, and not to revive any former argument or difference

ference with any man, that I passed six years in Bengal in perpetual contest and misery, and finally with the imminent hazard of my life. For the truth of this assertion, I appeal to the testimony of the hon. chairman of the court of directors, who was on the spot and knows the facts.—Then a wretched passage of ten months to England; and, from that time, a continued labour and perseverance of two-and-twenty years in the same unprofitable course, unsupported and alone, without thanks or reward, and now without hope. By endeavouring, through that long portion of my life, to maintain, as I thought, right against wrong, I have incurred many enmities, and secured no friendship; I have sacrificed my happiness and my repose, and forfeited every prospect of personal advantage. Have you a doubt on this point? Look at the state of dereliction, in which I am left. I make no complaint of what is past: but I have a right to pause, and consider how I shall proceed hereafter. I have done so. I have considered my situation, and I have made up my mind upon it. It is for others to weigh the probable consequences and natural effect of the example, now in their view, upon the public service not only in India, but in every other department. What practical lesson does it inculcate, but simply this; take care of yourselves? I do not know that the instruction was much wanted; but I am sure it will not be neglected. My deliberate intention is to withdraw myself generally from the discussion of political questions purely and properly Indian, and not involving any immediate British interest; and specially not to take an active part, much less a lead in the impeachment, prosecution, or censure of any Indian delinquency whatsoever. This intention concerns nobody but myself. I make no contract with any man, and I hold myself completely at liberty to depart from it whenever I think proper. This, sir, is not a resolution wholly new in me, or suddenly taken on the present occasion. That principal part of it, which relates to the invidious, though meritorious office of a prosecutor, as I still think it, was taken long ago. I will never be concerned in impeaching any body. The impeachment of Mr. Hastings has cured me of that folly. I was tried, and *he* was acquitted. In all the late proceedings concerning lord Melville, I have never uttered one word; though, considering the contest and contradiction in which I stood against Mr. Dundas in this house for twenty years together, it cannot be denied that I had spurs and provocations enough, if I were capable of yielding to such motives, to stimulate me to take part in the impeachment of lord Melville. Nor will I now concern myself in any proceeding to prosecute or censure lord Wellesley. On the subject of his administration I have already done all that I meant to do, and more than I promised. What I said, was in my place. What I have written, is on record. I do not think that, on the whole, my speech on the 5th of April, 1805, was ill received by any man. In particular, I do believe that, generally at least, I had the concurrence of the eminent person and most eloquent minister, who is gone. He sat opposite to me. He gave me a fair, uninterrupted attention, and, as I thought, with many expressive, though silent indications of assent. It is indeed to be re-

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greted, that he yielded to the noble lord on the other side (lord Castlereagh) in setting aside the motion of that day, though neither of them thought fit to contradict it. They, who are disposed to enquire what I really meant by that proceeding, and to do me fair and honourable justice, are requested to consult the record. I said expressly that "the motion, with which I should conclude, was not directed to personal accusation or to parliamentary censure. My purpose was to do a public service; not to criminate, but to correct; by engaging the house of commons to revert to their principles, to avow them once more, and to adhere to them hereafter." I thought it would have strengthened lord Cornwallis, and assisted him essentially in his endeavours to satisfy the minds, and to recover the confidence of the Mahratta chiefs and other princes of India. For though I believe that his name, and their opinion of his personal character might have gone a great way in reconciling them to the British government, still it would have been a powerful auxiliary argument in his hand, if he had been specially commissioned by the House of Commons to declare to them, in the name of his country, that he had a security to offer them, which would not perish with him; that the principles he professed, and the pledge he gave them for their future tranquillity, were not confined to the life of any individual. They were the permanent principles, and the irrevocable pledge, by which the legislature of Great Britain had declared they would be bound for ever. I agree with the hon. director (Mr. Huddlestone) in lamenting that so useful and inoffensive a proposition should have been rejected, and that so favourable an opportunity of applying it should have been lost. But while I acknowledge and thank him for the kind and honourable terms, in which he has been pleased to address me, I cannot accede to his request. I cannot say more than I have done in favour of the motion, which he wishes me to revive, and I will not expose it to the hazard of a second rejection. A similar motion could not be resumed by any man with greater propriety than by himself. Whoever makes it, shall have all the support that it is in my little power to give him. On another point the hon. and worthy director is perfectly right, and has done justice to my opinion. I should be happy if I could impute any part of the honour he has done me this night, to personal friendship. My acquaintance with him is too slight and of too late a date to intitle me to any claim of that kind. He says that "I have declared the directors free from any blame for the evils existing in India." It is true. In the transactions to which my opinion refers, the court of directors, as such, are not parties, and are not to be condemned. They are not merely passive, but, as I have reason to believe, most studiously and constantly kept in the dark. The political power of the court is in fact confined to a select committee of three, who alone are intrusted with the state secrets of the company, and who deliberate and transact with nobody but the president of the board of controul. These two powers keep faith with one another; that is, they observe a profound silence not only to the public, but even to their colleagues in the direction, until the secret bursts of itself

self with ruin on their heads. The noble lord near me, (lord Temple) who, I perceive with sorrow, is not so lavish as he has been heretofore, in favouring me with the title of his hon. friend," declares that lord Wellesley has acted always, as to the great points in question, under the orders or instructions of this secret committee. It may be so. The House of Commons have no knowledge of the documents the noble lord alludes to; nor have I ever seen a single line of them. If lord Wellesley has such orders to plead, undoubtedly he will produce them in his own justification. Until I see what they contain, I can say nothing on that subject. With respect to the declaration, which I have made this night, I wish to add a few words before I conclude, because it is of importance to me that my meaning should not be misunderstood. I am not, nor will I be, standing counsel for the company, or for the nation, on the subject of India. I have laboured too long, I need hardly say, without fee or reward, in that unthankful and most invidious office. Has any individual, or any party, has this house, or has the nation, a right to expect more of me? Neither am I able, if I were ever so well disposed, to continue this unavailing labour. My spirits are exhausted. My mind is subdued. And, if it were otherwise, my assistance now is not so necessary in this department as I have thought it hitherto. Several younger men, with a spirit as high as their rank, and of great ability, are coming forward in this line. I congratulate the house and the country on this flattering appearance and promise on the part of the rising generation. They will do more than I could, and much more than supply the little place, which I have occupied. I hope they will not be discouraged by difficulties or by labour, nor even by the example that has been made of their humble predecessor. Above all things, I conjure this house once more, not to throw any discouragement in their way. I have stated my intention clearly; but, again I say, I am my own master, and I will give no account of my future conduct to any man. There is one view only, in which I shall at all times hold myself bound to attend to future proceedings in parliament on questions connected with the India company; nor is it possible for me to do otherwise, without abdicating the duties of my station in this house. As long as I have the honour of a seat in parliament, I shall watch and take care, to the utmost of my power, to prevent the finances of Britain from being ruined by those of India. I have now passed more than thirty years in endeavouring to support the lawful authority of the East-India company over their nominal servants abroad; to guard their rights, and to protect their property from ruin. I have laboured to preserve the peace of India, and to shelter the native princes of that unfortunate country from injustice, conquest, and oppression. In the execution of these labours I confess I have had no success, nor scarce a good word from any man: the only duty that is now left to me, the only chance I yet have of being useful either to this country, or even to the India company, is to protect England, not against the company, but against India and its government.

Sir *T. Metcalfe* read a passage from a letter of lord Lake to the governor-general, in which the treachery

treachery of the rajah of Bhurtpore was placed in the strongest light. That rajah had received one third more than his right of the country conquered from Scindia, and it was immediately after receiving that boon, that his treacherous connection with Holkar was discovered. As to marquis Wellesley, he knew little of him but as a public man; he had no hesitation to say, however, that he considered him as the greatest statesman that had ever been in India. Such a man, exercising such talents for the public good, was rather hardly treated, when he was received, on his return home, with accusation instead of acclamation. He wished the noble marquis's conduct to be sifted, however; as, the more it was sifted, the more the result would be to his honour.

Lord *Folkestone* rose and said: Mr. Speaker; the hon. bart. (sir T. Metcalfe) below me, has in his speech renewed the charge just brought by the noble lord (Temple) below him, of treachery on the part of the rajah of Bhurtpore. I will not at present enter into that transaction, because it is likely to be more fully discussed to-morrow, and is therefore now premature, and because, perhaps, I know less of the motion than I ought. But on the first blush of the business I must say, that the term treachery seems to be here most strangely applied. This rajah is a native prince of India, having natural connections with the country; we have none such, but are really invaders, seeking to establish a dominion and to acquire an empire. In these circumstances, if these or other native chiefs should take measures for preventing us, or for expelling us, it seems to me that it might be attributed to other dispositions than those of perfidy, and such conduct be called by another name than treachery. However, we shall hear more of this hereafter. I should not, sir, have made this observation, if I had not been called up by something else which fell, in the course of his speech, from the hon. bart. He complains that my lord Wellesley's character is continually attacked by a side-wind; and of the ungenerous reception which he has met with on his return to this country. Now, it seems to me, I confess, very natural, and I am sure it is very competent, for members of this house, who have the good of the country at heart, to make the enquiries, and to stir the questions, which the hon. bart. complains of. For when we consider what we have witnessed in the last twelve months, and what we now daily hear on the subject of India affairs; when we recollect, that lord Cornwallis was sent out to India for the express purpose of undoing all lord Wellesley had done, of overturning all his schemes, and putting an end to all his projects; when we observe too, the joy that has been expressed by all those most interested in India affairs, at the expectation that those schemes and projects are now put an end to, and never to be renewed;—when we observe, that every person who has spoken in this debate, with the exception of the hon. bart. and the noble lord, have joined in that expression of joy; it does not appear to me very extraordinary, that some enquiries should be made into the nature and plan of that administration, the termination of which is so great and so general a matter of exultation. But, sir, this is not all; the derangement of the affairs, and the exhausted state of the finances, of the

the East-India company are now confessed and allowed: and when we know that the company is now reduced to the necessity of coming to us to give them aid and relief, and we hear that they are most unwilling to bring any charge against lord Wellesley, and abstain, not because they do not condemn his policy, but because they think well of his intentions, it is not surprising that others, less placable than these gentlemen, should now and then, in the course of debate, express sentiments of disapprobation at his conduct. The noble bart. says this is attacking the noble lord by a side-wind. I do not agree with him. I do not think it is fair to complain of so natural a proceeding. Sir, after the length to which this debate has run, I shall not add any more. I have been called up by the observations of the hon. bart. and I was glad to have an opportunity of noticing the universal expression of dissatisfaction from all sides of the house at the conduct of lord Wellesley.

Mr. *Charles Grant* rose to explain. With respect to sir G. Barlow, he observed, that whatever part he had taken in the measures of marquis Wellesley, was not inconsistent with the system he was now to pursue. The two Mahratta wars had come on so rapidly, that it was impossible to have any opinion upon them from this country. He was at present in possession of the opinion of his superiors, and had honestly declared his determination to act in conformity with it. Whatever other gentlemen might think upon the subject, he was himself convinced, that there was nothing dishonourable in the part that gentleman took in the measures of the marquis Wellesley's administration.

Mr. *Wallace* was of opinion, that the policy, the measures, and the whole of the system acted upon by lord Wellesley, were wise and highly beneficial;' and when the subject came under discussion, he should be ready to state the grounds upon which he thought the services of that noble lord entitled him to the gratitude of the house and of the country.

Mr. *Johnstone* rose to express his thanks to the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) for consenting to the production of the papers. He was glad to find that the court of directors were disposed to support the present system begun by lord Cornwallis, and that his right hon. friend retained his former sentiments on this subject. He remarked upon the difference which was known to prevail as to the system of government which ought to be acted upon in India, between the opinions formerly expressed by some of the present ministers, and the course now pursuing in that quarter. He was glad, however, now to have the doubts which naturally rose out of the difference alluded to, completely removed by a declared change of sentiment.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* observed upon the logic and the prudence evinced by the last speaker. His logic, he thought by no means just, and his prudence was certainly not laudable. For as to his logic, it did not follow that because gentlemen thought proper to adopt a certain line of policy, under certain circumstances, they would be subject to the imputation of inconsistency in pursuing a different line where those circumstances had undergone a material change; and as to the hon. gent.'s prudence, it surely was not laudable to press the charge of inconsistency upon any men who might

might shew a disposition to abandon opinions which the hon. gent. himself pronounced erroneous, and to adopt those which he professed to consider correctly right. The several papers moved for were ordered to be laid before the house.

March 11.

Lord Ossulston rose to make his promised motion with respect to the debt of the East-India company. After some preliminary observations, his lordship stated, that in the year 1793, it appeared that the debt of the East-India company, bearing interest, was about 7 million, which it was proposed to reduce to 2 million; that in order to do this, a power was given, by the act of 1793, to the different presidencies in India, to grant bills in favour of the creditors of the company, on the court of directors, to the amount of 500,000*l*. annually, and no more, for the purpose of transferring, or, in other words, liquidating this debt; that is to say, it being determined to be a matter of policy and expedience that the debt should be reduced, in order to carry this into effect in the manner the most beneficial to the company. Instead of applying to this purpose so much of the surplus revenue in the first instance, the whole of that surplus was allowed to be laid out in an investment, out of the profits arising from the sale of which, the court of directors were to set apart the sum of 500,000*l*. annually, to answer such bills as should be drawn by the government in India to the amount and for the purpose specified in the act.—That since this year, 1793, it appeared that bills had been drawn to the amount of not less than 8 millions. Whether they had been granted to the creditors of the company, and had therefore gone in liquidation of the debt, he could not say; if so, the only difference would be that, in that case, the amount of debt contracted would be, by so much the larger than would otherwise appear to be the fact; but so it was, that so far from the debt having been actually reduced, it had swollen from 7 to nearly 30 millions; and of this 30 millions he was further informed, (to ascertain which, was the object of his motion,) that a considerable part, he was afraid to say how much, had been contracted upon terms which entitled the holder of the loan to go to the treasury at Calcutta, and receive, on demand, bills upon the court of directors, payable 12 months after date, according to the mode in which bills are usually drawn from India.—That this was the case, his lordship said he had no manner of doubt. He had heard it from authority which he could not question, and it had been admitted by every one with whom he had conversed on the subject. He was moreover confirmed by a publication which he held in his hand, the Calcutta monthly journal for the month of May, 1805, in which, as well as in many others of different dates, he found a regular government notification of a loan in which this condition is distinctly stated. After saying that "the public are hereby informed, that the sub-treasurer at the presidency, &c. have been authorized to receive any sums of money," &c. it goes on to say, "the principal of the promissory notes shall be payable either in Bengal under the rules established for the payment of the register debt now existing, or by bills to be drawn by the governor-general in

in council, on the hon. court of directors; which bills shall be granted at any time on the application of the proprietor of the notes, either when the principal shall have become payable in Bengal, or at any earlier period."—Taking for granted, then, that this has been the mode of proceeding, the next question was, whether it has been with or without the authority of the court of directors? If without their authority, it was as far as he could understand, though it was not the question of law, but the matter of fact which he wished to establish, directly in the face of the 110th clause of the act of 1793, which provides, "that nothing in this act shall extend to authorize any of the governments in India to grant bills for the purpose of transferring or remitting the said debts from India to Great Britain, to become due and payable within any one year, exceeding in amount the sum of 500,000*l.* unless by the special order and authority of the court of directors of the said company, for that purpose first had and obtained."—To issue, therefore, promissory notes exchangeable at the pleasure of the holder for bills on the court of directors, provided the amount of such promissory notes exceeded the sum of 500,000*l.* in any one year, he contended to be against the express provisions and meaning of this act. Without, therefore, the authority of the court of directors, this proceeding was illegal; if it was with their authority, which it was impossible to believe, he should be at a loss how to reconcile it with the duty they owed to their constituents, the court of proprietors, and to the faithful discharge of the important trusts committed to their hands.—In what manner this accumulation of debt had taken place, formed no part of his present purpose. Whether it had arisen from war, which could hardly be the case, because, since the year 1793, with the exception of the Mahratta war, there had been but one war in India, that against Tippoo, which lasted a few months, and which paid its own expenses; or whether, which was more credible, it had arisen from the expense of civil and military establishments, constantly exceeding the revenue derived from that accession of territory which had rendered these additional establishments necessary. However this might be, as to the origin of the debt, if the amount and nature of it was such as he had described, if only a small portion of the amount stated to him, had been contracted upon the terms he imagined, and that the East-India company were liable to be drawn upon any day to an amount infinitely beyond all imagination of their means to pay, it was unnecessary to put to the house what was the situation of the East-India company, and what was the extent of mischief which might possibly arise.—It was with a view to ascertain this fact, as well as to afford an opportunity for interposing timely measures of prevention, if any such could be found, that he should move, "that there be laid before this house, a return of the debts of the East-India company in India from January 1794, up to the latest period; specifying the terms and dates of the several loans, together with the rate of interest, and when and where the principal and interest of the said loans are payable."

Lord Morpeth expressed a wish that his noble friend would withdraw

draw his motion, assuring him that it was the intention of ministers to lay before the house the fullest possible information with respect to the affairs of India. In conformity with this intention the noble lord stated, that he would, in a very few days, submit a motion for a return of all the debts of the India company, the loans contracted by the several presidencies, and the terms upon which they were made, distinguishing such loans as bore interest, from those which did not, with the terms of interest, when and where payable, &c. up to the latest period. Such an account he believed would answer, better than that moved for, the object his noble friend professed to have in view. There was an additional reason for acceding to a short delay, and it was this; that it would enable those concerned in the immediate superintendance of Indian affairs, to collect more accurate information, which they would be most probably enabled to do by farther arrivals.

Lord *Ossulston* assented to the request of his noble friend.

Mr. *Francis* rose, not to take any part in the discussion of this subject, but merely to say, that there was one question connected with the finances of India, to which, notwithstanding his general resolution, as the house had heard, he felt himself bound, and that was the loan made by the government of Bombay to Gwicowar. Upon this loan, however, he should reserve his sentiments, until all the promised documents should be laid before the house, and until the India budget should be brought forward for discussion.

Lord *Folkestone* was glad that the attention of the house had been called to the important interests of India, and thought many good effects would be likely to arise from this circumstance. He hoped that the documents promised by the noble member of the board of control, would be speedily brought forward, and prove fully satisfactory.

Lord *Temple*, referring to the notice which had been postponed by Mr. Paull, took occasion to state, that the hon. member was now called upon, in candour and fairness to lord Wellesley, to state the nature of the charge, which it was his intention to bring forward on Friday, pursuant to his notice.—Mr. Paull said he should decline giving the noble lord any answer on the subject. Lord Ossulston's motion was then, with the leave of the house, withdrawn.

Mr. *Paull* rose and spoke as follows:—Though irregular to allude to what passed on any former occasion in this house, still, sir, the occurrences of last night, will render it necessary for me to obtrude, on the present occasion, at infinitely greater length than I had any intention of doing. The house must have observed, that I have had two distinct objects in introducing the affairs of India to its notice. One, sir, an earnest anxiety to bring the whole system of our Indian empire once more under the consideration of parliament; a system which threatens the national prosperity; and the other to prosecute to conviction, if possible, the person to whom I impute all the dangers that now threaten our existence abroad, and in this country.—For the first, I could have incurred no obloquy, might have earned some applause from the display of my knowledge, and

and have made few enemies; but, in the second I was fully aware of the dangers. I had a beacon in the example afforded me in the managers of Mr. Hastings's impeachment calling out to me to beware! I knew I should have to contend, a new, unconnected individual, with obstacles of the most formidable nature. I knew, sir, I should not be able to sail with wind and tide, but that I should have to encounter every thing that power, rank, wealth, prejudice, and talent, could throw in my way. These, though no slight obstacles, I was prepared to meet; but I have met with others that I did not reckon on; and as I hold the character and motives of an accuser as his fairest claims to confidence or reprobation, I must sir, on the present occasion, claim the attention of the house on my own account, a few moments, whilst I state my motives and conduct; this task once performed, I shall proceed in the way I have imposed upon myself, undismayed by numbers; and hereafter the shafts of malice and slander shall pass by me like the idle wind that I regard not.—Conscious of the rectitude of my own motives, I believed no man could dare to question them; but I reckoned too favourably of human nature, and it was not without a mixture of honest indignation and surprise, that I found, within the walls of this house, not only surmises as to the motives that stimulated me to stand forth as the accuser of lord Wellesley; not only have these motives been misrepresented, but others assigned as ungenerous and despicable as they are unjust and untrue. No sooner did I repel the insinuation that I was in any manner of form connected with the nabob of Oude, or with any potentate on the peninsula of India, and appealed to the noble lord (Wellesley) himself for the truth of the fact, than it was asserted, I must have been injured by that noble lord, who must have thwarted some scheme of my ambition, or interposed between me and the attainment of some favourite object. Now, sir, for the last time, I repeat in this house, that to lord Wellesley I have not, nor never had, any sentiment of animosity, personally, except that proceeding from the detestation of his conduct and principles, and it so happens, from an extraordinary circumstance, that my character, and the independence of my principles, are better known to lord Wellesley, and his private secretary, than to any other men in existence; and if I felt a necessity of bringing any man to this bar to vouch for them, it would be that noble lord himself. On this subject, I beg the noble lord under me (lord Temple) not to force me to be more explicit, for if that noble lord does not already know it, I could to him even (prejudiced as he is,) 'unfold a tale' and to the house, that would insure me the support and approbation of every liberal mind in the kingdom, but with the declaration I have made, I shall rest satisfied for the present, disclaiming, as I again do, any motives but those of a public nature for my conduct to lord Wellesley. —Last night, an hon. gent. opposite to me (Mr. Johnstone) whom I am happy to see in his place, made a declaration that certainly excited my utmost astonishment. The annals of parliament, and the voice of the country, fully establish the fact, that that gentleman was the original accuser of my lord Wellesley, and although I certainly impute no improper motives to this seeming

seeming dereliction of sentiment on the part of the hon. gent. still I must certainly state this as one of the many unaccountable circumstances that have attended the investigation of the conduct of lord Wellesley.—The hon. gent. with whom I spent many of the happiest years of my life, certainly never stimulated me to accuse my lord Wellesley, but as to the opinion of his guilty conduct, there never was a difference of sentiment between us. It is true, the hon. gent. and myself, are not on those terms of intimacy and friendship we once felt for each other. We have differed, however, on no political sentiment, or on account of any thing connected with lord Wellesley; still I think it would have been but candid and fair in the hon. gent. to have stated to me explicity, that he meant to lay on his oars, and to take the safe course he has adopted. The papers however he moved for last night, bring before the public "cause and effect," and having established by his reprobation of eight treaties, the pernicious system of lord Wellesley, he has done more service to the cause of justice, and to me, than any support he could have bestowed in bringing to conviction this ambitious and misguided nobleman.—But a declaration made by a right hon. gent. (Mr. secretary Fox) is of an importance that cannot escape without some most serious observation. My respect, my esteem, my veneration for that revered, enlightened, and highly-respected character, make me the more deeply deplore his declaration of last night—he has stated all idea of retrospect to be out of the question. Where then, are we to look for a change of system, where is our fast hold on sir George Barlow, or any other Indian governor, if a solemn enquiry is not instituted? I presume to say, that the declaration of that truly great character has damped the spirit of every friend of freedom, and every friend of justice. What, said the hon. gent. was the pale, emaciated, worn-out frame of Mr. Hastings dragged to the bar for, vengeance by political opponents, or for example? Now the right hon. gent. has said—(here Mr. Paull was reminded by the speaker that he was not quite in order in noticing to the house what passed on a former debate) the hon. gent. bowed and proceeded to the statement of the charge he had given notice of.—I shall proceed, said he, to lay the grounds for the charge I mean to bring against lord Wellesley, and if I abstain from any terms on this stage of the business that can be considered as objectionable by any man, it will not be out of compliment to the delicate ears and fine feelings of a right hon. gent. (Mr. H. Addington) who on another occasion volunteered a good deal of advice: not, sir, out of any dread of the reprehension of the noble lord (Temple) under me, who is so ready on every occasion to throw the broad shield of his protection, and that of his family, over the late governor-general of India.—To the southward of Mulrah and Agra, on the peninsula of Hindûstan, is a native prince, called the Raja of Bhurtpore, and though his fortress of that name has not yet found its way into the map, both his own name and that of his citadel will be remembered in the annals of India, of the British power, and in the annals of the English army, when the battle of Placey, of Delhi, and Laswarie shall fail to excite

cite interest in the page of history.—His first character and connection with the English nation I shall give in the words of lord Wellesley, and which I read to the house last night, and his fatal renown from the records of his gallant but unsuccessful opponent lord Lake. Previous to the commencement of hostilities against Dowlut Rao Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, as appears from the notes of lord Wellesley to lord Lake in the Mahratta papers, the friendship and alliance of this chieftain were appreciated as of the highest importance, and lord Lake was instructed to gain them at any price.—But the Carnatic, Oude, Furruckabad, Surat, Bundelcund, Hyderabad, Poonah, and Rohillcund, all exemplified, that short is the span between a treaty and the seizure of a province; and the prince of Bhurtpore, before the commencement of hostilities, refused on any terms, or on any account, to have any connection with the East-India company.—On the 4th of Sept. 1803, lord Lake carried the Fort of Alle Ghur by assault, and the faithless, unprincipled surrender of Perron, the French general of Scindia, in the Douab, and the battle of Delhi, brought the victorious general; and his gallant army, into the country of Bhurtpore. Promises and threats were alternately held out, and in an evil hour this hitherto happy, highly respected, and fortunate prince, signed the treaty I shall read to the house. A fortunate succession of events subdued for a time the spirit of Scindia, and the other confederated chieftains who purchased a peace, by the surrender of their most valuable provinces. In a very short time, however, Holkar appeared in the field with an army of upwards of 50,000 men, and i[illegible] approach to invade the British dominions, he reached Bhurtpore, to which it is now said he was invited by the once-respectable, and highly-esteemed, but now the treacherous and contemptible character, the Rajah of that country. I trust the gentlemen of this house have not one set of principles and morality for England, and one for India, which however, I very much suspect they have; therefore, admitting, which however is not yet proved, that the moment this prince became connected with England, he, belying his former character, tarnished all the acts of his past life, that he became the most profligate, prejured, abandoned, treacherous wretch that he is represented to have become, will even that conduct excuse in India, a war of vengeance and an ignominious peace! I answer, sir, no; but, be the Rajah's character what it may, be his former character true or false, be his treachery real or fictitious, that Holkar obtained supplies and assistance in the Bhurtpore country I readily admit, and the noble lord (Temple) may make the most of the admission.—In a short space, however, Holkar was defeated, and his forces dispersed, and it was then that lord Wellesley determined on an act of singular and most sanguinary vengeance, and without example, in ancient or modern times, unless in the recent instance of Buonaparte to the ill-fated king of Naples; who, too, is accused by the French emperor of treachery and foul play! Now, sir, the conduct of Naples is exactly in point. The king made a treaty, broke it, and invited the English and Russians to come into his dominions, and to

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aid him against France; so did the prince of Bhurtpore to Holkar, it is alleged: but will any Englishman say that the conduct of either merited extermination and ruin? It is said too, that the Rajah's troops turned upon our own forces and joined the enemy. Let the noble lord (Temple) avail himself of this further admission, and it will only prove, that lord Wellesley's system has revolutionized the nature of the mild Hindû and excited a thirst for blood, unknown before. I admit the fact, I believe it, and that Hindû and Mussulmans, that all ranks of the natives, all casts, all conditions, are ripe for revolt and vengeance, against their oppressors. Lord Cornwallis confesses the fact, though in milder terms, and to recover what however is lost for ever, he was willing to surrender all but our honour. Instead of endeavouring to reclaim this guilty and infatuated prince, as he is represented, whose alliance lord Wellesley had courted, and whose character and example on other powers, a few fleeting months before, he rated and stated so highly, instead of manifesting to the minds of irritated India, that mercy, forbearance, magnanimity, and justice, were the characteristics of a Christian governor, lord Wellesley determined on extermination and vengeance, and lord Lake was ordered to advance for the easy annihilation, as it was supposed, of his seemingly unequal opponent! No terms short of unconditional surrender being proposed, this prince determined to repel the assailants or to bury himself and his family and friends in one common ruin.—The account of the different assaults made by lord Lake, and the different overtures made by the Rajah, it is unnecessary to state, but the particulars of the sanguinary assault on the 22d of February, after the British army had been 61 days before Bhurtpore, I shall read to the house. (here the hon. gent. read lord Lake's accounts of the 4 assaults) —On the 108th day after the commencement of the siege, on the 9th of April, 1805, six weeks after the last assault, lord Lake, after a loss of 4000 of our best troops, and 116 of our best and most gallant officers, concluded a shameful and disgraceful peace, with, as he is represented, this abandoned, faithless, and profligate prince, under the walls of that fort, where had withered the laurels of our brave troops, and when the reputation of our gallant army was completely, and unnecessarily sacrificed. For having thus tarnished the British name and character, for the waste of blood and reputation occasioned by this sanguinary war of vengeance, I accuse lord Wellesley, and to lay the grounds for a charge of high crimes and misdemeanours, I shall conclude, sir, with moving, "1. That there be laid before this house, a Copy of a Treaty concluded by general Lake (now lord Lake) commander in chief of the forces, and afterwards ratified by marquis Wellesley, late governor-general of India, and a prince of Hindûstan, called the Rajah of Bhurtpore, dated the 29th Sept. 1803. 2. Copies of all applications from the Bengal government, or those acting under its authority, demanding explanation and satisfaction previous to the commencement of hostilities, and the answers to such applications. 3. A copy of the declaration of war against that prince. 4. A copy of all letters from

from lord Lake, or those acting under his authority, to lord Wellesley, or the Bengal government; and from lord Wellesley, or the government, to the British commander in chief, relating to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, previous to the signing of the treaty of 1803, and from that period to the commencement of the war against that chieftain. 5. Copies of any terms or conditions offered by the British government to prevent the war; and as indemnification for any imputed injury sustained by the British interests in India from the Bhurtpore Rajah. 6. Copies of all overtures, made from time to time by the Bhurtpore Rajah to the British commander in chief, for terminating the war, and the answers to such overtures. 7. Copies of the returns of the killed and wounded, and missing, in the various assaults made to storm the fortress of Bhurtpore, together with the casualties of the army during the siege; and the communications made publicly and privately by lord Lake on these occasions to the Bengal government. 8. Copy of the treaty of peace between the Bengal government and the prince of Bhurtpore, with the communications made on that event to the court of directors, or select committee, on that occasion."

Lord *Temple* observed, that the narrow ground on which the hon. gentleman had proceeded, had made it an easy thing to answer him; but when he had brought forward charges as they were called, against so considerable, and so meritorious a character, as that of the marquis Wellesley, he should have stated the grounds on which they were to be founded; and he should also have taken the trouble of perusing those papers, which he said would substantiate them, before he made those charges; if he had, the noble lord said he would venture to assert it would have convinced the hon. member of the impropriety of his conduct. That he had not taken this course, was to be lamented, on account of what was due to the house, as well as to the noble marquis; for he would venture to assert, without the least fear of contradiction, that when all the papers which had been called for should appear upon the table, and came to tell their own story, there would be found not the least pretence for charging the noble marquis with any misconduct; on the contrary, he would deserve praise. He hoped, therefore, that all the papers would be granted, and that there was no formal objection to their production, and he was not aware of any. By them it would appear that the marquis Wellesley was so far from waging with the Rajah of Bhurtpore a war of extermination, or having a thirst of blood, that he conducted himself with a forbearance and moderation to which that prince was by no means entitled. It was said that the treaty of peace, a copy of which was now called for, was presented to the Rajah at the point of the bayonet. This assertion again would be completely refuted when the papers appeared upon the table; for they would prove, that at the breaking out of the war with Holkar, in 1803, the Rajah expressed a desire to unite with the British interest, and a treaty was entered upon with him early in the year 1803, and concluded and ratified in the following September. The honourable member had alluded to three of the articles of that treaty: he would tell him there was a fourth, which

which was, that the contracting parties should afford to each other the aid of troops in the event of the invasion of their territories. This treaty was agreed upon between lord Wellesley and the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and he was to furnish a considerable force of cavalry to act in conjunction with the British; upon which the British government thought themselves justified in making a cession of territory to the Rajah, giving him a revenue equal to one third of all his own. Whether this looked like a treaty forced upon the Rajah at the point of the bayonet, the house might judge when the papers came before it. When the war with Holkar broke out in the month of March, a correspondence was detected between the Rajah of Bhurtpore and Holkar, which had for its object the overthrow of the British power, and driving the British entirely from India; in which plan the Rajah was to have a considerable concern. A copy of this correspondence was sent to lord Wellesley in July, and yet this noble lord, who was said to be a person seeking blood, and waging a war of extermination, would be found to have observed a moderation and humanity the most remarkable, for by some of the correspondence now called for, it would appear, that the noble marquis, even after this detection of the treachery of the Rajah, did not allow him to be punished, considering that he was in the hands of others; but ordered that those who advised him to this act of perfidy, whenever discovered, should be punished in an exemplary manner; but as to the Rajah, the noble marquis considered that he might have been misguided and deceived by wicked councils, and therefore ordered that no punishment should fall on him; consequently he directed lord Lake to endeavour to discover who the advisers of the Rajah were, but not to punish him in any respect; to warn him, however, of what he was about; to tell him it was not the wish of the East-India company to interfere with his territory or his concerns; but to call on him to dismiss the agents who had so misguided him. This was another of the proofs of the war of extermination, which the honourable gentleman imputed to marquis Wellesley. My lord Lake acted on his instructions, and left directions with general Fraser to abide by the same line of conduct, not to attack the Rajah of Bhurtpore, or bring on a war with him, but if attacked, to resist; but the Rajah cut the matter short, for, not content with his correspondence with the enemy, he himself began the war, and commenced an attack upon us. The first direct act of hostility was committed on the part of the Rajah, whose fortress of Deeg afforded a protection to the remains of Holkar's army, and fired upon the British troops, which enabled Holkar to carry off a great part of his army, and place his artillery in that fortress. After the fort of Deeg was taken, and, notwithstanding the several unsuccessful attacks on Bhurtpore, the rajah at last came to his senses, and was glad to conclude a peace, by which he agreed to pay to the company twenty lacs of rupees in four years, and the company guaranteed him his territories. He was also bound to keep no Frenchmen or Europeans in his army. On these conditions, the conquered countries, and even the fort of Deeg itself, had been since restored to him. In all

all these transactions, he could perceive nothing of that implacable vengeance which was imputed by the honourable member to the noble marquis. His lordship said, it was not then the time for him to go further into this subject; he wished to wait till the papers in question should be laid upon the table, as they would not only support the statement he had made, but display the conduct of the noble marquis to have been moderate, and forbearing in the highest degree.*

Mr. *Paull* said he had quoted the treaty such as he found it in the Mahratta papers, and sent home by lord Wellesley, and could not be accused of a want of fairness in not reading what really had never been given to the house.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, he was sorry that it had been thought worth while to advert to any thing that had passed between himself and the honourable mover; and he would have said nothing about the matter, had it not been that his silence might lead the house to imagine that he really had encouraged the honourable gentleman in his proceedings in this business. In fact, he had dissuaded him from becoming a candidate for that, of which he (Mr. J.) was set down as the representative, and afterwards from following up these charges. He did not say, however, that these were fundamentally wrong, but he thought this proceeding, under all the circumstances, inexpedient, both as far as regarded the honourable gentleman and himself. His own reasons for not coming forward with any such charges were, first, the impossibility which he foresaw of procuring redress for the wrongs of a prince of India, (the nabob of Oude) to whom he was much attached, which attachment, perhaps, rendered him incapable of conducting the affair with impartiality; secondly, the suspicions that might arise, that he could not judge fairly and candidly in the case of lord Wellesley; and, thirdly, the treachery of which the Rajah of Bhurtpore had been guilty, almost to an unparalleled extent. He did not deny this, but he asked, where was the wisdom or policy of making a treaty with this very person on whom no dependence whatever could be placed? How came the ceded fortresses and the money to be returned? It was because lord Cornwallis saw the futility of such treaties, and was resolved to abandon them, if possible. He gave up their lands, he gave up their money, he would give up any thing to such persons, provided they would agree not to burthen us with their friendship.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* said, that as the hon. mover, in anticipating the contents of the papers for which he moved, had made his assertions pretty sturdily, he was not sorry to hear from his noble friend (lord Temple) assertions of a contrary nature as sturdily, and at least as roundly delivered. He must allow that the hon. mover had had the candour to distribute among the members of the board of control, a number of papers respecting which he moved; but from the great mass of them, they had not had time to profit by this candour. He should, however, individually, as an humble member of

* A reference to the official documents, respecting our relations with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, *will* shew the perfect accuracy of the noble lords statement. Ed.

of the board of control, say that he saw no objections to granting the papers; his private feelings would rather induce him to second the motion than to oppose it, for he felt convinced, that when the papers were produced, they would exhibit a great many amiable qualities in the character of lord Wellesley, which many gentlemen were then unwilling to give him credit for. They would shew, that to this very rajah he had exercised an extraordinary forbearance, and an unexampled moderation. Without meaning to oppose the motion, he should just observe, that he doubted whether a sufficient parliamentary ground had been assigned for it. It did not appear to him proper, that any member should move for a vast mass of papers merely to fish out some cause of complaint which they did not know of before. As for the declaration of hostilities against the rajah, no such paper did exist: there never was a declaration of hostilities, but the war began by the cannon of the Fort of Deeg firing upon the British army, and protecting the retreat of Holkar. It was at a time when the rajah was writing the most friendly letters to lord Wellesley, and saying in the oriental cant, "make me happy by your letters," that he was conspiring with the enemies of the company, to expel the British from India. Nothing would be more demonstrable and unequivocal than the perfidy of this rajah, whom the hon. mover now extolled so highly. As soon as we had met a disaster under Col. Monson, this faithless prince chose that moment not only to violate his treaties, but to conspire the utter destruction of that power for which he professed so much friendship, and to which he owed so much obligation. The manner in which the governor-general gained information of his treachery, was most unquestionable. A confidential agent of his at Maturah first informed the British resident of it, and about a week afterwards a vakeel was taken, with the correspondence, which went to the whole extent that had been stated. Notwithstanding this certain information of the treachery of this prince, lord Wellesley was still inclined to impute it to intriguers and evil advisers, and did not give directions to go to war with him for above eight months afterwards, and not until actual hostilities had been committed on the part of that prince against our troops, who were pursuing Holkar in the neighbourhood of the fort of Deeg. He concluded, by declaring that, in his opinion, no blame could attach to lord Wellesley for the failure of the treaty which he had made, and to which, doubtless, he wished to adhere.

Mr. *Paull* decidedly affirmed, that he had once experienced an act of justice from lord Wellesley, but never an act of favour; that in India, his situation had been such, that the smiles of lord Wellesley could not benefit him, that his frowns could be of no detriment.*

Mr. *Wellesley Pole* said, he did not

* Mr. Paull is his own best expositor. We beg leave to submit to the reader, the following letter from him to major (now colonel) Malcolm, late private secretary to lord Wellesley, written from the capital of the Nabob of Oude, where Mr. P. then resided. It will afford an explanation of the above speech, which, as Mr. Paull must allow to be just, the reader will, no doubt, deem satisfactory.

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not wish to take any share in the discussion of this subject; he had only to say, that the noble Marquis, and all those who were connected with him, had but one wish, and that was that the whole of his conduct should be examined as closely as possible, and the whole system of the government of India under his direction canvassed with care; for which reasons he trusted there would be no objection to granting these papers, and others which he intended to move for, provided their production would not be inconvenient to the board. Anxious as he was, however,

My Dear Sir, *Lucknow, Feb. 9th, 1803.*

I have not troubled you with any letter since I had the happiness of seeing you in Calcutta. I am fully aware how much your time is occupied with real business, and I am unwilling to appear obtrusive. I trust, however, you will believe, that I retain and ever shall, a very sensible impression of your kindness to me, and of the very important service you rendered me. To your zeal I attribute my being now at Lucknow; for I feel, and believe, that without your support, I must have been recalled, when the Nabob *so unexpectedly and unaccountably remonstrated against my being allowed to return to his dominions.* As THE MOST PERNICIOUS CONSEQUENCES must have attended a compliance with the very unjust request of his highness, I feel a proportionate degree of obligation to you, and a sense of gratitude that nothing can diminish. Interested as you have shown yourself in my welfare, it will give you pleasure to hear, that ever since I was *restored* to the good graces of the Nabob, he always treats me when we meet, which by the bye is seldom, with great attention and kindness, and that I consequently carry on my *extensive* concerns *quietly* and *unmolested*; *I live mostly with colonel Scott*, and unless on days of state, and ceremony, I have nothing to do with the Nabob or his court. After the flattering approbation of four successive residents, and conscious that I had never given the Vizier any cause of complaint, the knowledge of his application, *which I did not learn until some time after my reaching Lucknow*, could not fail to excite my utmost astonishment. However, the application was suggested by others, and I shall not trouble you now, with the *plan that was laid for my undoing*. I am convinced since, the Nabob has felt both shame and sorrow for his ill-founded rancour against me. He has often, subsequently, attempted an intimacy, from which I have as invariably shrunk, for *he is a very dangerous*, and, I believe, *a very bad man*.

Knowing with what satisfaction his excellency the governor-general, *on all occasions, remedies any injuries that are made known to him*, I some time ago took the liberty (which perhaps I ought not to have done) of addressing his lordship directly, pointing out a very serious and extensive injury that I experience, in common with others, from the conduct of the government custom masters, but which was, and is, most particularly injurious to me, from the *magnitude of my exports* from Oude. I presume to trouble you with a copy of my letter, and you will add to the many obligations I owe you, if, at a spare moment, you would give me your advice and opinion as to the proper channel for again representing the grievances I labour under, and which are increased in a ten-fold degree lately; indeed, so vexatious, heavy, and arbitrary, are the exactions at Ghauzipour, where no rate of valuation of any kind is defined, that they almost compel me to stop business altogether; and any direct complaint against Mr. Rider would only render things worse.

I sincerely hope and trust, that I have not offended his excellency in the mode I adopted in transmitting my address to his lordship. Colonel Scott, to whom I submitted it, thought it out of his department; and my friend, Sydenham, acquainted me that direct communications to lord Wellesley were the best. If, therefore, I have offended, it was most unintentional: FOR SENSIBLY DO I FEEL THE OBLIGATIONS I AM UNDER TO HIS EXCELLENCY, (LORD WELLESLEY) AND FOR WHOM I HAVE ONLY SENTIMENTS OF GRATITUDE AND PROFOUND RESPECT.*

(Signed) JAMES PAULL.

* Mr. Paull has very happily exemplified *his* sense of *gratitude*, by becoming the public *accuser* of lord Wellesley, and his "*profound respect*" for his lordship, by heaping upon him the most opprobrious epithets. ED.

however, for the production of these papers, for the purpose of preparing for a discussion which he wished to promote, he had so much regard for the regularity of the proceeding of parliament, that he should not persist in asking for them, if irregular to grant them. He was confident that the more the conduct of the noble marquis was examined, the more it would be approved; but should the house, upon enquiry, be of another opinion, of which he had not the most distant idea, neither he nor any other person would attempt to screen him; but what he asked for the noble marquis was this; that the nature of the charge to be exhibited against him should be stated. The hon. member had this day given notice of laying ground before the house on Friday, of some fresh charge against the marquis Wellesley. The noble lord near him had asked what that charge was? to which the hon. gentleman had given no answer. He begged leave to request that the hon. member would now declare what the charge was he meant to make on Friday; for if he did not state that, how could the members who took the most immediate interest in the discussion, know what they were come to meet? He could not conceive how any difficulty could occur in giving this information. What was to be the situation of those who were most directly interested in the character of the noble marquis, if they were to come down to the house, day after day, to hear an attack, without being prepared to meet it? He trusted the house would feel that he was not asking any thing unreasonable. It would have been impossible for the house to have been prepared for the exhibition the honourable gentleman had been pleased to make that night, if they had not had some previous intimation of what it was he intended to bring forward. It was, therefore, equally impossible that they should be prepared for Friday, unless the honourable gentleman would let them know what charge it was that he was to bring forward on that day. As for the case of his noble relation, he committed it with confidence to the house, and to the country.

Mr. *Paull* said, the house would do him the justice to acknowledge, that on every occasion he was ready to answer any question, that was civilly put to him; that he refused to answer the noble lord, (Temple) as he should always do, when his manner and mode of putting a question was rude and improper. To the relation of the noble lord (Wellesley) he was ready to say, that the next charge he should bring forward, was for the assumption of the rights and revenues of the nabob of Surat. The question was then put, and the several papers were granted.

March 14.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* rose, pursuant to notice, to move for the production of a document of the highest national importance in his estimation, with a view to pu government and the house in pos session of a most material fa with regard to the commerce India. To enable his majesty ministers to take prospective me sures upon the subject of Indi it appeared to him essentially n cessary that they should be ma acquainted with the proportion the commerce of that territory, which neutrals had contrived possess themselves. That propo tion struck his mind, and he b lieve

lieved, when known, it would equally strike that of any thinking man in the country, to be most extraordinary and unfair, when compared to that enjoyed by the subjects of this country, commonly denominated private traders; nay, even by the India company themselves. Upon considering this comparison, it would be seen what return was made to Great Britain for the price she had paid for the purchase of our Indian territory; for the expense incurred in maintaining it; and for the anxiety generally existing with respect to its concerns. The fact was, the British share of Indian commerce was a very inadequate recompence for the quantity of population and wealth which Great Britain was annually in the habit of expending for the support of our dominion in India; for the constant drain upon every class of our population, to administer the various branches of civil and military government of those territories; for the original and subsequent contributions of capital for the company's trade, and for the diversion of so great a portion of our naval strength in the external protection of India against the natural enemy of our commerce and power. Foreigners enjoyed a share of this trade, which, compared with our own, the company's and private traders included, bore a proportion of not less, he was certain, than three to one. By this statement he would not be understood as wishing to excite any complaints on the part of the private traders; and still farther was it from his view to attach any blame to the India company, for the toleration of neutral commerce. The fault was not theirs; for, several of the neutral powers had possessions in India, before we ourselves obtained any footing in that quarter. By treaty some of them enjoyed the right of trade with our territory; and some possessed territories of their own.—Nothing was more opposite to his wish, than the exclusion of neutral traders from India; and those which were in amity with Great Britain, could not be excluded without a breach of treaty. The attempt, indeed, at such exclusion, would be highly impolitic at any time, but particularly so at present. For, if the capital laid out in India by foreign traders, were withdrawn, our Indian manufacturers would be comparatively unemployed, because there would be no sufficient market for their produce, and of course our revenue must suffer. Foreign capitals he conceived to be now the principal support of the revenues and circulation of British India. But, whence came the capital, disposed of in India by the Americans and other neutral traders, was another question; whether any, or what the proportion of this capital, which consisted principally of specie, did or did not find its way from this country, through circuitous channels, in consequence of the limited allowance granted, to a rather comparative discountenance of our own private traders, might become a matter for consideration. How far the conduct of the India company towards those who were engaged in the private trade was fair, or politic, might also be enquired into. But, at present, his object simply was, that the document he referred to should be laid before the house, and it would be for the house itself, or for ministers, to consider whether any proceeding should hereafter be founded upon it. The document itself was of the utmost consequence,

quence, even as an article of information, to which it was essentially material that gentlemen should turn their minds. A communication which he had lately received from a gentleman unconnected with the state of Indian commerce, forcibly impressed his mind with the propriety of calling the attention of parliament and the country to this question. According to this gentleman's statement, which of course was not official, but who had recently arrived from India, and who was not himself a commercial man, the proportion which the neutral trade bore to ours, was equally matter of astonishment and alarm. It appeared that in the harbour of Calcutta alone, there were in the year 1800-1, no less than twenty-six American vessels; in 1802-3, thirty-two ditto; in 1803-4, twenty-seven ditto; and in the last year twenty-nine; together with ten Portuguese, two Danish, and one Swedish. This was evidently a most inordinate proportion of the India trade. But the value of this commerce might be estimated, from this circumstance, that in the year 1804, the sum paid for only six articles of commerce at Calcutta alone, amounted to no less than three millions. The bullion imported into Bengal by those neutrals, during the four last years, exclusive of that laid out by the India company, exceeded nineteen millions of dollars, and the importations of last year alone, amounted to 5,300,000. The importance of laying such a document in an official shape, must be obvious to every commercial and political man. He was induced to bring it forward solely from public motives, and not at all with a view to urge the private traders to press their complaints at present. Their best course would be, in his judgment, to leave their case entirely to the consideration of his majesty's ministers, in the hope, which no doubt was well founded, that as soon as leisure permitted, they would attend to that important question. At the same time, he felt that the document for which he proposed to move, would furnish the strongest grounds in favour of the private traders, and of course in favour of the best interests of the country. After some remarks on the facility with which the knowledge could be furnished, which it was the object of his motion to obtain, as lists of the arrivals and departures of shipping were published monthly in India, and as the duties were collected *ad valorem*, the hon. gent. concluded with moving, "That there be laid before this house, lists of all ships and vessels navigating under Portuguese or other European colours, and American, which have entered inwards, and cleared outwards from the ports of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Columbo, Surat, and Prince of Wales's island, and the subordinate custom-houses thereof, from the official year 1800-1 inclusive, to the latest period received; together with their tonnage, and the value of their respective cargoes, so far as the same can be made out.—Also, of all British shipping, not chartered in Europe, which have cleared out from those ports for London during the same period."

Mr. *Francis.* — I presume, sir, it is hardly necessary to second such a motion as the present. A return of the value of exports and imports of tonnage, shipping, and cargoes, is a mere custom-house document, a thing of course, perpetually

petually moved for in this house, even without notice, and never refused or disputed. I rise now, sir, for another purpose. The facts, stated by the worthy alderman, and the general conclusions, which he appeared to draw from them, are certainly of great importance in many views; though chiefly in a commercial sense.—But, as this particular branch of the British interests in India is rather new to the House of Commons, and even to myself, notwithstanding all the attention I have given to Indian questions, it is not at all unlikely, that many other gentlemen may be as uncertain as I am, whether they perfectly understood him. For that reason, and also to obtain some lights from the worthy chairman of the court of directors, on the same subject, on which no man is better able than himself to give us the clearest information,* I beg leave to re-state some of the propositions affirmed by the honourable alderman. If I have at all mistaken his meaning, I am sure he will have the goodness to set me right. In the first place, however, it may be of use, not only now but hereafter, to revive and establish one fundamental truth, which never yet, I believe, was disputed by any man who knew any thing of the matter; and, therefore, fit to be kept in view in all future discussions of the commercial interests of India, which in effect are our own. It is, sir, that in any intercourse purely commercial between India and Europe, the relative circumstances of the two parties is such, that the balance of trade merely, must be, from the nature of their respective wants, immensely in favour of the natives of India. The inference from this position is obvious and natural. If England had nothing to consider, in its connection with India, but the duties of a sovereign, or even the profit of a proprietor; if this house, for example, were king of Bengal, I say that, in that character, it would be their essential interest to open all the ports of that country to all the ships and merchants of Europe indiscriminately. I hold it to be little less than impossible for such trade to exist without a constant balance in specie, more or less, being actually paid by the European merchant, for Indian produce or Indian manufacture. The truth of this proposition is not affected by the amount of supplies now sent out for the use of Europeans, and which have nothing to do with the natural consumption of the country. I have stated this opinion, with many arguments to support it, long ago to the court of directors,* in the following terms:—"There is reason to presume, that this was the policy of the ancient government; or why did they encourage every European nation to frequent their ports by exempting their export and import trade from duties?" I do not mean to go farther into any general considerations of this kind at present. Whether we like it or not, a time will come, when they must be resumed. I shall never meddle with them, if I can avoid it. The subject is not within my reach. What I aim at now is to obtain information, and chiefly concerning some matters of fact, to which the hon. alderman has alluded. He says, "that, in 1804, the sum paid by neutrals, for only six articles, at Calcutta alone, amounted to three millions; that the bullion im-

* In his minute of December, 1776, in the Revenue department.

imported into Bengal, by those neutrals, exclusive of that laid out by the India company, exceeded nineteen millions in dollars, and that the importations of last year alone, amount to 5,300,000*l*."— In addition to all this importation by neutrals, we know that within a very few late years, the India company have poured into Bengal, and the other presidencies, a supply of specie, not far short of 7 or 8 millions sterling. I cannot precisely state the period, nor the amount, because the return is not before us. More or less however, we are sufficiently certain of the fact. On these facts a question arises, which I am utterly unable to answer. It constitutes a problem, not only beyond the extent of any knowledge I possess, but beyond the reach of my imagination to resolve or account for.— With a teritorial revenue, greatly under-stated at 15 millions sterling a year, and with this immense influx of foreign specie, into Bengal particularly, how does it happen that there is no circulation of specie in Calcutta, or in any of the company's other presidencies or settlements? No, not a rupee. The only medium of circulation, in all those principal places at least, is paper, and paper of the worst quality, and most injurious to the government, that is, company's notes or bonds, or securities,—the name is immaterial,—with a heavy interest, convertible at short intervals into capital. Now, I ask the hon. chairman of the court of directors, for no man is better qualified to instruct the house on this subject, what becomes of all this specie? Is it buried? is it re-exported? or how is it employed? All we know is, that it vanishes and disappears, as fast as it is imported. My next question is, and very material it will be found some day or other, where and how is all this supply of money produced in the first instance? Does it really and *bonâ fide* belong to those neutral powers, under whose flag so great a portion of the foreign trade of India is carried on; not only to the exclusion of British private traders, but, in a considerable degree, even of our chartered company? Is it a question to be thought of with indifference, whether our own West-India islands shall be supplied with the manufactures of our own Bengal, as in fact they are, by American carriers? Is that immense carrying trade to be taken from the industry and navigation of Great Britain, and made over to Sweden, Denmark, and America? I say, you must correct your institutions, if that be the effect of them. Again I ask, with what capital, with whose money, do these foreigners conduct this trade, to and fro, with our proper settlement and colonies? Is it their own, or is it British property? If it be the latter, as I suspect it is, for the most part, why should we transfer the use of such a capital, and the profits of such a trade to foreign carriers? Is it rational that Britain should bear the whole expense and burthen of these distant settlements, and that the only return they can make us should be ingrossed by strangers? The folly of permitting such courses to be continued, is insupportable.—Another question deserves the attention of this house. Where, in fact, are the cargoes of the ships in question, which are destined for Europe, disposed of? Where do they find their principal market? Is it in poor Sweden, or in poor Denmark, or in the ruin of

of Holland, or in the desolation of Germany? I do not believe it: no, sir, the real market is in the British islands. This conclusion at least is obvious and natural; common sense can draw no other from the facts that are known, and from all the appearances, until better information shall be received from sufficient authority.

Mr. *Charles Grant* rose, and said: I do not rise, sir, to advance either of the objections the hon. gent. (Mr. Prinsep) has anticipated to the production of the papers he has called for, nor, indeed, to object at all to his motion, because my opposition to it might be misunderstood; but I wish to submit some general observations on the subject on which these papers are intended to bear. That subject is a very large one, namely, the extent to which the private trade of individuals belonging to this country should be open between Great Britain and India. It is not a subject merely commercial, but involves a great political question; the system by which our Indian empire can be best governed and retained for Great Britain; that is to say, whether the intercourse between the two countries shall be regulated on the principles of our colonial policy, which give all our subjects a free trade between our colonies and the mother country, or by the principles which have hitherto made the East-India company the national organ through which India was to be governed, and the commerce between it and this country carried on.—This, I say, sir, is a great national question, in the determination of which may be involved the preservation of our Indian empire; and, therefore, it is not at all to be decided by any results derived from such statements as the hon. gent. has called for; statements which, merely in a commercial view, would give but partial and imperfect information—insufficient even for just commercial conclusions on the subject.—This great question, sir, will not be best considered by bringing on the discussion of it immediately in this house, with the minds of gentlemen not sufficiently informed or prepared for it. I am humbly of opinion, that is a subject for the mature enquiry and deliberation of his majesty's government; who, after fully informing themselves of facts, and weighing the bearings of the proposed enlargements of private trade upon the safe retention of our Indian empire, will be best enabled to bring just views of this subject before parliament. The present crisis, when the nation is engaged in the most arduous struggle, is not the time for entering into this enquiry. It should be reserved for a more calm and settled period. The question of private trade was before the house some years ago, and an arrangement was then agreed to, which is still in force.—The question must necessarily come into view when the renewal of the company's charter is agitated, and that ought to be in a few years hence, because the charter has now but seven years to run, and the consideration of its renewal should not be delayed till the eve of its expiration. It has been argued, that the trade of India is open to all the subjects of Europe, except those of this country. This has never been a matter within our control. The maritime nations of Europe had the privilege of trading settlements in India, as early as we had, some earlier. Our acquisition of territory there did not deprive them of their rights.

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Some of their settlements were without the pale of our conquests; those which were otherwise, were confirmed to them by treaties; and though the Indian continental settlements of the nations with which we are at war, are at present in our possession, it does not follow that they may not hereafter be restored. Besides, we do not regulate the trade of foreign Europe or America with our Indian territories on the principles of colonial exclusion. We could not do so, or if we did, the nations who have no settlements of their own there, might shut out our Indian goods from their ports. Whenever we are at war, all the neutral nations of Europe and America must carry on the Indian trade with more advantage than either the India company or the individuals of this country can. They save war insurance which we must pay; they otherwise navigate cheaper, and they sail at the most convenient times. The Americans undoubtedly avail themselves of this state of things, and in a way contrary to the letter and spirit of the treaty of commerce and amity made with them in 1794. By that treaty, they were allowed a direct trade between our settlements in India, and their own ports in America. They now carry on a circuitous trade between India and foreign Europe, in violation of that treaty, and they even supply our own colonies with Indian commodities.—The East-India company are not to blame in this. It is a subject for the consideration of government, and they no doubt pay due attention to it. In answer to the enquiries of the hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) I would observe that the quantity of 19 millions of dollars said to have been imported in the course of some years into India, probably includes the export of bullion from this country, making a considerable part of the whole; the rest must come from America and foreign Europe. That there is little circulation of specie in our principal Indian settlements, is true. Paper constitutes the chief circulation there; but in all the interior of our vast possessions, specie only circulates; the manufacturer, the peasant, the trader, can deal with nothing else. A great proportion, therefore, of the imported bullion, being coined into rupees, no doubt, circulates in the interior of our own possessions. But a part, I believe, goes to countries beyond them for the purchase of the productions of those countries, and does not return to us. In answer to the question, where the cargoes brought by foreigners from India are sold? I apprehend in foreign Europe and America.—But to return to the main subject; I must repeat, that no conclusion can be drawn from any insulated document respecting it. It is a very complex subject, and I must deprecate any discussion, or the inference of any important fact from a partial view of it. Since the arrangement made respecting the private trade in 1801, many new facts have been established which the company will have to state; amongst others, that the enlargements since given to the private trade have, with other circumstances of the time, deteriorated the company's sales of Indian goods 30 per cent. Perhaps when the subject comes to be investigated, it may be found that the question between the company and individuals, as it relates to trade, is not entirely a question about lessening the share of neutral nations in the Indian commerce, and increasing

ing ours, but partly a question about transferring to individuals a share of the trade now carried on by the company. In a political view, the question concerning the extent to which individuals shall be allowed to embark in this trade, must be connected with another question far more important,—whether India is to be governed on colonial principles, or by the more restricted system now in force? a question which I conceive involves the safety of our eastern empire.

Mr. *Francis.*—Sir, on one topic only I beg leave to explain myself. I am not at all satisfied with the explanation given by the hon. director, in respect to the specie, which, if it existed, ought to circulate generally through the provinces. He admits that there is little circulation of specie in our principal settlements. But he affirms, "that a great proportion of the imported bullion, being coined into rupees, no doubt circulates in the interior of our own possessions." This solution of the difficulty seems to me full as extraordinary as the difficulty itself. If any great financier was to inform this house that, although there was not a guinea or a shilling to be seen in London, or its neighbourhood, there was a plentiful circulation of both in Scotland, in Yorkshire, and in every part of the kingdom, at the distance of 50 or 60 miles from the capital, what would you think of his veracity or his intellects? Is it physically possible that the blood can circulate at the extremities, and never return to or pass through the heart? But I doubt the fact, and for this plain and unanswerable reason. Admitting that lord Cornwallis could find no money at Calcutta to pay the arrears of the army, still, on the principle of the present explanation, he might have found money enough in the districts. He might have raised such a sum as 200,000l. at least; and then he would not have been reduced to the deplorable necessity of taking that amount a second time in his own life, out of the company's ships, and changing its destination, from the provision of their investment in China to the payment of the army on the frontier of Oude, or on the banks of the Jumna.

Mr. *Brogden* supported the motion, as he thought the whole of this important question should be fully examined. He had himself last session, proposed to bring forward a motion, the same, if not in form at least in substance, with that then under consideration, but had abandoned the idea, as he was not certain of support to give effect to his propositions.

Mr. *Atkins* supported the motion, and suggested the propriety of producing an account of the total value of exports from, and imports into, the East-Indies, distinguishing the share of each nation engaged in the trade.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* had some doubts on the subject of this motion. The hon. director had said, that the production of this paper would not be sufficient to enable the house to form a complete judgment on the whole case, without the production of other documents. If this paper would lead only to an imperfect or premature opinion, he should certainly feel strong doubts of the propriety of granting it. Had the hon. director stated an intention to move for other papers, in order to bring the matter fully and impartially before the house, he for his part could see no reasonable ground of objection

objection to its production; but as the case stood then, he did not think it right to grant any paper that would have the effect of leaving an imperfect impression on the minds of those who should consult it. What appeared was the opinion of the directors, and he could not help thinking, that that house, and the country, was fully willing to give to the judgment of that hon. board all the confidence to which it was entitled. But independently of their opinion, the hon. mover himself had not stated any ground of necessity for the production of this paper, or that he meant to take any proceeding upon it. He had indeed stated the contrary. There was another point connected with this motion which the hon. mover had perhaps in contemplation when he brought it forward: he meant the carrying trade of America. That this subject was now under consideration elsewhere, was tolerably notorious. It was not, he believed, unknown to any one who heard him, that a representation respecting it had been made to his majesty's govt. on the part of the United States. This representation was under discussion, and every necessary information would be sought for; but not, however, from any papers to be laid on the table of this house; not from any document of the nature of that moved for by the hon. gent.; but by application to all those who were most intimately acquainted with the subject at issue. Ministers would look for knowledge to aid their judgment through the proper channels. Among others, the directors of the India company would of course be resorted to: but upon a question of such delicacy and importance, no imperfect document would be trusted to, such as this motion proposed to influence the judgment of that house.

Mr. *Prinsep* stated his only object to be to bring an important fact before the house, out of which a very serious question would naturally arise, namely, whether the subjects of this country had such a share of the profits of the commerce of India, as was sufficient to atone to them for the incumbrance to which they submitted for the maintenance of that territory; and whether, if the system was pursued, the territory would be worth holding? The hon. chairman had stated his opinion to be, that this country could never successfully contend with foreigners in the carrying trade; if so, it followed, that neutrals, with such free access to India as they now possessed, must inevitably carry off all that trade, except the slender portion which the imperial commerce of the company enabled them to support: He happily entertained a more cheering confidence: experience had taught him, that raw materials, produce of various kinds, and coarser commodities than the assortments in which the company traded,—though more bulky and therefore more beneficial to the support of our carrying trade,—that those very articles in which foreigners now dealt almost exclusively, might be brought home by British traders in their own smaller-sized and cheaper-equipped vessels, with considerable pr fit to the trader, and to the great advantage of the revenues of this country. A sufficient supply of the raw instead of the manufactured material, would accelerate the period which he saw approaching, when the natives of India shall be supplied with cloth made here of their own cotton, leaving

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to the mother country all the profits of freight, agency, commission, insurance, and manufacture. All these and many other beneficial results would follow an extension of the privileges of the private trader, if no time was lost in taking up the question to which his motion paved the way. The hon. member felt himself obliged to bend to the high authority on the treasury bench, but still he would contend, that the document he moved for would answer every purpose. If it did not, however, it was easy for the hon. director, or any other person, to move for such further papers as might be deemed necessary. The declining to do so, and still opposing his motion, he could not avoid thinking shewed a disposition to blink the question.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, it was always the wish of his majesty's ministers to give every species of information which could lead to any distinct object or practical conclusion. It would, however, evidently appear improper, that there should be any discussion in that house, upon points of so much delicacy, and which were now the objects of important discussions elsewhere. But as there could not, with propriety, be any discussion in that house, upon those points, he thought it would be the best way of getting rid of the motion by proceeding to the other orders of the day. He, therefore, without any disrespect to the hon. alderman, thought it his duty to move that the other orders of the day be now read.

Lord *Castlereagh* was of opinion, that a commercial question of such magnitude and importance to the interests of India, and of this country, should not be brought before the house on any partial statement. If the question were to be examined by the house, it should be on much more general grounds. The principal reason, however, which made him concur with the noble lord who had moved the order of the day was, that he must most seriously [illegible]ate any discussions in this house, which might at all influence, or prejudice, the discussions upon those points which were now the subject of negotiations carrying on by his majesty's ministers. There would be no use in the production of those papers if no discussion was intended, as it was in the power of any individual member to get the information that those papers would convey, either from one of the directors, or any person connected with the East-India company. He hoped his majesty's ministers would proceed in those important negotiations with all that temper and forbearance which was due to a country whose interests had been so long connected with ours; and at the same time with that firmness and decision which were due to the rights and interests of this country, and without which our commercial relations could not subsist, either with America or any other country. He should wish this subject to be left to his majesty's ministers in the most comprehensive manner. There was one idea, however, he should venture to suggest, which if he had continued longer in office, he had intended to have carried into effect. He thought there might be an account of the Indian exports, imports, and the amount of the carrying trade, laid before parliament annually, in the same way that the account of the exports and imports of Great Britain were. Such an

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annual account would give to the house information of great importance with respect to India.—Mr. Alderman Prinsep, after a few words of explanation, withdrew his motion.

March 11.

Mr. *Paull* moved, that an order of the house, of the 27th of Jan. last, for the production of certain papers relative to the management of Affairs in India, be read; which being done, the hon. member stated, that upwards of 9 months ago, he had moved for certain papers, which he intended to make the foundation of charges against the marquis Wellesley; on the 27th of Jan. last, he had moved for other papers of a similar nature; and on the 1st Feb. an hon. member (Mr. Wallace) had moved for certain other papers, with a view of vindicating the noble marquis from the charges which he (Mr. Paull) intended to bring against him. Without imputing it as any blame to the present ministers, he had to state it as a matter of complaint, that though the papers which he had moved for had been ordered so long previous to the others, yet that those papers which formed the noble marquis's defence, were in the hands of the members of the house, while those which he had moved for, and which formed the ground of charge against the noble marquis were, in a great measure, not yet on the table of the house. He therefore moved, "that returns of the papers contained in the order of the 27th Jan. be made forthwith."

Mr. *Wallace* said, he had repeatedly stated to the hon. gent. the reason why these papers had not been before produced. At the time the changes in administration were likely to take place, and that, of course, there was to be a great alteration in the board of control, the gentlemen who composed that board thought it better to leave the papers, collected as they were, for the inspection of those who were to succeed them in office, and to allow them to exercise their discretion on them. With respect to the papers for the defence, which were produced before the others, he had only to state that they were collected, and ready for printing, at the time they were moved for, and were, of course, instantly laid before the house.

Mr. *Fox* thought, that if the papers for the defence were produced, and the others kept back, the matter should be explained.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* said, that the papers with respect to Oude, were so voluminous, amounting to 5 or 6 folio volumes, that though they were left ready by the former board of control, yet a considerable time was necessarily consumed by the present board in examining into them, to ascertain whether they could with propriety be laid before the house.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that towards the close of the last session, when these papers were moved for, there was no backwardness, on the part of the board, to bring them forward; but they were so voluminous, that it was impossible it could be done in the course of that session. When, at the commencement of this session, affairs took a different turn, he was not ashamed to say, that, in consequence of the changes which were about to take place in the administration, he, and those who then acted with him, left it to their successors to examine into these pa-

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pers, and consider of the propriety of granting them or not.

Mr. *Creevey* said, the papers would be made out as soon as they possibly could.

Mr. *Kerr* reprobated the idea of gentlemen moving for papers of such magnitude, which were useless, inasmuch as few gentlemen read them. He reprobated the practice of publishing papers relative to the affairs of India, under pretence of criminating the marquis Wellesley, as it disclosed to the enemy much information which might hereafter prove mischievous to our Indian possessions.—The question was then put, and the return ordered to be made forthwith.

Mr. *Paull* then rose and said:—Sir, I shall trespass very shortly on the patience of the house, and I shall abstain, as much as possible, from any mention of the noble marquis, who is the object of my accusation: but, sir, if I abstain from applying the terms I think the conduct of that noble lord towards the nabob of Surat merits, it will proceed from no dread of the violence and asperity of a noble lord under me (Temple), who is so ready on every occasion, to extend the broad shield of his protection, and that of his connections, to the character of the late governor-general of India.—Before I proceed to lay the grounds for the charge I have given notice of, I must detain the house one moment, and call their attention to the grounds of charge already on your table, which will show, that the papers I am this night to move for, are most essential, not only to establish the oppression and injustice towards the nabob of Surat, but to prove a leading feature in the system which lord Wellesley acted upon from the hour of his arrival, until, by his removal, he was prevented from further mischief, from further acts of injustice and oppression.—There are now, sir, the grounds of four charges against that noble lord before the house; the dethroning of the nabob of the Carnatic, the seizure of Oude, the illegal appointment of Mr. Wellesley, and that relating to the war and peace with the rajah of Bhurtpore. The first was brought forward by a right hon. gent. (Mr. Sheridan) who is not now in the house, but who stands pledged to the house and the country to proceed in the enquiry. His character is so high, his acquaintance with this subject so extensive, and the part he has taken in the investigation of Indian offences so well known, so honourable, and so conspicuous, that it would be presumptuous in me to bring them to the recollection of the house. I shall not anticipate the contents of the Oude papers, or say any thing more as to the appointment of the hon. Mr. Wellesley, than that the declared, decided opinion of the Directors is on my side, both as to the illegality and the expediency of the appointment; nor would I now revert to the conduct of the war against the rajah of Bhurtpore, and the peace with that prince, but to say, that, let his conduct be proved to have been ever so treacherous, ever so abandoned, ever so perjured, I retract not a tittle of my accusation against lord Wellesley, for that war and for that peace.—By the papers that are before the house, the dethronement of the heir of the house of the ancient and illustrious princes of the Carnatic is defended, on the score of the treasons committed by their allies of the English nation; the

seizure

seizure of Oude, and the appointment of Mr. Wellesley in consequence of the expediency of the measures, and the war in Bhurtpore by its justice, and the peace, as a boon from the humanity of the late governor-general.—If the papers are granted this night that I shall move for, they will contain the proofs of the unjust assumption of the rights and revenues of a high and respectable prince, the representative of many sovereigns, the faithful, unsuspected ally of the English nation, against whom treason nor rebellion, nor treachery, nor the stale plea of expediency, can be urged in vindication of the acts.—I shall allude, sir, to nothing that has fallen from any hon. or right hon. gent. in this house, on any former occasion; but, sir, I must say, and state to this house, that declarations are abroad, and in this house, that have excited serious alarms, dismay, sorrow, and I would almost say despair, in the minds of every true friend to liberty, of every friend to justice. It is said, sir, that his majesty's ministers are to set their faces against retrospects of every kind as to India; this, sir, I never can credit: but should even that be the case, whilst I must deeply regret the circumstance as being fatal to the ends of justice, yet still I shall proceed, in a cause which has lost me many powerful friends, made me many powerful enemies; a cause in fact in which I have lost every thing except my consistency and my integrity. My object is retrospect, and again to show to bleeding, irritated India, and to Europe, whose eyes are fixed on our decision, that if offences have been committed in India, that they will not pass unpunished. For what, sir, I ask, was the emaciated, worn-out Mr. Hastings brought to the bar of the house of lords? Was it, sir, to inflict a punishment on that gent. worn out by a 33 years' residence in a tropical climate? That certainly, sir, was one object, but trifling and contemptible, compared to the other grand objects that the illustrious characters had in view who managed that impeachment. They, sir, proclaimed aloud that their object was example; that their object was, to warn all future Indian governors from injustice, from oppression, from aggrandizement at the expense of British faith and honour; they were to hold out to the latest posterity an example, that no talents, however great, no character however amiable in some respects, would shelter the oppressors of the weak, and the invaders of the defenceless. In consequence of such principles, was Mr. Hastings brought to a trial.—Exclusive of the acts in your statute books, the impeachment of Mr. Hastings formed a new system for Indian government; that impeachment, sir, was a solemn declaration of the opinions of the representatives of this nation; and on that system, the ever-to-be-lamented lord Cornwallis acted; he scorned to enrich himself or his employers, at the expense of British faith and honour; and whilst he lay expiring at Ghauzipore, he could say with truth, that the prince or the peasant of Hindûstan, from him never received injustice; from his acts, no Indian had ever cause to put on mourning. His worthy and hon. successor, lord Teignmouth, followed the same system: but, sir, with these noblemen your system ended; and what system was adopted by a nobleman who was a member of this house when the impeachment was voted,

voted, I shall not attempt at present to describe; suffice it to say, the Carnatic has been seized, Oude divided, Furruckabad usurped, Surat invaded; Bundilcund, Rohillcund have exchanged their masters: the half of the Mahratta empire was added to the English possessions; in short, from Cape Comorin across to the Bay of Cambay, from the Bay of Cambay to Balasore roads, from alasore roads to the frontiers of Tartary, hardly a spot is to be seen on the map of India that does not bear the bloody characteristic mark of the East-India company; and still no retrospect, it is said, is to be had, as to the causes of the fatal events which we so much deplore.—If such, sir, is to be the decision of this house, it is only for me to bow with deference and respect to that decision; but if hope is to be conveyed to India, and if a chance of prosperity can be entertained, I hope the house will grant the papers I have this night moved for; and if they constitute crime, that this house will show to India and Europe, that the same principles that induced the decision in the case of Mr. Hastings, still survive in the British house of commons. I shall conclude, sir, with moving, "That there be laid before this house; 1. Copies of all letters and enclosures between the late gov. gen. marquis Wellesley and the Bombay govt. relative to the privileges of the East-India company in the city of Surat, previous to the assumption of the rights and revenues of a prince called the nabob of Surat, from 1798 to the conclusion of a treaty with that prince in 1800—2. Copies of the original draft, or drafts of treaties forwarded from Bengal to the hon. J. Duncan, governor of Bombay, to be entered into by the nabob of Surat; with the instructions for carrying the same into effect.—3. Copy of the treaty between the company of the nabob of Surat in 1800.—4. Copy of the correspondence between the governor of Bombay and the chief or resident at Surat, relating to the assumption of Surat—5. Copy of the minutes of conference between the governor of Bombay, and the nabob of Surat, his buckshee (a minister of state) or other of his highness's officers or relations during the negotiation.—6. A return of the troops doing duty in the castle of Surat, with the distribution of the several guards in Jan. 1800.—7. Copies of orders for the embarkation of troops from Bombay to Surat, from Jan. 1800, until the conclusion of the treaty; and of all orders from the commanding officers at Bombay to the officers commanding at Surat during the same period.—8. A return of the troops doing duty in the castle and town of Surat, with their distribution of the several guards, &c. during the negotiation of the treaty."

Lord *Temple*, while he protested against such voluminous productions without any specific reason being assigned, declared, that on the part of his noble friend, the marquis Wellesley, he courted the enquiry. In the present instance, the papers were moved for, merely for the purpose of fishing out a charge against his noble friend. He was, however, anxious that the papers should be brought forward, and that the marquis Wellesley's conduct should be investigated; indeed, he conceived, that it would now be doing no more than justice to that noble lord. With regard to Surat, he would state how that place was particularly circumstanced. Previous to 1753, the nabobship of Surat had been, for many

years, in the possession of one family. In 1759, a treaty was made with the then nabob, by which the castle and fleet of Surat were put into the possession of the English; and in 1800, the marquis Wellesley entered into a treaty with the nabob, by which the latter was allowed greater privileges, and a greater extent of territory, than he had had for a considerable time before, together with a yearly stipend of a lack of rupees. The conduct of the marquis with respect to Surat would be found irreproachable.—His lordship then read as part of his speech, a resolution of thanks by the court of directors to marquis Wellesley for the very service which was the subject of the present motion. He concluded by saying, that if the hon. mover had any regard for, and wished to serve and oblige, marquis Wellesley, he would advise him to pursue his enquiry; and, if he had any regard for himself, he would advise him to put his motions in his pocket.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* observed, that when it was said by him, or his noble friend, that they did not mean to oppose the production of the papers, it was not to be understood that they meant more than such papers as were proper to be laid before the house. He then adverted to the transactions concerning Surat, and concluded by informing the house, that when these papers were produced, it would be necessary to bring forward a great many more, the printing of which would take up much time.

Lord *Folkestone* thought there was sufficient ground laid for the motion. It appeared from the statement of the noble lord, that the noble marquis had given something to this prince. If he had done so gratuitously, what right had he to assume such a power to himself? If he gave this to the prince of Surat, he must have taken it from some person else.

Sir *Theophilus Metcalfe* rose, and said:—As the noble lord and my right hon. friend have correctly stated the relative situation between the company and the nabob of Surat, it will not be necessary to go over the same ground: I will therefore confine myself to pointing out how far the subject of the hon. gent.'s charge against the noble marquis is connected with Guickwar. And here it may be necessary to state, for the information of those gentlemen who have neither time nor inclination to look into Indian subjects, that the Guickwar is one of the Mahratta chiefs who hold a part of Guzzerat as a tributary to the Peishwa. In 1780, general Goddard, who commanded a Bengal detachment on the western side of India, conquered a part of Guzzerat, and placed Futty Sing, the head of the Guickwar family, in possession of the country, declaring him independent of the Poonah Durbar. Mr. Anderson was sent, in 1781, to conclude a peace with the Mahrattas, and experienced some difficulty with the Madajee Scindia, about the proposed independency of Futty Sing; but it was at last settled, and the country ceded to him by gen. Goddard was guaranteed by the 8th article of the treaty of Sulbey, subject only to the peishcush, or quit-rent. On the death of Futty Sing, two brothers started as competitors; and on that occasion, sir John Shore contended that the company had a right to interfere, and were bound to support the Guickwar, in consequence

sequence of the treaty of Sulbey. Gov. Duncan in 1800, having obtained from the nabob of Surat the sovereignty of that city for the India company, applied to the Guickwar to relinquish his claim of choute, or tribute, and grant to the company 10 or 12 miles of territory round the city of Surat (to prevent the disputes which had frequently occurred from contending parties; and which Govindkow readily consented to, with warm professions for the English, and made no other terms for the cession than to request he might have a hundred Bombay sepoys as an honorary body guard. When this cession was made, it was thought prudent not to take possession of the country, as it might start a difficulty in the negotiation then carrying on at Poonah by the governor-general. Govindkow dying, the eldest son took possession of the musnud. He was soon dethroned by his brother; who in a short time was displaced by the officers of the father, and the eldest son again appointed to the succession, with a minister to manage the affairs of the Guzzerat. At this period both parties courted the British power, and a voluntary offer was made to the Bombay government, to confirm the cession of territory, and the relinquishment of choute which had been formerly made by the father. The consequence of these proceedings is, that the city of Surat, which contains upwards of 800,000 inhabitants, and had for many years been in a state of constant broils and disturbance, from the city being under the government of four parties, the Nabob, the English, the Peishwa, and the Guickwar, is now placed entirely under the servants of the India company, who preserve internal tranquillity, and the city is increasing fast in riches and population.—Now, sir, I beg leave to ask the house, whether, in these transactions, the slightest blame can be cast on the governor-gen. who had little more to do than to approve or disapprove, the measures of the Bombay government? What has been stated by the noble lord is perfectly true, that for upwards of fifty years the company have invariably interfered in the appointments of all the nabobs of Surat; and the nabob set up in 1790, sat on the musund for ten years, without any approval from the mogul, and held his power entirely under the authority of the Bombay government; and I venture to assure the house, that if they peruse all the records of the India house, that they will not find any matter that can throw more light upon the subject of Surat, than the members present are now in possession of. The hon. gent. who stands forward as the accuser of lord Wellesley, has now laid two charges upon the table, namely, the business of Bhurtpore and of Surat; the house will judge how far they deserve the name of charges. What I complain of is, the extraordinary mode of proceeding in this attack. The hon. gent. was no sooner seated, than he gave notice of his intention to accuse the late governor-general of certain offences, and moved for papers respecting Oude; but, passing them by, he calls for papers of finance, to prove the company had violated an act of parliament. Finding this ground not tenable, he returns again to the marquis, in the manner the house has lately witnessed. The greatest enemy of lord Wellesley will admit his government was marked by many instances of zeal, energy, talent, and ability, which never were excelled in that

part

part of the world, and I fear never will be equalled. To this I must add, that the breath of scandal never tainted his character with the slightest suspicion against the most incorrupt honour and integrity. It is a fact known to all India, that he quitted the government with as clean hands as he took possession of it. Hard, very hard, is it upon such a character, after having for six or seven years executed the arduous duties of the most consequential office a subject can be placed in, to the best of his judgment, with no other object in view than what he conceived would eventually turn out to the benefit of his employers, to the advantage of his country, and finally lead to the permanent peace and tranquillity of India; to find himself assailed on his arrival with such charges as have this day been dwelt on by the hon. member! Let not the house conclude, from what they have heard, that no enquiry has been made into the conduct of the late governor-general. The board of commissioners, and the court of directors, have not been neglectful of this part of their duty. Every transaction of the government-general has been minutely scrutinized and investigated. If the noble lord who was lately at the head of the board, was in his place, I should with confidence appeal to him, whether in the course of the voluminous dispatches sent to India, there appeared any favour, partiality, or affection? The executive body of the India company, where the law has placed the power and right to censure or approve, have with firmness expressed their sentiments on every measure that did not meet their approbation; now, sir, under these circumstances, I cannot bring myself to believe, that if there were any grounds for further inquiry, either with a view to a civil suit or criminal prosecution, the king's ministers, or the court of directors, would have left so important a business to the honourable gentleman who has undertaken the task. But, supposing the late administration had felt a desire to screen lord Wellesley; is it likely that the new administration will follow their example, if, when they have time to look over the records, they see cause for further proceedings? And in that case, an enquiry will come forward with that weight of character which belongs to them, and under the influence of official situation: and in such an event there will not be a dissenting voice to any investigation they may think proper to propose to parliament. With respect to the production of the papers moved for, I shall only say, that they ought to be carefully examined before they are produced to the public eye.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* stated in explanation, that a considerable portion of the contents of the papers, if the motion should be carried, ought to be withheld, and suggested the propriety of giving the board of control a discretionary power to that effect.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he felt disposed to give every credit to marquis Wellesley for the energy with which he had conducted his Indian administration; but he could not help feeling also, and the impression was augmented by the grounds upon which the production of papers was opposed, that there was such a presumption of delinquency made out, as would justify him in voting for the motion.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* thought himself called on to notice, in a few words,

words, what had fallen from the noble baronet. If the hon. baronet meant that he had come into office without any improper desire to serve either one or other party, he was correct. If he were called on to state, taking the system pursued by the two noble marquisses, Wellesley and Cornwallis, as general principles, which of the two he liked best? he should say, the latter, as being most agreeable to the principles laid down by this house, and most to the credit and benefit of the East-India company. If again he were asked as to his opinion of the delinquency of marquis Wellesley, he should say he had none. He had not yet formed it, and if he had, this was not the time to declare it. When the time came, he should act as the case seemed to require. The right hon. secretary defied any one to prove, that he had either in or out of parliament, either directly or indirectly, given encouragement to the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) to proceed in his present endeavours to obtain a parliamentary enquiry: he took some share of blame to himself for having, of late years, paid too little attention to India affairs. With regard to enquiries, tending to crimination, he thought it, generally speaking, better for the ministry to abstain from interfering, and to leave the task to other members of the house. He thought such questions were best discussed when no weight was lent to the accusation, except what it derived from the individual who preferred it, and from the cause of truth.

Mr. *Huddlestone*, after what had fallen from an hon. baronet in the course of this debate, thought it proper to state, that the court of directors of the East-India company had no objection to the production of any papers that might be thought necessary to an enquiry into the late proceedings in India, and that they did not apprehend any ill consequences from the publication of the papers moved for. He was induced to say this, lest it should be supposed, that what had been so strongly expressed by the hon. baronet, respecting marquis Wellesley, were the sentiments of the directors, with respect to the administration of that nobleman.

Sir *T. Metcalfe* said, he had not been delivering his opinion in the house as a director of the East-India company, but exercising his judgment as a private member of parliament.

Mr. *Robert Thornton* said, that from the manner in which the hon. baronet had expressed himself, he might well be construed to be delivering a more extended opinion than his own. He had, however, stood alone in the court of directors, as the panegyrist of marquis Wellesley, whose conduct the directors disapproved, and considered extremely detrimental to the interests of the company. The circumstance of the court having been obliged to send out another noble marquis, to remedy the injurious measures of his predecessor, was a sufficient circumstance to prove the necessity of an enquiry. There were several papers connected with the late Indian administration, which ought to be before the house, and which the East-India company would be very happy to see investigated, particularly one, to which he could not at present give a proper title, but it was expressive of the opinion of the court of directors on the government of India. It was intended to have sent out this paper to which he

he alluded, but its transmission had been prevented by high authority. After the suspicions which were abroad, the house was bound to look the thing in the face, and the country required it.

Mr. *Paull* replied, at considerable length, to the different speakers, and called loudly on the house to notice the protection extended to save lord Wellesley by a part of the administration, (he alluded principally to lord Temple and Mr. H. Addington.) He hoped, he said, the house would notice it, the public he was sure would, and the manner he had been deserted by those who had taken a part formerly to bring this nobleman to justice. But his principal reply was directed to the hon. bart. (sir T. Metcalfe) who had advised him (Mr. Paull) to abandon the prosecution. He stated that not only would he proceed, but that it was known to the right hon. secretary (Mr. Fox) that he had still two charges to prefer, of a most serious nature, against lord Wellesley, for the seizure of Furrukabad, and for profuse, wasteful, unauthorized expenditure of the revenues committed to his charge, and for applying to his own use large sums of the public money, contrary to the act of parliament limitting the allowances of the governor-general to 25,000*l.* per annum, and to the use of the houses of the company abroad. That the single article of "Durbar charges" in the time of extreme distress for money, and all the departments of the service in arrear, exceeded by 100,000*l.* per annum, the most profuse expenditure of any of his predecessors. That the sum squandered away unnecessarily would be found, on investigation, to exceed two millions of pounds sterling. The hon. gent. concluded by saying, that he had hoped many generous minds would have been found, to have shared with him the toils of bringing to justice this nobleman, so highly protected, and that he did not yet despair, after seeing what two directors had stated this evening. However, if left with but one voice more in the house, he would record on the journals of parliament his sense of the conduct of marquis Wellesley; and posterity would see the charges, and enquire into the causes that had prevented his being brought to punishment.

Mr. *Wellesley Pole.* Does the hon. gent. mean to say, that the noble marquis has misapplied the public money for his own advantage?

Mr. *Paull.* I mean to say that he expended large sums of money, contrary to the act of parliament, for his own convenience, his own show, and splendour.

Mr. *W. Pole* felt it necessary to ask the hon. gent. again, whether he meant to state that the noble marquis had diverted the public money to his own private purposes and advantage?

Mr. *Paull* repeated, that his charge was, that the public money was expended for purposes of convenience splendour, and show.

Mr. *W. Pole.* Does the hon. gent. mean to bring forward a charge of peculation? He has stated his intention of making a new charge, and I expect a distinct explanation. This is the first time that the breath of calumny has dared so to accuse marquis Wellesley.

Mr. *Paull* did not mean to accuse the noble marquis of peculation, but repeated his charge, that he had applied the public money for his own convenience, splendour, and show.

Mr

Mr. *W. Pole*. I must understand, then, that the hon. gent. means to say, that the noble marquis has misapplied the public money for public purposes. I can easily conceive that he may mean to say, that too much money has been expended on the palace of Calcutta, or that the guard had been unnecessarily increased; but I still wish to know whether he means to say that marquis Wellesley has used the public money for his own private advantage? The house will feel the justice of my request of a distinct answer to this question.

Mr. *Paull*. I mean distinctly to charge marquis Wellesley with wasteful, profuse, unauthorized, extravagant expenditure of the public money, and with misapplication of the same to purposes contrary to law.

The *Speaker* then put the question on the several motions, for the production of papers, as made by the hon. mover in the early stage of the debate; when

Mr. *H. Addington* proposed as an amendment, that the words, "so far as these various documents may be disclosed, without prejudice to the public service," might be added to the original motion.

Mr. *Paull* thought the object of this amendment, by withholding what the right hon. gent. might chuse to consider state secrets, would be a great impediment to obtaining necessary information.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, he felt jealous of the system of secrecy which was creeping into practice; he hoped this amendment would not be considered as a precedent, as there was no calculating upon the extent of the mischief that might arise from the practice of adding amendments of this kind.

Mr. *H. Addington* replied, that what it was wished to withhold, merely related to certain papers respecting the Indian coast, not relevant to the point intended to be elucidated.—The question as amended was then put and carried.

March 19th.

Mr. *Hiley Addington*, pursuant to his notice of yesterday, rose to make his promised motion respecting the papers that had been lately ordered to be laid before the house, relative to the Rajah of Bhurtpore. It was not his intention to effect in any degree the general nature of that order, or to move for any thing new on the subject. The object of his motion was merely of a verbal nature, and originated, as he conceived, in an omission in the terms of the motion by which the papers had been ordered to be produced. On the general principle that nothing should be laid before the house that might prove prejudicial to the public service and interests, he wished to introduce a restriction to this effect in the said order, as parts of those papers might be highly im-improper to be made public. He did not at the same time make this proposition from any certain conviction that there was any thing improper in those papers, though he had a general impression that it might be so; not having perused them so as to ascertain this circumstance. The right hon. member, without apprehending any opposi ion, rested chiefly on the ground of his motion being not unprecedented; for which purpose, he quoted the terms of the motion made for papers respecting India, also in June 1805, by an hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) now in his place. The order for the production of the papers, relative to the Rajah of Bhurpore, having been therefore read

read, he moved "that the said order may only extend to such parts of the said papers, as may be disclosed without prejudice to the public service.—On the question being put.

Mr. *Francis* rose and said: Mr. Speaker; I flatter myself that the part, which I hold myself bound to take with regard to the present motion, will not be attributed by the right hon. gent. to personal disrespect, or to any doubt about the purity of his intentions. I can assure him that my opposition to it is founded on a very different principle. This declaration is sincere and ought to be unecessary. By yielding to make it, I cannot but feel that I submit to some sort of degradation. It looks like an apology, which no man ought to make, for doing any duty incident to his station, and still more to the trust that belongs to it. Such however is the prevailing fashion of these feeble times. I comply with it now, but I protest against it. The best of us, I fear, have enough to ask pardon for, without requesting to be forgiven for any virtue we have left. But, even in that sense, the solicitation fails. He, who confesses in any form that he has no confidence in himself, will never obtain the confidence of others, and least of all by phrases and protestations. An order was made, on the 11th of this month, for the production of papers relative to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, a person whose country, if he has any, is in the heart of the peninsula of India, and whose name was never heard of in England until we were informed, by a multitude of private letters from lord Lake's head quarters, and from Calcutta, that the commander in chief had laid siege to Bhurtpore, had made five attempts successively to carry the place by storm or assault, had been as often repulsed with an immense slaughter of our troops, particularly of the Europeans, and had at last concluded an accommodation with the Rajah, on worse terms than he might have obtained in the first instance, without a siege, without the loss of one drop of blood, or injury to the honour of the British arms in the eyes of the natives. These are the facts, into which I understand that some enquiry is to be made or proposed hereafter. That question is not before us now. Of course I shall not meddle with it. The object, to which I shall endeavour to draw your attention, is of far other extent and importance, than any thing that concerns the production of these papers. It is the dangerous practice, which has, in fact, prevailed within these two years only, without due consideration, or even notice, but which, if now confirmed upon debate, will be established as a precedent for ever. I mean, sir, the discretion left with the king's ministers, to produce or withhold any part of the papers ordered by this house, or in effect to comply with the order, or to defeat or elude the intention of the house, just as they think fit, or in whatever degree it may suit their own purposes to evade it. No reasonable man, I think, can suspect me of applying so extensive an inference or of imputing so criminal a purpose as this, to the motion immediately before us. The case of the rajah of Bhurpore is too remote, too inconsiderable, and too slightly connected with any personal interest here, to warrant a suspicion that the board of control has an intention or desire to withhold any of the papers, relative to this rajah, which were ordered a week ago. Neither

Neither do I believe that the noble marquis, whose conduct is in question, or any of his friends, feel much concern in the present motion, or that they care at all how it is decided. This, sir, is exactly the situation, in which I should be glad to argue the question: that is, to be at liberty to dismiss the particular case, and to consider nothing but the general precedent. All I desire is, that the house may recollect and remember, that it is sometimes under favourable circumstances, and still oftener in cases, which are thought of no consequence, and pass without observation, that dangerous precedents are established. They are not instantly regarded, because they have no immediate operations, and the remote consequences are not foreseen. But they thrive in silence, and grow under neglect, while they appear to be forgotten. Bad examples are prolific. They increase and multiply, and never fail to bring forth fruit in due season. Bad men will resort to them hereafter, and turn them to purposes which they who originally gave the example, or set the precedent, never thought of.—This is an English, much more than an Indian question The fundamental privileges of this house, and through us the rights and privileges of the commons of this united kingdom are involved in it. The right hon. gent. proposes that the orders already made shall extend to such parts only of the papers in question, as may be disclosed without prejudice to the public service, and this clause or condition, he says, has been attached to every order for Indian papers, that has been made in the present, or in the last session of parliament. It is true, the practice, I believe, began with me, and very much against my will, in the session of 1804, though I did not then weigh the consequences of it so carefully as I ought to have done. I yielded unadvisedly, but not without remonstrance, to a pretention, which I ought to have opposed. The noble lord (Castlereagh), in every successive instance, assured me that he would not consent to any motion for Indian papers, without the addition of this clause. So I submitted to his power against my judgment; because otherwise none of the papers I moved for would have been granted. Since that, the practice has prevailed and gained ground; and, if it be not effectually resisted now, will never be disputed hereafter. A discretion to judge of the extent of the obedience due to an order of this house is said to be necessary to be lodged somewhere out of the house, for fear of prejudice to the public service. By whom is this discretionary power contended for? By the ministers of the crown. In whose hands it is vested? In the same minisers. And who is to judge, or indeed who can possibly know, whether the discretion, so claimed, be really and *bonâ fide* governed, in its application and exercise, by its own pretended principle? Are there no other purposes to which such a power may be applied? What check have you over it? In what form is discretion to be controlled? By what evidence can it be convicted of a criminal abuse? The circumstances must be flagrant indeed, in which a guilty intention can be brought home to any man, whom you leave to his judgment, and who says he has acted to the best of it. No reasonable man would deny, nor in fact was it ever disputed, that cases are possible, in which a general order may include some particular papers, or passages,

which, for the public service, ought not to be disclosed. But are the same ministers, who are to execute the order, the proper persons to be consulted, in the first instance, how far they ought to obey it? It is to be left to them to frame the order upon themselves with such qualifications perhaps, as may enable them to defeat the intention of the house, to suppress the most material evidence, and make it impossible to convict the most notorious offender, while the very persons, who do all this, are sheltered and screened from detection, by their own exceptions grafted on an order, which they ought to obey without reserve? The true parliamentary principle, and which in fact has governed the practice of the House of Commons until very lately, was stated to you, last night, by one of the most virtuous and respectable members that this house possesses; I mean the hon representative of Yorkshire, whom I am sorry not to see in his place. He said that the course to be observed in the supposed case, as it always had been, was, not to trust ministers with the previous right of selection; but to oblige them to come to parliament and state the fact; if they thought that any papers, included in the general order, contained matter of information, which the house itself would not think it right to divulge. Undoubtedly, sir, such cases of necessity require confidence in the executive government. There must be a discretion confided somewhere; and, if the House of Commons does not think this or that ministry fit to be trusted with it, they ought not to suffer such persons to be ministers. A reasonable and necessary confidence would not be withheld. On that side there is no danger. But let it never be forgotten, that jealousy of ministers is a prevailing and almost a fundamental principle of the Hou-e of Commons, and that confidence in them is, in almost every instance, nothing more than a specific exception to the principle. This general reasoning, in my opinion, is strong in itself, and irresistible on its own mere principle. If any man thinks it wants illustration, let him apply it to the case of an impeachment. But first let him call to mind what an impeachment is, in its true parliamentary sense. I say that the capacity of this house to impeach any man, whom they think guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours, is the right hand of the House of Commons, and the most powerful weapon placed in that hand by the constitution of this kingdom, for the defence of all our own rights and privileges in the first instance, and ultimately for the protection of the people. In the ancient parliamentary language of this house, I say, that "an impeachment is virtually the voice of every particular subject of this kingdom, crying out against an oppression, by which every member of that body is equally wounded."* We cannot abdicate this right even for ourselves, without ceasing to be a House of Commons; much less can we abandon the duties attached to the right, without breach of trust to our constituents, and to all the commons of the kingdom. Now, sir, of what avail is it to impeach, if the evidence can be withheld from us, or garbled or selected from us? and that perhaps by the very persons, who are the objects of the prosecution, or by

* See journals of the House of Commons, 26th May, 1679.

by others intimately connected with them in relation, in friendship, or by office, perhaps by their associates, and possibly by their accomplices? These are some only of the consequences to which the present motion, if it should now be made a precedent, is liable. If, with the conviction I feel on the whole of the question, I did not oppose it to the utmost of my power, I should deserve to pass for one of the meanest and basest of mankind, and I should know that I deserved it. I therefore declare, that I shall take the sense of the house on the question, if the right honourable gentleman should persist in pressing it. Nay, I shall not stop there. If the question should be carried, I will take the earliest opportunity, and the most effectual course I can, to bring it again under the consideration of the house.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* said, he had considered his motion so much a matter of course, that if he had in his contemplation any possible objection to it, he should have intruded on the house by stating the grounds on which he made it. It was not the present board of control that made the precedent. They found it, and in a motion made by the hon. gent. himself last sessions. The hon. member had done him the justice to allow that he had no improper motive in making this motion. He thanked him for his good opinion, and hoped, that on this occasion he had acted under the influence of no improper bias. But even supposing this were the case, and that from attachment to the noble marquis he should be anxious to keep back any information from the house, could he be supposed possessed of that influence necessary to succeed in such a hopeless attempt? Could he be supposed to have influence enough with all the members of the board, to be able to keep back evidence, from such motives, and on so flimsy a pretext? The conduct of the board, in the whole of this business, had shewn their sentiments to be very different. They had not refused a single paper that had been asked. But, however willing the board might be to withhold any information on the grounds alleged, was it in their power to do so without incurring disgrace? Were there not members in that house sufficiently acquainted with those documents, to know whether any of them were withheld? Would the directors permit any such connivance on the part of the board, without making such remonstrances as would expose the motives of their conduct? Such a discretionary power he thought, might with safety be invested in the board. Their responsibility was a pledge to the house, that such a discretionary power was not likely to be abused, and it was a power that had always been given.

Lord *Folkestone* by no means agreed with the right hon. member who had brought forward this motion, that such a discretionary power could be lodged with safety in the hands of any board. Should they be invested with this power, they might make any use of it they pleased, and at the same time not be responsible. He did not consider precedent as a good argument in favour of this measure. Such precedents were not to be followed, for if the measure itself was bad, it could not be justified by any precedent, and to adopt it would be only adding another precedent for a bad measure. The discretionary power

power he would allow to reside in his majesty's ministers, but he would by no means concede such a power to any board whatever. And even this discretionary power he insisted was only given to ministers on certain terms; they were not invested at large with such powers, but were entitled to come to the house and state their objections to the production of any particular paper, or any part of a paper on public grounds, and the house relying on their responsibility, were entitled to sustain their objections; but such an extended discretionary power as was proposed by this motion, invested without any control, even in ministers, would be extremely dangerous, and if not granted to them, how could it be reconciled with propriety to grant it to any board whatever? The fair and open way, he thought, for gentlemen to follow on this occasion, was, after perusing the papers, and finding some parts of them of a nature not to be laid before the house, to come down and avow it, and receive permission, on their responsibility, to withhold them. The argument the right hon. member had used in favour of his' motion made more against it than for it; for if he had not perused the papers, how could he know that they contained any thing that was not proper to be laid before the house? While he avowed his ignorance of this circumstance, nothing could be more improper than so extended a discretionary power. He hoped the hon. gent. who had opposed the motion would persevere in his intention to take the sense of the house upon it.

Mr. *Francis* in explanation, said, that in his motion of June 1805, he had introduced no such discretionary power. It had been introduced by others, and he had been induced to accede to it, or otherwise lose the object of his motion. He did not, therefore, the less condemn the practice.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* found himself involved in some difficulty on this occasion. The precedent had been established last year. If a question had been started upon it then, or if it was a new question now, he could have do difficulty in saying, that he should prefer adhering to the old practice of leaving ministers on such occasions, to act on their general responsibility. He admitted that there were two ways in which a discretionary power might be given to ministers: the first was, as a noble lord opposite (lord Folkestone) had very justly stated, when ministers came down to the house, and representing in general terms the prejudice it would be to the public service to communicate more particular information on any subject, they were permitted on their responsibility to withhold this information. The other, which perhaps was the more recent way of the two, was restricting any order of the house for information, in such terms as beforehand admitted the ministers to withhold it as discretion, without assigning any reason, or taking notice of the particular article, such matters as they might judge expedient. At the same time, he should observe, that there was no such material difference between the ordinary discretion exercised by ministers, when called on to produce papers, and that contained by the present motion. The orders of the house were generally for copies or extracts of the papers called for. Who were to give these extracts, but the ministers who exercised their

their discretion in withholding such parts, the discovery of which might be injurious to the public service? Here, however, the papers were not in one or two confidential hands alone, but in those of a variety of persons who would quickly discover if the discretion demanded was abused. The agreeing to the motion therefore, in this case, was not a consideration of great importance, or rather it was one of no importance at all. As he had already said, if this were a new question he should incline to object to the motion; but considering that similar additions had been made to all the orders on this subject, not only during last session, but two nights ago, in the case of Surat, without being seriously objected to, he would rather recommend to his hon. friend (Mr. Francis) to withdraw his opposition, he (Mr. Fox) saying, that if a new case should occur, in which the objection was made, he should support it. The responsibility, he thought, would not be very different, with or without the words. He had seen cases in which papers had been produced at the discretion of those in whose hands they were, the production of which, if by motion in this house, he should have opposed. He rather thought in this case, where so large a production was called to be made, the discretion might be allowed.

Mr. *Bankes* thought it incumbent on the house to put an end, as soon as possible, to bad precedents, as well as to avoid creating any. Should the present question be carried, it would strengthen the former precedents, and render them still more dangerous. They were not to regard it as relative to India only, but as applicable to any other case that might come before the house. He was a little surprized at the manner in which the right hon. secretary of state had just expressed himself: he had owned that he supported it only because there was a precedent for it, and that if it were a new question he would reject it; such a precedent should, therefore, be done away as soon as possible. The hon. gent. suggested the propriety of withdrawing the motion till his right hon. friend should have an opportunity of examining the papers; and if he should find any part that could not be safely produced, he pledged himself to support this motion upon the statement of that specific ground.

Lord *H. Petty* concurred with the noble lord who had spoken, that the species of responsibility which he had recommended, resulting from an application to the house, on the part of ministers, in particular instances, and after assigning their particular reasons, was certainly the best. He agreed with his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Fox), as to the responsibility of ministers, and thought that in this case nothing more was asked than what had been very lately acceded to without any objection. He was convinced his right hon. friend who brought forward the motion, had no view in it but what arose from a salutary caution; but as the house seemed to think the precedent not a good one, he wished for one, to revert to the former practice, and would recommend it to his right hon. friend to withdraw his motion.

Lord *Castlereagh* stated the ground upon which he had recommended the insertion of similar words to those then under consideration, in the order of last session, to have been founded on a wish to prevent improper papers being

being produced. The Mahratta papers that had been produced to the house contained many passages that should not have been public. The court of directors did not conceive they had any directions when they had received the orders of the house, and therefore laid them in full before it; but this was not a new practice. The same words had, he believed, been inserted in the order for papers on the first Mysore war. He advised the house to consider, before they should reject a motion which was fraught with such convenience to the public service.

Mr. *Bastard* believed the motion had been made from no improper motives. He condemned the precedent on which it was founded, and insisted, that on this principle there could be no use for notices respecting such motions, as no examination would be necessary to ascertain the propriety or impropriety of the production of any papers previously to their being moved for.

Mr. *Wilberforce* felt himself much obliged to the noble lord opposite for the candour with which he had expressed himself, and imputed no blame to the right hon. gent. who had made the motion, but at the same time had no hesitation in opposing it from principle.

Lord *Temple* contended that no responsibility resided in the directors, but only in the board of controul, and that it was with the board the house had to transact any business, or to give any instructions. The question, he thought, in the course of the debate, had grown into an importance that it did not deserve. He had no objection, however, that the old mode of responsibility should on this occasion be resorted to, though the motion appeared to him to be as respectful a way of treating the house.

Lord *Morpeth* thought the responsibility of ministers should be whole and entire, and hoped the motion would be withdrawn.

Mr. *H. Addington* said, ever since his noble friend's objection, he wished to withdraw his motion, but seeing many respectable members desirous to deliver their opinions, he had refrained from doing so till they had spoken. He assured the house he had no idea of there being the slightest objection to it, but as there was, he would, with the leave of the house, withdraw it; which was accordingly done.

April 14.

[Debts of the Nabobs of Arcot.] Mr. *Hobhouse* moved the order of the day, for taking into further consideration the report, which, upon the 27th day of March last, was made from the committee, to whom the petition of the several creditors of his highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot, and now deceased, and of his highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot, and of his highness the Ameer ul Omrah, now also deceased, or one of them and parties to the articles of agreement therein-after mentioned, was referred; which being read, the hon. gent. rose and observed, that before he proceeded to move for leave to bring in "a bill, for enabling the commissioners acting in execution of an agreement made between the East-India company and the private creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, the better to carry the same into effect,

fect," the house would naturally expect from him some preliminary observations, tending to explain the grounds upon which the measure was introduced to the notice of parliament. Indian subjects were usually deemed to be dry and complicated in their nature, and hence they did not generally receive the attention which their magnitude deserved. He was, therefore, obliged to an honourable gentleman, (Mr. Francis) now absent, on account of a domestic misfortune which he (Mr. H.) sincerely lamented, for endeavouring to rouse the attention of the house to this measure, which, he agreed with him, was of great importance. Unfortunately for him (Mr. H.) it was also a subject of great extent, so that he should be under the necessity of troubling the house at greater length than was agreeable to his inclinations. In order that the house might completely understand the whole transaction, he felt himself compelled to go back as far as the year 1784, when parliament first took cognizance of the private debts of the Nabob of Arcot, and to describe several treaties with the princes of the Carnatic, subsequently to that time; he should, however, be as brief as the nature of the subject would allow. In 1784, an act was passed, the 24th of the king, cap. 25th, intitled, "An act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East-India company, and of the British possessions in India; and for establishing a court of judicature for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies." By the 37th section of that act, it was provided, that, "whereas very large sums of money are claimed to be due to British subjects by the Nabob of Arcot, in the recovery whereof it is expedient that such assistance should be given them as shall be consistent with the rights of the company, the security of the creditors, and the honour and dignity of the said Nabob; be it enacted, that the court of directors of the said company shall, as soon as may be, take into consideration the origin and justice of the said demands, as far as the materials they are in possession of shall enable them to do; and that they shall give such orders to their presidencies, and servants abroad, for completing the investigation thereof, as the nature of the case shall require, and for establishing, in concert with the said Nabob, such fund for the discharge of those debts, which shall appear to be justly due, according to their respective claims of priority, as shall be consistent with the rights of the said united company, the security of the creditors, and the honour and dignity of the said Nabob.—The first question which presented itself, was, what was done in consequence of this legislative enactment? The statute was promulgated at Madras in February, 1785, and soon afterwards a treaty was concluded between Mr. Davidson, the acting governor of Madras, and the Nabob Wallak-Jah, by which it was stipulated that his highness should annually pay four lacs of pagodas as a military subsidy to the company, and set aside a fund every year of 12 lacs, in liquidation of his debt to his private creditors, being British subjects, and of his debt to the company. The private creditors, according to the orders of the court of directors, were to consist of 3 classes only,

only, the other debts of the Nabob not having at that time fallen under their notice. The 3 classes consisted of, 1. The debt distinguished by the name of the Consolidated Debt of 1767, amounting to 7,96,445 pagodas; 2. The old Cavalry Debt, 6,90,624 pagodas; 3. The Consolidated Debt of 1777,54,98,500 pagodas, making a total of 69,85,570 pagodas, or, in British money, 2,794,228*l.*—These private creditors were called upon to inscribe their names in a register, and hence these three classes of debts were denominated the registered debts of the Nabob of Arcot. The hon. gent. said, he mentioned this circumstance, that gentlemen, when he spoke of the registered debts, might understand his meaning without further explanation, and comprehend what debts were included under that denomination. He could specify the regulations by which the court of directors fixed the proportion of the twelve lacs of pagodas, which was to be employed in liquidation of the claims of the private creditors, and the part which was to be appropriated to the discharge of the debt to the company; but he was fearful of being led too much into detail, and of occupying too much of the time of the house. It was sufficient to say, that he possessed a copy of these regulations, and should be ready to produce them, if any gentlemen should wish to hear the statement. In February, 1787, a new treaty was entered into between the Nabob Wallak Jah and sir Archibald Campbell, then governor of Madras, by which it was agreed, that the military subsidy, to be in future paid by his highness in time of peace, should be nine lacs of pagodas, and that four-fifths of the revenues of the Carnatic should be appropriated to the use of the company in case either of the parties should be at war, for the treaty was both offensive and defensive. Twelve lacs of pagodas, as by Mr Davidson's treaty, were to be annually contributed for the discharge, both of the private and public debts of the Nabob, subject to the company's regulations, to which he had before alluded. A few years afterwards it was found, so dilatory had the Nabob been in his payments, that an arrear of about nineteen lacs, had accrued under the two before-mentioned treaties.—At the close of 1789, Tippoo Sultaun, the king of Mysore, made an attack upon the ally of the company, the Travancore Rajah. The late marquis Cornwallis, then governor-general, went to the assistance of the rajah, and demanded from the Nabob of the Carnatic, the contribution stipulated by his treaty with sir A. Campbell. The four-fifths of the revenues were, however, so irregularly paid, that a considerable arrear was soon found to exist; the supplies of grain and cattle were so tardily provided by the Nabob's servants, that the service suffered considerable detriment. On these two grounds, the marquis Cornwallis found himself under the necessity of assuming, *pro tempore*, the civil in addition to the military government of the Carnatic, and the entire management of the revenues. At the close of this war, which was brought to a glorious termination in 1792, the marquis Cornwallis returned the country into the hands of the Nabob, and formed a new treaty with his highness, by which it was stipulated that nine lacs of pagodas should in future be paid to the company, annually, as a military sub-

subsidy; and a new arrangement was made respecting the sum to be appropriated each year to the discharge of the Nabob's debts. The marquis being convinced, by the representation of the Nabob, that his revenues were not adequate to so large an annual payment as twelve lacs, in liquidation of debts, and being desirous of manifesting a spirit of forbearance, and an example of moderation, consented that only 6,21,105 pagodas should be annually applied in satisfaction of the claims of the private creditors only; the debt to the company not being expunged, but left to future investigation, and to the arbitration and decision of the marquis Cornwallis himself: this reference was occasioned by some disputes in the accounts, which were not easy of adjustment.—The next treaty which he should have occasion to mention, was concluded in July, 1801, between Azeem ul Dowlah, the present Nabob of the Carnatic, and lord Clive, now earl Powis, then governor of Madras. By this treaty it was provided, that the civil and military government of the Carnatic, and the full and exclusive administration of the revenues, (with the reserve of a portion to be appropriated to the maintenance of the Nabob, and for the support of his dignity,) should be vested in the hands of the East-India company; and that the 6,21,105 pagodas, as by marquis Cornwallis's treaty, should be annually applied to the discharge of the registered debts. This treaty with Azeem ul Dowlah, though last in order of time, was first in point of importance, because it was the foundation of the arrangement in July, 1805, between the company and the creditors of the late Nabobs. What effect, said the hon. gent. had been produced by the enactment of the statute of 1784, and the several treaties which grew out of it, and which he had here described? With respect to the debt of the Nabob to the company, he was not called upon to enter into the subject, as his bill related only to the private creditors; nor was the question at the present moment very interesting; for whatever the debt might be, it must, in consequence of the superior productiveness of the Carnatic revenues under British management, be in a daily state of diminution, and at no very distant day be entirely annihilated. As to the effect upon the claims of the private creditors, the house will learn, with satisfaction, that in May, 1804, the registered debts were completely liquidated. The directors were, however, aware, when upon the conclusion of Mr. Davidson's treaty, they ordered the participation of the 12 lacs to be confined to the 3 classes, which alone at that time had engaged their attention, and which afterwards went by the name of the registered debts, that further sums were owing from the Nabob. In those orders they stated that, according to report, the Nabob had contracted further debts, and that if any of them were due to British subjects, their presidencies were to give no countenance to them until a full investigation had taken place; a report had been made to the court of directors, and their orders had been received. In consequence of these directions, all persons were called upon to deliver their claims to a committee, who were appointed to receive and investigate them. This committee sat at Madras from 1785 to 1791, and

and took into consideration all the cases which were brought before them. Their report had been sent to the court of directors: and it was for a more efficient investigation of the claims upon which they had reported, and also for the examination of debts subsequently contracted, that the present arrangement had been established. The hon. gent. said he was bound here to notice, that some of the debts contained in the report from the Madras committee had been discharged by the orders of the company. He particularly alluded to the new cavalry loan, called new, to distinguish it from the old cavalry loan, one of the registered debts. The new cavalry loan was contracted during the second Mysore war, with Hyder Ally, which commenced in 1780, and was advanced to the Nabob Wallak Jah, at a critical moment, when the public service required it, for the purpose of discharging arrears of pay to his officers and troops, who were about to break out into an alarming state of mutiny and insurrection; so just were these demands, and so embarrassed were many of these creditors in their circumstances, that the court of directors ordered this debt to be discharged, in the same proportion as the old cavalry debt, out of their part of the twelve lacs of pagodas, leaving themselves at a future time to reclaim upon the Nabob. The sum thus paid, appeared by lord Clive's treaty with Azeem ul Dowlah in 1801, to have constituted at that time a part of the debt from his highness to the company.—All the other unconsolidated debts were now to undergo a strict enquiry. Some of them were contracted by the Nabob Wallak Jah, antecedently to the promulgation of the statute of 1784 at Madras, in February, 1785, others by his highness subsequently to that period. Others were contracted after the year 1795, when Wallak Jah died, by his eldest son and successor, Omdut ul Omrah; others by the Ameer ul Omrah, second son of the Nabob, who died before his father. The Ameer had been prime minister to his father the Nabob, and all the property justly liable to pay his private debts, was, by a practice not uncommon in the native governments of India, seized by the Nabob. Hence to that amount the Nabob Wallak Jah was considered liable to the Ameer's debts, and to that amount the fair creditors of the Ameer were entitled to the benefits of the arrangement now under consideration. The East-India com. being of opinion that to pay without distinction all the numerous demands before stated, would be wasteful and unwarrantable prodigality; and that indiscriminately to reject all, would be the grossest injustice and cruelty, many of the debts having been contracted for civil and military services actually performed, or other fair considerations, came to an agreement with the private creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, to set aside an annual fund of 3,40,000 pagodas, with interest from May, 1804, the period of the extinction of the registered debts. This sum was first to be applied to the discharge of all claims approved in a manner which he should afterwards describe, and the surplus was to form a sinking fund for the redemption of the capital. That the East-India company by the adoption of this measure,

sure, acted most honourably, most justly, and most laudably, would not, he believed, be denied. If the revenues were in the hands of the present Nabob, every gent. must allow that it would be for the honour and dignity of his highness, and that it would mark the equitable disposition of his mind, to appropriate a part of them in discharge of the just debts of his uncle, Omdut ul Omrah, and his grandfather, Wallak Jah; and the East-India company as guarantees of the Nabob, were bound in honour to pursue the same course. So forcibly indeed was that honourable obligation felt by the court of directors, that they had not, as when the revenues were in the possession of the late Nabobs, confined their care, as directed by the acts of parliament, to the interest of British creditors only, but allowed native creditors also to prefer their claims. It was likewise to be taken into the account, that when the Nabobs contracted these debts, they had no other means of payment than the revenues of their country, and to no other resource could their creditors look for the liquidation of their demands.—Many of them, indeed, had received tuncas, or assignments, upon the revenues from the Nabob, directed to the Aumildars, or collectors, who nevertheless could not, or would not satisfy them. Hence the hon. gent. contended that, although the revenues were not strictly bound in mortgage, they were virtually pledged, into whatever hands they might fall, to the discharge of every *bonâ fide* claim. It was further to be considered, that the act of 1784, by directing the East-India company to establish, in concert with the Nabob, a fund out of his revenues for the liquidation of his debts, recognized the principle that his revenues were justly applicable in such a measure. The 33d of the king, c. 52. sect. 146. by repealing many parts of the act of 1784, while it specifically retained the clauses relating to the Nabob's debts, again acknowledged the same principle. In pursuance of that principle, twice solemnly recognized by parliament, the East-India company had now consented that 3,40,000 pagodas should be annually set aside for the gradual liquidation of all the just debts of the late Nabobs. Had the directors acted otherwise, it would have been fairly imputable to them that, while the revenues were not their own, and their own property could not be touched, they were ready and willing, in conformity to the directions of the legislature, to aid British creditors in the recovery of their debts; but now the revenues belonged to themselves, now their own coffers might suffer, and their own treasury be affected, they turned a deaf ear to the creditors, forgot the spirit which governed the legislature, and pursued a contracted, a mean, and a selfish policy. Nay, the British creditors, whose demands were in existence before the promulgation at Madras of the act of 1784, would have a still stranger case against the court of directors, as they might say, "Now the revenues of the Carnatic are in your possession, you pay no attention to our claims; but had they not been granted away by the Nabob, you were bound in law to assist us in the recovery of our just debts, you could not refuse your aid. Thus we

we are placed in a worse situation now the Carnatic revenues are in the hands of our countrymen, than when they were the property of a foreign prince." Enough, he trusted, had been said so make it appear, that in honour, in justice, in regard to the principle twice sanctioned by Parliament, the East-India company were bound to provide a fund out of the revenues of the Carnatic, for liquidating the *bonâ fide* debts of late Nabobs. But it might be asked on what conditions was the continuance of that fund to depend? The first was, "that it shall be annually set aside so long as the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic shall be vested in the East-India company." It was needless to shew, that, if the revenues were placed in the hands of the Nabob, or in any other hands, the obligation on the part of the East-India company to provide for the debts of the Nabobs, would no longer exist. If there were any gentlemen within the walls of parliament, who, because they disapproved the political occurrences which had led to the treaty of assignment with Azeem ul Dowlah in 1801, or because they thought the title of the East-India company to the revenues of the Carnatic to be wrongful, would therefore unsettle the system which had been established nearly five years, and restore things to the *status quo*, as before the treaty of 1801, such gentlemen could entertain no objection to this measure; because, as soon as their favourite scheme of restitution was accomplished, the deed of covenants was, by a special proviso, to become null and void. Nay, such gentlemen must rather approve the deed; for, being desirous to place the revenues in the possession of the Nabob, they must be glad that such a portion of the Carnatic revenues was from year to year to be applied, not to British purpose, but to the concerns of the Nabob. If due attention were paid to the consideration that the fund was to cease when the East-India company had no longer possession of the Carnatic revenue, gentlemen would see that it was not now the time to argue the general questions, whether the musnud of the Carnatic was forfeited by the conduct of Wallak Jah, and Omdut ul Omrah; whether it was right to set aside Tajul Omrah, the legitimate or natural son of Omdut ul Omrah, to raise Azeem ul Dowlah to the musnud, and receive from him a grant of the revenues: such questions had no strict connection with the subject under deliberation, and had better, if necessary, be debated separately, not drawn collaterally into discussion in any of the stages of this bill. The question was not, what was the title of the East-India company to the Carnatic revenues: not how they came by the possession of them; but whether, whilst they remained in possession, they had not done right in applying, annually, a part of them in satisfying the claims of such real creditors of the late Nabobs, as had an equitable lien upon those revenues? The other condition was, "that the company should, annually, set apart in their treasury, at Madras, the sum of three lacs and 40,000 pagodas, if, after defraying all the charges of collecting the said revenues, so much shall be realized to, and be received therefrom by the said company, &c." The propriety of this

this condition was too obvious to need any comment. The house would learn with pleasure, that there was no chance of any interruption to the agreement arising from a diminution of the Carnatic revenues. As soon as the accounts shall be under the examination of the house, the hon. gent. said he believed it would appear, that the net surplus for the year 1803-4, over and above the military subsidy of nine lacs, was about 340,000*l.* British money, a surplus exceeding that of the first year that the Carnatic was under British management. The surplus of that year, as stated by his noble friend, the late president of the board of controul, (lord Castlereagh) in his budget speech of 1803, was only 269,000*l.* It was obvious that, without any improvement in the management of the revenues, the surplus of future years must be greater than that of the year 1803-4, as from May, 1804, when the registered debts were completely liquidated, the annual fund for the discharge of debts was no longer, as by marquis Cornwallis's treaty, 6,21,105 pagodas, but only 3,40,000 pagodas. The difference, therefore, constituted a resource in the hands of the directors, for the diminution of the debt from the Nabob to the company, or for any other useful purpose. This difference amounted to about 112,442*l.* sterling, and being added to the surplus of 1803-4, would make the surplus of subsequent years rather more than 450,000*l.* Such was the increase of revenue under British care, while the Nabob lived, not in the embarrassed condition of his predecessors on the musnud, but in a state of comfort, affluence, and splendour.—Such were the fruits derived from that undivided government which the late marquis Cornwallis wished to establish, as appeared from the following extract of his letter to the court of directors, dated the 10th of August, 1790: "I must freely own," says the noble marquis, "that I could not venture to propose any plan, on the success of which I could have any firm reliance, unless the Nabob could be induced by a large annual revenue, regularly paid, and properly secured to him, to surrender the management of his country for a long term of years, to the company.—The Nabob's age, his long connection with us, his right to the possession of the country, which, however, without our assistance, would have been but of little value to him, and exaggerated accounts of former services, may furnish topics for popular declamation, and may possibly engage the nation, from mistaken ideas of humanity, to support a system of cruelty and oppression; but whilst I feel conscious that I am endeavouring to promote the happiness of mankind, and the good of my country, I shall give very little weight to such considerations, and should conceive that I had not performed the duty of the high and responsible office in which you did me the honour to place me, if I did not declare, that the present mixed government cannot prosper, even in the best hands in which your part of it can be placed; and that unless some such plan as that which I have proposed should be adopted, the inhabitants of the Carnatic must continue to be wretched, the Nabob must remain an indigent bankrupt, and his country an useless and expensive burthen to the company, and to the nation." This, said

said the hon. gent. was a sufficient proof that the late marquis Cornwallis entertained a just conception of the best mode of promoting the British interests in India, and establishing the happiness of the native states connected with the company. The recommendation of his lordship was, in 1801, effected upon a more extensive scale by lord Wellesley, and in this respect the system of both, although it was the fashion of the day to point out the variances in their plans, was precisely the same. The hon. gent. added, that his only intention was to state the advantages resulting from the *de facto* government of the Carnatic; whether, when its origin was taken into consideration, it was a government *de jure*, he would not now pronounce any opinion, as the question ought to have no place, for the reasons he had before adduced, in the discussions of the bill he should have the honour to propose. Having explained the origin, amount, and conditions of the fund to be applied, under the directions of the deed, to the liquidation of the just debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, he then proceeded to state the mode to be employ[ed] in ascertaining the *bonâ fide* claims, in separating the real from the fictitious creditor. Three commissioners were appointed by the East-India co. with the concurrence of the creditors, for the purpose of examining the origin, nature, validity, and justice of every individual claim, and each claimant was bound to prove his debt. This proceeding was in strict conformity to the principle laid down by the late Mr. Burke, in his famous speech on this subject in 1785. "Enquiry," said that eloquent orator, and sagacious statesman, "should precede payment; the *onus probandi* should be laid on the claimant." Both the parties had covenanted to submit, without appeal, to the decision of the commissioners, who where, however, restricted from allowing any claim which had its foundation in presents, gifts, gratuitous allowances (other than the reasonable fees of lawers, physicians, &c.) contrary to the acts of parliament in such cases provided. There was also another commission in India, which was, to act in obedience to the instructions of the commissioners at home, and report to them all the information and evidence they should be able to collect. That commission was also empowered to receive claims for the sake of the convenience of those who might wish to prefer them in India, to hear all the evidence in support of, or in opposition to them, and to transmit it to the English commissioners, in whom alone the power or final adjudication was vested. The commissioners, in England, had proceeded, in execution of their official duties, to search every document tending to give them general information of a useful nature; they had examined, with particular care, all the proceedings of the committee at Madras, and looked into the nature and extent of a great variety of the claims. They had not, however, given judgment in any case, and the ground of this conduct, which he should hereafter state, would shew the origin of the present application to parliament. But although the commissioners had been prevented from exercising powers of a judicial nature, they had issued notices, and published them in the gazette, and periodical papers, for the purpose of ascertaining the number

number of the claimants, and amount of the claims, which certainly was as considerable as stated by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Francis) on a former night, and had taken every other step which appeared to them necessary for the furtherance of the important objects of the commission. But why had they not proceeded to adjudicate? this was now to be explained. A general outline, or sketch of what was proposed to be detailed in the deed, was sent by the court of directors to the commissioners, by which they were instructed "to found their proceedings, in all cases, on the voluntary oath of the persons appearing or called before them."—By the deed, however, as would appear by the following extract from the 19th clause, a discretion, as to the mode of evidence to be required, was vested in the commissioners, "who are to be at liberty to receive proof by the testimony *vivâ voce*, or by examination on written interrogatories, or by affidavit of witnesses, and by production of written documents, and by the examination of the parties, and by reference to the accounts and vouchers of the said several nabobs, and the said Ameer, and the proceedings of the said united company, and their court of directors, and committees, and of their governments abroad, and any committees, or officers acting under such officers, or otherwise, as shall be satisfactory to the said commissioners in England." The honourable gentleman said, that he must request the attention of the house also to the last clause of the deed, which was as follows: "It is hereby declared and agreed, that in case the said commissioners in England shall be of opinion that the powers hereby intended to be vested in them are insufficient for the execution of the trusts reposed, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, and that it is necessary they should be empowered to administer oaths, or compel the attendance and examination of parties, or witnesses on oath, or the production of papers, or that they should be invested with any powers, which cannot be vested in them without the authority of parliament, or that the trusts, intents, and purposes of these presents cannot effectually be carried into execution, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, then, and in any such case, all the said parties hereto, and their respective successors, executors, administrators, and assigns, shall and will use their best and utmost endeavours to procure such act, or acts of parliament, to be passed from time to time, as the said commissioners in England shall think necessary or adviseable for the purposes aforesaid, or any of them." The hon. gent. stated, that the commissioners were desirous of carrying into effect the evident preference of the parties, and calling, in all cases, for voluntary oaths; but they entertained doubts of the propriety of the proceeding. In a letter to Mr. Ramsay, dated the 27th of July, 1805, they observed, that, "however prevalent the usage of administering such voluntary oaths has long been, and however anxious we may be to conform ourselves to the intention of the parties in this point, yet, after an opinion which, as we are informed, has been very recently expressed by the highest legal authority, upon the illegality of administering such oaths, it seems incumbent upon us, for the sake of all who are concerned, the East-

India

India company, the *bona fide* creditors, and ourselves, to take the best means of informing our judgment before we issue notices, requiring all persons to take this voluntary oath previous to their evidence being received; for it is hardly necessary to state, that we ought not to require any one to take an oath which no one is legally authorized to administer. We would therefore submit it to the parties, whether, as the most effectual and speedy method of relieving them and ourselves from this difficulty, which meets us at the outset of the business, it would not be desirable for them to take the joint opinion of the law-officers of the crown, and the counsel to the East-India company on this question, the importance of which, in its application to this case, is too obvious to require comment. If those gentlemen should be of opinion that magistrates, in such a case as the present, are justifiable in administering a voluntary oath, we should feel ourselves warranted by the sanction of such respectable authorities, to act in conformity to the intention of the parties, and to refuse any testimony which is not tendered on oath. If they should entertain a contrary opinion, the parties and ourselves will have the satisfaction of knowing, that we have no discretion upon the subject, and that we are under the necessity of receiving and deciding upon testimony, not on oath, because an oath cannot, with propriety, be required.

Whatever may be the result of that opinion, we should be much concerned if the readiness we express to proceed upon such evidence only, as the parties have considered to be the best that could be obtained, without the interference of parliament, should lead them to conclude that, in our judgment, such evidence would be as effectual for the execution of the trusts reposed in us, as that which is given under the sanction of an oath, administered in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings. On the contrary, we think ourselves bound to take this opportunity of declaring, and we feel ourselves more particularly called upon to do so, by the provision of the 17th clause of the plan, and the last clause in the deed, that, after having examined and considered the extent and nature of many of the claims contained in the papers and documents you have from time to time transmitted to us, we are persuaded that it will not be in our power to investigate and decide on the whole of them, with the same degree of satisfaction to all the parties concerned, as if we were legally authorized to examine persons regularly on oath. As soon, however, as we are furnished with the legal opinion, which we have requested, upon the point which forms the more immediate subject of our present communication, we shall adopt, without delay, such measures, and such mode of proceeding, as may appear to us best calculated, under the existing circumstances, for the attainment of the object of our commission. We beg the favour of you to take the earliest opportunity of communicating his letter to the hon. chairman, and court of directors. We have the honour to be, &c. R. Ryder; B. Hobhouse; Th. Cockburne."—The hon. gent. observed, that as this was the first occasion which had occurred of mentioning the names of the commissioners, he took the opportunity of informing the house, that his hon. friend, first named, (Mr. Ryder) had been compelled, by weak and tender health,

health, which no man lamented more than himself, to resign his situation, so that the commission had lost his important services. He did not make this observation in derogation of the considerable assistance received from his hon. friend's successor, (Mr. Horner) a gent. in the profession of the law.

The court of directors sent the letter of the commissioners, from which the extract which had been read was taken, to the three eminent counsel whose opinion was desired, and the following was their answer:—" After what has fallen from the high authority alluded to, and from other judges on the bench, we are obliged to say, that at least so much doubt is thrown upon the legality of administering voluntary oaths, that we cannot say that they may be administered with safety and propriety, nor can we advise the commissioners to require them to be administered. (Signed) " Sp. Perceval; V. Gibbs; W. Adam." —The following extract of a letter from the commissioners to Mr. Ramsay, dated Aug. 15, 1805, would shew the impression produced upon their minds, upon receiving the sentiments of these learned authorities, for whose judgment they, in common, he believed he might say, with the house, and the whole nation, felt the highest respect. Having acknowledged the receipt of the letter from the India-house, containing the opinion of the counsel, they proceeded thus:—" The result of the reference to the legal authorities, who have been consulted on that subject, of course makes it impossible for us to require any oath at all, and only serves to confirm us in the opinion we gave in the concluding part of our letter of the 27th of July. Under these circumstances, we feel it incumbent upon us, in justice to the parties, as well as to ourselves, to express that opinion, in the words of the last clause of the deed, viz. that the powers now vested in us are insufficient for the execution of the trusts reposed in us, according to the true intent and meaning of that instrument."—The house had now heard the circumstances which led to the application to parliament, and occasioned him to move for leave to bring in a bill. When the bill was introduced, the house would find no clause by which parliament confirmed or sanctioned the agreement of July, 1805, between the East-India company and the creditors of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic. That agreement had been correctly drawn, and formally executed by the parties, and had received the sanction of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, where the law had placed " full power and authority to superintend, direct, and control all concerns and operations respecting the civil and military government, and the revenues of the company's territories and acquisitions in the East Indies." The deed was in a constant course of operation, and the commissioners had long acted in the discharge of their official functions. Hence the object of the bill was not to solicit a parliamentary ratification of the deed of covenants, but to obtain stronger powers for the commissioners, in order to the more effectual attainment of substantial justice. With this view, it was proposed to give to the commissioners a power to examine upon oath, and subject the persons who broke it to the penalties of perjury. They were also to have a power of summoning witnesses, and calling for the production

duction of papers, but they were not armed with the strong authority committed to the naval, and other parliamentary commissioners, because the commission, though of great public importance, was, technically speaking, of a private nature. On this ground no compulsory process was put into the hands of the commissioners, but the enforcement of obedience, the punishment of disobedience, and the recovery of damages for a breach of the statute, if the proposed bill should pass into a law, was left to the ordinary course of the courts of justice. Although this enlargement of the powers of the commission was the great object of the bill, it was naturally considered, as an application was to be made to parliament, what other salutary provisions could be added. There was one, which, as it fell to his lot to move the bill, it was his duty to explain to the house: it related to the transfers of the property of successful claimants; that property, it was unnecessary for him to state, was but a mere *chose en action*, and, therefore, a vendee or transferee would possess but an equitable interest, and if he had occasion to sue for interest, or principal, must bring his action in the name of the original claimant, his executors, and his executor's executors. The intended clause was to give the transferee the legal in addition to the equitable interest, and to vest him with all the rights of the transferer. It was proposed also, to protect the transfers, &c. from fraudulent counterfeiting, by punishing the crime, not with death, as in forgery of bills of exchange, but with transportation (as was not, he believed, unusual, where property far less considerable was at stake) or with lesser punishment at the discretion of the court.—The hon. gent. said, that his anxiety to possess the house of all the information on the subject, had led him into so great length. He had stated from the year 1784, when parliament first established regulations respecting the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, the funds which had from time to time been appropriated for their discharge, and the effects produced by the successive treaties and arrangements; he had shewn, and he trusted satisfactorily, the justice and propriety of the agreement which in July, 1805, had been made between the East-India company and the creditors of the late Nabobs; he had, also, explained the grounds of the present application to parliament, and the leading provisions in the proposed bill. He trusted that the decision of parliament, whatever it might be, would be speedy. The commissioners were unwilling longer to remain in a state of inactivity as to the most important part of their duty, namely, the abjudication of claims. He had every reason to believe that many of the claimants were in the greatest state of pecuniary embarrassment; their claims should, as soon as possible, be brought to a decision; that, if solid, the parties might possess means of relieving their distress, and, if unfounded, they might be taught no longer to depend upon an unsubstantial resource, or to lean upon a broken reed.—The hon. gent. said, that he should here sit down; but that he was under the necessity of saying a few words respecting himself. There were many gentlemen in the house, who could testify how unwilling he had been to appear in the situation in which he now stood, and how glad he should have been if any other gentleman

gentleman would have brought forward this measure. One, and not the least of his objections, was, that it was awkward, if not unusual, for a member of parliament to move that stronger powers should be given to a commission, of which he formed a part, which was equivalent to an application for stronger powers to be confided to himself. Both parties, however, had urgently requested him to stand forward on this occasion, upon the ground that a commissioner, who experienced the difficulties arising from want of powers, would be best able to explain them to the house. Had the commission been constructed as it was originally formed, and his hon. friend (Mr. Ryder) had still continued the commissioner, the argument would have been very forcible; but when addressed to himself, it had no weight. His scruples at length gave way to intreaty: he should have been better satisfied if any other gentleman had introduced the measure to the notice of parliament, and any other gentleman, he was sure, would have done greater justice to the cause of the parties. After having stated, that if the house gave leave to bring in the bill, which was already printed, and read it a first time to-morrow, it was his intention to allow a sufficient interval for consideration before the second reading, the hon. gent concluded with moving "that leave be given to bring in a bill for enabling the commissioners acting in execution of an agreement made between the East-India company, and the private creditors of the Nabobs of the Carnatic, the better to carry the same into effect."

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* complimented the hon. gent. on the great talents which he had displayed in the course of his elaborate speech. At present, he did not see any strong objection to the measure proposed; but he could not help remarking, that, in looking over the list of claimants, he saw a number of names of persons bearing high situations in India, and who, perhaps, had no strong claims on the humanity and equity of the company in this instance. He must also observe, that, although in 1784 this country claimed no right of participation in the surplus of the revenues of the company, yet, from the year 1793, the public had a claim of half a million annually, which it had never received; and, on the contrary, it was now stated, that a million was due from the public to the company. This might be a consideration in the discussion of the measure proposed. He had not been aware, that the business would have come on that night, but should be prepared on the day appointed for the second reading, to offer such observations as the consideration of the subject should suggest.

April 16.

[DEBTS OF THE NABOBS OF ARCOT.] Mr. *Francis*, pursuant to his notice on a former day, rose to bring forward his motion for the production of papers respecting the Debts of the Nabobs of Arcot. But, before he proceeded to introduce his motion, he begged leave to put to the hon. gent. behind him (Mr. Hobhouse) a question or two, the answers to which might probably save some trouble. As it appeared that an ageement had been entered into between the directors of the India company and the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, in consequence of which a commission

sion had been appointed, he wished to know who were the persons forming that commission, and by whom they were to be paid? Not having been able to attend the house on Monday, when the hon. gent. to whom he referred, brought forward his bill, he was under the necessity of applying for more information upon this subject than perhaps other gentlemen required. He wished to hear it accounted for, why the hon. member should have been the person to bring forward this measure, particularly as he understood him to have stated that he accepted the office very unwillingly, and but yielded to the importunity of others?

Mr. *Hobhouse* said, it was his desire that the hon. gent. should be most fully and satisfactorily informed upon this subject. The hon. gent. had not been present when he had first stated his proposition, and moved for leave to bring in the bill, or his present question would not have been necessary. The commissioners, he said, consisted of three persons; namely, he (Mr. Hobhouse), a Mr. Horner, who was nominated in consequence of an hon. gent. Mr. Ryder, having withdrawn himself from the commission, and Mr. Cockburne: the former was a gent. conversant in the law; and the latter an old servant of the India company, and much experienced in India affairs. With respect to the authority for their appointment, it was made by the directors of the East-India company, in concurrence with the creditors. With regard to their remuneration, it was intended to be according to the habit of parliamentary commissions, namely, of that of the *quantum meruit*, when the business should be gone through. Hoping that this answer to the hon. gent.'s questions would prove satisfactory, he had only to assure him, that if the papers for which he intended to move were of the nature which he was taught to understand, his motion should meet, on his part, no resistance.

Mr. *Francis* thanked the hon. gent. for the very candid and satisfactory answer he had been pleased to give to his question. He confessed, that from the information which he had just received from the hon. gent. he was under a mistake, for he had supposed that Mr. Fordyce was at the head of this commission; but he now found that that gent. was at the head of the creditors. There was something in this transaction, altogether, which was well deserving of, and to which he begged the particular attention of, the house. Why it should have found its way into the house at all, but still more why it was entertained, why it obtained a footing, he could account for on no satisfactory ground. Perhaps it was owing to the operation of interest, but sure he was that there was something very like contrivance about it. For himself, he could affirm, that he never had an idea that any such proposition was in contemplation, until he heard of the notice, just before the recess, of a motion for leave to bring in the bill. He knew nothing of a committee sitting upon the subject, and there were many others, as well as he, whom the knowledge of that circumstance had entirely escaped until the time he alluded to. Then, as to the subsequent course of the hon. gent. the very day after the recess, the first upon which the report of the committee was deliverable, the hon. gent. came forward before,

he (Mr. F.) would venture to say, five members of the house had read the report, and proposed a motion grounded upon it. This mode of proceeding no one could deny to be rather precipitate, upon a subject particularly of so much importance. To obtain a little more deliberation as to a circumstance which gentlemen were much mistaken if they supposed of inconsiderable interest, was the motive which induced him to call the attention of the house to the motions with which he meant to conclude. That all the presidencies in India were in great distress, was notorious. The house had the authority of lord Cornwallis for believing that the presidency of Madras was most seriously embarrassed; and that this, with the other presidencies, was running in debt as fast as money could be had to borrow. Into these general distresses, however, he did not at present propose to enter, nor should he go into any discussion about the general state of India. But he would confine himself to the particular object he had in view, which, he wished it to be understood, had no connection with any other question respecting India, which was before the house. Lord Wellesley had, he believed, nothing whatever to do with it. It referred principally to a consideration of our assets in India, and how far these assets were competent to meet the claims upon them. For it was material for parliament always to bear in mind, that what the India company could not discharge, would ultimately fall upon the finances of this country. Therefore, it behoved the house carefully to examine every claim upon the resources of that company. He lamented that more of his majesty's ministers were not present at the discussion of a question of this nature, and that those who were present did not give to the question the attention which it deserved—(there was at the time some conversation upon the treasury bench). Still, however, he would persist in his purpose; and he promised those gentlemen that they would speedily feel that this subject must be attended to. At all events, he would not fail to attend to it; for he was not one of those who could be sunk or broken down by the desertion or inconsistency of any set of men.—Reverting to the subject to which he was about to attract the notice of the house, the hon. member remarked upon the equivocal character of these frequent claims upon the Nabob of Arcot. A great deal of such claims had been already paid. After the payment of several millions (five or six), it was naturally supposed that no more debts were to be heard of. But still some pretended creditors started up. If such pretensions were attended to, he really believed that the whole revenue of the Carnatic would be insufficient to answer them; and, if not, then they must come upon this country. He therefore cautioned the house to pause upon a transaction, of a character of which scarcely any one who heard him could be wholly ignorant; for every one must remember something of the Nabob of Arcot's debts; it was a tolerably notorious topic. That distinguished statesman, Mr. Burke, had many years since very properly stated his opinion, that a combination of evidence served to shew that sums had been distributed for a course of years, in the name of the old Nabob of Arcot, to the servants of the

the East-India company, in a most scandalous manner, and that there was strong reason to suspect, that most part of the debts demanded were wholly fictitious. And that great orator shewed that, even if these debts were really due, they were, from their amount, calculated to excite alarm, as the affairs of the company were so distressed, as to be unequal to their liquidation. This the house would recollect was in the year 1784, when the situation of the India company was almost prosperity itself, compared to what it was at present. But even then, as Mr. Burke remarked, the company's servants were in affluence, while the company itself was very much embarrassed. Yet, although such was the case, although the company's servants were possessed of no less than 10 millions, still their claims of three millions of debt upon our subsidiary princes were paid off by order of the board of control, against the strongest remonstrances from the court of directors; seconded by the opinion of lord Macartney. This served to shew what might be done through the interest of individuals, notwithstanding this distress of the company's affairs; and as bearing very closely upon the present question, he requested gentlemen to look at the speech of Mr. Burke, to which he referred, and which, independently of its relevancy upon this occasion, must be read with pleasure by every man of taste; for certainly, among all the productions of ancient and modern eloquence, nothing could be found worthy to be put in comparison with it. The hon. gent. adverting to the bill in progress through the house, observed, that it was not accompanied by any specification whatever of the amount or nature of the debts to which it was meant to apply. This specification it was his wish to obtain. Seeing that so many millions had been already paid on this score, and that the more these claims were paid, the more they seemed to grow, he desired at once to ascertain their precise extent; that knowledge attained, questions would then arise whether such claims were made by *bonâ fide* creditors or not; whether any, and which of them, should be paid; whether, in a word, under all the circumstances, that money should be granted to such claimants which ought to be applied to the support of our army and navy? That no equitable demands were to be found among those brought forward, he was not prepared to say. But, before any were acceded to, the house should be made acquainted with the whole amount. It would be unsafe to proceed without such knowledge, for if a comparatively small sum were at first granted, it would be difficult to say how far the house might be led upon the principle of that grant. It might not be known when to stop, and therefore he thought it best to make a stand *in limine.* The hon. gent. took occasion to appeal to the house, and the country, upon the want of assistance he had experienced from those who ought to be forward, in consistency, to support his endeavours to procure a full investigation of the affairs of India. In this instance, particularly, there were many for whose presence and co-operation he had a right to look; among these was the respectable member for Norwich (Mr. W. Smith), whom he did not then see in his place, and from whom much useful information could be had upon the subject of

India.

India. There was another distinguished person whose aid he was entitled to expect—he meant the Treasurer of the Navy (Mr. Sheridan). In regretting the general absence of that right hon. gent. he was sure he only expressed the common feeling of the house. He lamented his absence for many reasons, but principally on account of the loss which the cause of India sustained in consequence. He most particularly wished that this right hon. gent. was more frequently visible in his place in that house, and as he had not the pleasure of seeing him there or elsewhere, he hoped that his wish would be conveyed to him, and induce him to attend. He trusted that the right hon. gent.'s becoming a minister was not to deprive that house of the advantage and pleasure which his abilities were capable of affording. The house had, unfortunately, for a considerable time, but very seldom seen the light of his countenance. But it was to be expected that such absence would not long continue. He could not suffer himself to apprehend that that right hon. gent. would long decline to advocate the cause of justice. No. His mind and his feelings were too strongly attached to that cause to refuse it his aid, and his powers to serve it were still undiminished. For he would not believe that the volcano of that right hon. gent.'s genius could yet be burned out. After repeating his sincere regret for the absence of Mr. Sheridan, because he highly respected his talents and integrity, and because he would much value his assistance, the hon. member concluded with moving an "Account of all monies which have been paid to the private creditors of the Nabobs of the *Carnatic* since the passing of the act of the 24th of his present majesty, containing the names of the individuals to whom, or on whose account, the same have been paid, the several periods when the debts were contracted, and when paid, and distinguishing the several classes of debts called the registered debts, the cavalry loan, and the consolidated debt of 1777; and also distinguishing the principal of the said debts from the interest claimed or accruing thereon." This he thought the more necessary, as it appeared from the speech of the noble lord opposite to him (lord Castlereagh), which was afterwards published by him, (see vol. ii. p. 1158.) that the interest-money had been converted into principal, which was one principal cause of the great increase of the debt.

Mr. *Paull*, in seconding the motion, cautioned the house to beware how they sanctioned the principle upon which the bill of the hon. gent. (Mr. Hobhouse) was founded, as, if that principle were established, claimants would, no doubt, immediately come forward for above three millions, alleged to be due in the same way from the Nabob of Oude, and other native princes in India.

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* seconded the motion; he said, he believed he could be able to throw some light on the causes which led to involve the Nabob of the Carnatic in such embarrassments and claims of debt from the company's servants. Having the honour of an early and long intimacy with lord Macartney, who was, at one time, sent out as governor to Madras, that noble lord, after his return to Europe, had told him, that he had scarcely reached the seat of his government 24 hours, when he received

ceived a message from the Nabob, requesting to see him: the noble lord accordingly paid an immediate visit, and was astonished to find it was for the purpose of being presented by the Nabob with a sum of money adequate to 30,000*l.* with proportionate tenders to the officers of his suite. Lord Macartney expressed much astonishment, and declined accepting the money, at the same time wishing to know the motives that induced such an offer: he was told by the Nabob, that it was quite a customary present to every new governor; had never been before refused; that there was no violation of propriety whatever in accepting it; and the offer was repeated, with a pressing request to take it; as it was considered a proper compliment to the head of the British government, whom, ever since the taking of Pondicherry, he considered as his protector against the French. Lord Macartney, however, still persisted in his refusal, assuring the Nabob, at the same time, of his determination to render him every service and protection in his power, as earnestly as if he had accepted his present. But what was the result of this generous, upright, and exemplary integrity and independence of that noble lord to himself? Why, that his conduct was every where reprobated and reviled by the servants of the company, and every pains taken to slander, misrepresent, and vilify him, for venturing such an innovation upon the system they had so long established; and lord Macartney resigned a government which he felt untenable, consistently with the feelings of a man of honour. Had the hon. gent. heartily approved the system of investigation is earnestly recommended by the hon. mover, and observed, that, though it might visit with compunctious feelings the bosoms and apprehensions of some men, who had, by a corrupt abuse of their mission in India, amassed rapidly enormous fortunes, those who had made an honourable and upright use of their authority there, had no terrors to meet, no qualms to be excited by the most scrutinous investigation: "Let the galled jades wince; *their* withers were unwrung."

Mr. *Hiley Addington* said, he had not the slighest disposition to oppose the motion of the hon. gent. on the contrary, he wished to grant him the papers he required. He was very glad to observe, that the hon. gent. notwithstanding the declaration he had a short time since made, that he would decline all farther interference with India questions, seemed of late rather disposed to promote investigation into India affairs. He rejoiced at the circumstance; because, from the hon. gent.'s great knowledge and extensive experience upon India subjects, he was certainly competent to throw very important lights upon such subjects, and bring them home with more effect to the attention of the house and the public; who might have the good effect of rendering the servants of the company in India, less lax in their duties. But his purpose for rising now was, to set the hon. member right in his conception of the bill, the true objects of which he seemed wholly to misapprehend. His hon. friend had not brought forward his bill with the precipitancy imputed to him, but had given fair notice of every proceeding with respect to it; and to his certain knowledge, the report upon which the bill was founded was delivered to members, at

at their residence, on the Friday before the bill was introduced. The bill was not a call on parliament to sanction the claims of the creditors of the Nabob of the Carnatic, nor to appoint any commissioners: those commissioners had been already appointed between the parties at issue, namely, the directors and the claiming creditors; and the commissioners, with an earnest view to the strict ends of justice, had been desirous of examining the parties brought before them on oath; which, however, it was found they were not legally authorised to tender. It was suggested then, that the parties might be examined upon their voluntary oaths; but, on consultation with eminent law authorities, it was found that this mode also was objectionable. The present bill, therefore, only called upon the authority of parliament to invest the commissioners with power to administer oaths, for the purpose of their enquiry, and to render parties swearing falsely, liable to punishment for perjury. It was not because the company wished any sanction from parliament to the authority of the commissioners to enquire, for to that they were already legally authorised; but with a view to procure for them such authority as should best tend to obtain that justice: not to evade the payment of debts justly due, but to separate just claim from fraudulent ones. The hon. gent. had said, his hon. friend had not voluntarily undertaken this business, but had been induced by importunity to bring forward this bill. It was certainly true, his hon. friend had expressed great unwillingness to interfere in this business, lest he should be deemed an interested party; but his known talents, good sense, and integrity, made it extremely desirable that a person of such a description should take an active part in the business, and he was induced, by earnest entreaty, to forego his scruples, and assume the part he had taken with so much advantage to the object proposed. In no instance had he betrayed the smallest inclination to precipitate the bill; on the contrary, he had set out with declaring his wish, that every member in the house should have the fullest information on the subject, and the fullest time that could be desired for considering it; and he was convinced, that if the hon. member now wished to postpone the further proceeding on this bill to a more distant day, his hon. friend would concur with the utmost readiness.

Lord *Castlereagh* described the purview of the bill, in the same light precisely as the last right hon. gent. He said that, with a very considerable portion of just claims in this case, there was blended an enormous one of unjust, unfounded, and fraudulent claims; and it was for the purpose of enabling the commissioners to discriminate, that the bill was desired. The discharge of the just debts would be productive of important advantages to the company, and it was, therefore, desirable to ascertain them, in order to a speedy settlement; and, with respect to the apprehensions expressed by the hon. member, that those debts might ultimately form claims upon parliament, the idea was unfounded. The debts were charged upon the revenues of the Carnatic; whatever those revenues annually produced over the interest, would go to a sinking fund, towards clearing off the principal, and when that was paid off, the whole

whole revenues would revert to the company.

Mr. Serjeant *Best* observed, that the deed for the settlement of the claims under consideration, was so contrived as to hold out the prospect of doing too little, if any thing, for those who had equitable claims, and of doing too much for those whose claims were fraudulent. Many of the demands under consideration were, he contended, completely illegal, as they referred to sums lent against a positive act of parliament.

Mr. *Hobhouse* said, that after the statement made by his right hon. friend, (Mr. H. Addington) it was scarcely necessary for him to animadvert upon the charge preferred against him, as a commissioner, for having introduced this measure to parliament. The explanation which his right hon. friend had given, he trusted, would be satisfactory to the house; and, if so, he should be at his ease.—There was, however, another accusation made by the hon. gent. (Mr. Francis), against him, which it was impossible for him to pass over in silence. He had been accused of hurrying this measure, and endeavouring to take the house by surprise. The hon. gent. had said that the printed report and papers were not delivered to the members until the moment before the subject was opened on Monday last. Here the hon. gent. was under a mistake. They were delivered at the houses of the members early on Friday morning in the last week, so that nearly four days were allowed for the examination of a very small collection of papers.—The house having honoured him with their attention on the general subject for so long a time on a former night, he should not now have taken any part in the discussion, but for some observations which fell from his learned friend near him (Mr. Serjeant Best). His learned friend had insisted, that the agreement between the creditors and the East-India company was not founded on fair principles, because the terms were too hard and severe against the real creditor, while to the fictitious, all which he obtained would be gain. It did not appear to him that this argument was entitled to great weight. If the real creditor became a party to the deed, he had no right to complain of terms, for his execution of it proceeded from his own choice. If he declined to accept it, the deed did not stand in his way. He was, as before its existence, at liberty to pursue any means of recovering his debt; no remedy was taken away from him; the same redress was open to him. This alternative considered, his learned friend, he thought, would not be inclined to risk the same observation a second time. His learned friend had, also, spoken of the act of 1797, which prohibits the servants of the company from engaging in loans to the native princes of India. Although such loans were a violation of the orders of the company, yet that act, by prohibiting them, admitted their previous legality. Subsequently to the passing of that statute, if any person engaged in such loans, without the previous sanction of the court of directors, or the governor in council of one of the company's governments, the contract was void, and the party was guilty of a misdemeanour. The commissioners, though unrestricted in this respect by the deed, could allow no claim contrary to the statute.—After a few

more

more remarks, by Mr. Serjeant Best and lord Castlereagh, the motion was agreed to.

Mr. *Francis* then said, that in prefacing his second motion, he should intrude but a few minutes on the patience of the house. In what he had said, he had not entered into the merits of the bill, good or bad. He had indeed stated, that the hon. gent. seemed to him to have carried on the measure with precipitancy; but that, he now agreed, had been sufficiently accounted for. As to his having insinuated that the hon. gent. was himself interested in the measure, he begged it to be understood that he had not insinuated, but had expressly stated, that he did not think the situation of a member of such a committee, and of a member of this house, exactly compatible; and what had been stated as to the scruples entertained by the hon. gent. himself, as to the propriety of the bill originating with him, seemed to shew that he himself was not exactly satisfied that two such characters ought to be united in the same person. The noble lord opposite had admitted that many of the claims made against the Nabob had no existence in truth, of course that there were here enormous frauds to guard against. He was certain that all the persons who at present formed the court of directors were men of honour and probity, but he could not say what they might be 20 years hence. It could not be said there never was an instance of a man's sacrificing the interest of any corporate body with which he might be connected to individual feelings. All he contended for was, that the thing was possible. As to the validity of many of the debts, he had to state a fact, that a house of great eminence lately failed at Madras, among whose assets was found a paper, amounting to 10 lacks of pagodas, of the Nabob of Arcot's. The house had employed the money entrusted to them in buying up the paper of this prince, which, from being a drug, worth next to nothing, and which in all probability did not cost more than 2*d.* in the pound, would, if admitted without proper enquiry, produce a fortune to the holders. This, he thought deserved serious attention. He had used the freedom, in making his former motion, to call the particular attention of certain individual members to the business. He now begged, in addition, to request to it the attention and assistance of the honourable directors, and particularly of their respectable chairman, whom he now saw in the house, who, he hoped, would, if possible, attend and give his assistance in the discussion. As to an observation by an hon. gent. (Mr. Addington), he had to state, that he never did say that he would not, in future, attend to Indian affairs, although what he did say on that occasion had been misrepresented out of doors. He had put what he then said on record, (see p. 394), and to that he referred. He then concluded by moving for an account of the several debts now due or demandable from the said Nabobs, distinguishing as in the former motion.

Mr. *Grant* declared, that he had no objection to any scrutiny of the kind. No person could be less interested in it, personally, than he and the other members of the court of directors. The interfering in the business originally, was very far

far from being a favourite with the directors, and if they could, they would have had nothing to do with it. They only believed that there was actually something due to the creditors, and all their wish was, that this should be paid. Such was the object of the bill. That it could have the effect of making a rise in the value of the debts, he could not conceive. The very reverse must have been the case. It reduced the annuities at the outset, to the one-half, by making the interest six instead of twelve per cent.; and the principal must have experienced a proportional depreciation.—The motion was then put and agreed to.

April 18.

On the motion of Mr. Paull, two several orders of the house of the 11th and 17th March, 1806, were read; the former, ordering the production of certain papers relative to Bhurtpore; and the latter to Surat: and the papers contained in them, were, after some observations from Mr. Addington and Mr. Grant, ordered to be produced forthwith.

Sir *A. Wellesley* requested that the hon. gent. who was about to bring a charge against the marquis Wellesley, would state the distinct nature of the charge. and of the course of proceeding which he intended to adopt.

Mr. *Paull* replied, that it was his intention on Tuesday, to lay the ground of a charge against marquis Wellesley, for extravagant expenditure of the public money, and for having applied it to purposes of unnecesary splendour, contrary to an act of parliament. With regard to the course of proceeding, he did originally mean to move, that evidence be heard at the bar of the house in the first instance; but he had heard strong objections to this mode by several members, who urged the propriety of laying the charge before the adduction of proof. The hon. gent. was proceeding to read a passage in a printed report of a speech of Mr. Burke's, on the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, in corroboration of this opinion, when he was called to order by lord Temple, who protested against this as irregular.

Mr. *Paull* then proceeded to lay the ground of his motion, and stated, at some length, from papers, letters and other documents, the circumstances of a treaty entered into with the nabob of Furruckabad, soon after the arrival of the marquis Cornwallis in India, and which was afterwards guaranteed by the East-India company. The conditions of this treaty were, that the nabob should disband his own native troops, and be in future protected by a British force, for which he was to pay a subsidy of 50,000*l.* annually, out of a revenue not exceeding 140,000*l*; and which treaty was faithfully observed by the nabob, up to the year 1801. After disbanding his own troops, this prince was, of course, unable to resist any encroachments made upon his territories, except by the aid of the British force, which was to have protected him from all his enemies. The hon. gent. then went on to state, that after the arrival of lord Wellesley, he took, for the British government, contrary to the terms of the treaty, the tribute which was before paid to the nabob by the Rohillas.—This, he was authorized to say, was contrary to the wishes of twenty-three out of the twenty-four directors of the East-India com-

company; though when he was in India, he saw a dispatch from the secret committee approving of it. After this, some additional troops were sent to repel any attacks made upon the nabob, when his subsidy was increased to fifty lacks of rupees, which was in violation of the express stipulation of the treaty. It was therefore with surprize, that he heard a noble lord (Castlereagh) move, last session, for a paper containing an approbation of these proceedings, by the secret committee. Two of the persons made to sign this approbation, namely, Mr. Devaynes and Mr. Robarts, reprobated this conduct; as did also all the members of the court of directors, with the exception of one hon. baronet (sir T. Metcalfe). He then read several papers, to shew the mal-administration of the noble marquis in India, which, he said, had produced a loss to the company, of eleven million sterling. He then further said, that by the authority of the marquis, the nabob was sent for to Lucknow, for the purpose of signing an agreement, and after his arrival, his seal was not to be found at his dwelling; and he would engage to prove, that the same seal was afterwards found in the house of the British government, at Lucknow. He said, he did not stand forth as the sole accuser of the marquis Wellesley, and read an extract from a speech of Mr. Francis, upon India subjects, written and published by the hon. gent. himself, in which he accused the Bengal government of being the aggressors in the Mahratta war. With this confirmation in his favour, he would shortly conclude with saying, that the conduct of the noble marquis was commenced in injustice, and terminated in oppression. He then moved for a Copy of the Treaty between the nabob of Furruckabad, and the East-India company, and guaranteed by the marquis Cornwallis, in 1787.

Lord *Castlereagh* having been alluded to in the course of the speech, thought it proper to set the hon. gent. right in a mistake which seemed a strong feature in his argument. The hon. gent. expressed his surprise, that he should have moved for a dispatch from the secret committee, approving of the conduct of the noble marquis; but if the hon. gent. thought to impress the house with the opinion, that that was the dispatch of the gentlemen, whose names he mentioned, he must suppose the house to be more ignorant of the course of these proceedings, than he would find it to be. The house was too well informed not to know, that the dispatch was that of the commissioners of the board of control, and not of those who signed it, who could only act as the official and regular agents on the occasion. As to all the other subjects descanted on, they would remain for future consideration: and, he only rose, for the purpose of rectifying the mistake of the hon. gent. as to that one particular fact.

Mr. *Paull* explained, that what he stated to have excited his surprise, was, that the noble lord should call for such a paper, after he was fully apprised that the court of directors had protested against it.

Lord *Castlereagh* rejoined, in explanation, that what he called for, was the dispatch of those to whom responsibility attached, which

which was not the case with the gentlemen who signed it.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* said, that the hon. gent. might have saved himself much trouble, and the house a good deal of time, had he merely moved for the papers in question, without entering into such a long preliminary detail on the subject. He had not the slightest wish to oppose the production of the papers; neither should he say one word on the subject of the charges that had been advanced. He should only request the house to keep themselves free from every bias that might be produced by what had been said, and to sacrifice some time in investigating the documents now moved for.

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* thought, that in the management of an immense empire like India, it was possible that a governor-general might, for the salvation of the country, be obliged, in some instance or other, to violate the strict letter of the law, and yet deserve the thanks of the country. He had himself been thirty-eight years a member of parliament; he had heard almost every thing that had been said in that house upon the affairs of India, and had read all the documents that had been printed; and he thought that no member was qualified to vote a censure on the governor-general for any particular transaction, without having studied very much in detail the whole system of the Indian administration, and the various treaties which were contracted with the native powers, and also the manner in which those treaties were observed by the native powers.

Mr. *Francis* said, that the particular appeal made to him, justified him in saying a few words. As to the powers of the commissioners of control, and the court of directors, he had, when the bill was brought into the house in 1784. by Mr. Dundas, particularly reprobated the absurdity and inconsistency which, even according to the present statement of the noble lord (Castlereagh) it clearly involved. He was not talking of the law as it was now, but only mentioning what opinion he had given, when it was a bill. What did it enact? Why, that the ostensible power should be first in twenty-four directors, next in three persons chosen from these as a secret committee, but that in fact it should be in neither. A control might be necessary, and it might perhaps be proper sometimes to supersede the orders of the directors, but the absurdity was, that the secret committee, after giving one dispatch as that which they approved, might afterwards be compelled to sign one diametrically the reverse, and one which they abhorred. As to their protests, these were not known, and their authority was thus given to measures, of which, in the most positive manner, they disapproved. Hence the ruinous situation to which our India possessions were reduced, and the degradation of the court of directors. Now, as to the appeal to him, if he wished to be silent, he might do as the hon. gent. did to whom he formerly alluded, (Mr. Sheridan) that is, stay away while his duty required he should be present.—[The Speaker reminded the hon. gent. that it was irregular to bring charges against a member who was absent.]—Mr. Francis, in continuation, observed, that he charged him with nothing but staying

staying away; he believed his opinions remained unaltered, and he would surely come sometime to support them. When the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) consulted him about this business, he had rather discouraged him from going on with it. It would do him no good —but if he was satisfied with that reward which every honest mind must feel in doing his duty, he would have that and no other.—He would experience desertion—perhaps he could not say desertion, as he had not been encouraged, but he would not be supported. As to his own speech, it would not become him to say any thing in praise of it, but the more he thought on the subject, the more he believed what he there stated to be true; and he confessed that it contained charges of a very high nature. His right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) had approved of it, and had declared it to be unanswerable. In that speech he never mentioned a wish to impeach lord Wellesley — but if that speech were unanswerable, he certainly ought to be impeached. It might be asked, why he did not proceed upon these charges?—that was not his object. His design was to have lord Wellesley recalled and another system adopted, but he, at the same time, thought that there were sufficient grounds of impeachment against that nobleman. His object was in some measure answered, when lord Cornwallis was sent to India; and as to the impeachment of lord Wellesley, he did not proceed with that, partly because he was not equal to such a task, and partly because he had little hopes of having efficient support.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* begged leave to trouble the house with a few words, in answer to what had fallen from his honourable friend. His honourable friend near him seemed to hint, that he, (Mr. Fox) and others who agreed with him, had, in opposition to their former conduct, wished to disparage this proceeding, and to throw obstacles in the way. There was not the smallest foundation for such suspicions, nor were there any grounds whatever for arraigning his conduct on that head. As to the speech of his honourable friend, (Mr. Francis) he had undoubtedly said, that it was unanswerable; not meaning to make this broad assertion absolutely, but because, in fact, no attempt had ever been made to answer it. He approved of it certainly, altogether, and partly, perhaps, for this reason among others, that there his honourable friend had professed to drop all idea of proceeding to an impeachment. Yet it was rather hard that he should think it incumbent on those who thought that there was a great deal of blame somewhere, and that a bad system had been pursued, to support an impeachment or any motion for criminal proceedings. He totally disclaimed any such idea. It might happen that a person might disapprove a bad system without being committed to support a criminal charge. When a bad system of government prevailed, the best mode of remedying this was not, in general, by impeaching an individual. The object was, to remove the person who carried on such a system, and to take care that none such should be acted upon in future; and, this being obtained, it might often be inexpedient to carry the matter any farther. But, at the same time, there might be particular acts, of so enormous a kind as to call

call for impeachment. This he did not mean to deny. But he and his honourable friend had a great deal of experience on this subject. This was certainly not a proper time for enquiry. He (Mr. Fox) acted as he found it necessary to do, with respect to systems in Europe. — About these systems there might be, and, no doubt, there often was, a great deal of error in judgment. He might disapprove of, and strongly oppose them; and, if he could accomplish his object, which was the destruction of these systems, he would certainly not always think it necessary to resort to enquiries. That was his opinion generally, though, undoubtedly, there might be exception to the general rule. If this rule was proper with respect to all executive governments, it was particularly so with regard to India. Now, that he ought to bring a regular charge in all instances where he disapproved of a particular system of conduct, was a conclusion to which he could by no means assent. Impeachment was a bad mode of proceeding, except in particular cases; and certainly it was not advisable to adopt it with regard to a governor-general of India merely on account of his system. One hon. gent. had said, that all these papers ought to be examined by every member of this house, before he voted on this question. This, perhaps, might, when they were very voluminous, be in some instances incompatible with other duties; but he believed that in cases where the necessity was not great, it was possible that such charges might be brought forward rather with a view to the popularity which they might acquire, than from any hopes of ultimate success. He had approved highly of his hon. friend's speech, and the more so as he had disclaimed any idea of a charge of impeachment. He did not say that impeachment ought in all cases to be abandoned; but he really was of opinion, that if it were often to be resorted to, it would, from its difficulties, be soon given up in despair, and impunity might thus be procured for almost all sorts of crimes and misdemeanours committed by a governor-general of India. As to desertion, he certainly could not be said to desert a person whom he had never encouraged; but since the trial of Mr. Hastings, they might say, if they pleased, that he shrunk from all India impeachments, or flew from them, or any worse term might be used, if a worse could be found. To this he would make no answer. But so far was he from deserving the insinuation which had been thrown out against him, of having altered his opinion with his situation, that the only reason why he was present at this debate at all, was, the very circumstances of that change. He scarcely ever attended these discussions before, since Mr. Hastings's impeachment. He had, indeed, attended at the delivery of the speech of his hon. friend, but that was merely a matter of courtesy to him. It was now his duty, however, to attend to all these discussions. It was, indeed, the duty of every member of parliament, but in a peculiar manner that of a person in his situation; and if he did not do it, his conduct might be liable to the worst construction. He did attend, therefore, and delivered his opinion with more freedom than he would otherwise have

 done,

done, for then he would probably have said nothing.—The hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) had given notice of a charge which he intended to bring forward on Tuesday. He would, in the interval, acquaint himself with the subject, as far as lay in his power, and give his opinion of what was the most proper mode of proceeding. The hon. gent. had read a great deal from the debates that took place relative to the trial of Mr. Hastings, and was in his opinion very properly called to order by his noble friend. (Temple.) He had looked very little into these debates, but what he had seen of them was exceedingly inaccurate, and often the very reverse of what had been said. The mode of proceeding, by bringing charge after charge, had been, upon the whole, the mode which Mr. Burke himself, and others, thought best on the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. If that mode was the best, in the present instance it might be adopted. But, while he spoke of the most proper mode, it must not be therefore understood that he agreed in the propriety of impeachment at all. As to his opinions, he did not see why he was to be so much distrusted because he did not on every occasion volunteer his notions. It was very difficult to proceed properly in a criminal case before the house, as no honest man would wish, in such an affair, to use any other influence except what might be derived from his argument; and, if this was the case, was it not better to wait till the whole matter was before the house, than to sound a trumpet in every stage of the business? This certainly would not be his conduct, nor could it be the wish of any one who was anxious only that substantial justice should be done.

Mr. *Paull* said, he did not undertake this cause with a view to popularity, but merely from a sense of duty. It was his intention to follow the precedents he had before him with respect to Mr. Hastings. He meant, on Tuesday, to produce his charge, and move to lay it on the table; and that a future day should be then fixed, to take it into consideration. Mr. Burke had laid his first charge against Mr. Hastings on the table, on the 5th of April, and it was not taken into consideration till the 8th of June. The hon. gent. expressed his thanks to the right honourable secretary, for the candid and liberal manner in which he had conducted himself.

Mr. *H. Addington* desired to know, whether it was the intention of the hon. gent. to move for any documents to support his charge, when it should be laid on the table?

Mr. *Paull* replied, that if the house should agree to his motion for laying the charge on the table, he should move to have it taken into consideration on a future day. He proposed to move for documents in support of it, and evidence to be taken at the bar, but not till the house should first decide whether they contained impeachable matter. On Friday, he proposed to bring forward his two next charges relative to disobedience of orders, and the assumption of rights contrary to law, which he should follow up by moving, that they be taken into consideration on a subsequent day.

Mr. *Grant* observed, that in general the opinion of the court of directors prevailed. He thought that the system of checks was the best system for India affairs. The board of control was a check on the court of directors, and they on the

the other hand were a check on the board of control. When differences on grave subjects prevailed, it was material that the opinions of all the parties should be brought under consideration. If the house entertained the question, it should sift it to the bottom, with a view to obtain substantial justice to all the parties.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, it appeared clearly that the opinions of the directors were totally overruled by the board of control, and the treaties with the Vizier, with Oude, and the Nizam, were convincing proofs of it. His sentiments, with regard to the affairs of India, were still the same as they had ever been; but instead of pressing questions regarding impeachments, he thought the house would do better to adopt resolutions, which might in future prevent transactions, such as had passed within the last three years.

Mr. *W. Smith* having understood that he had the misfortune of falling under the censure of his hon. friend (Mr. Francis), on a former day, for a temporary absence, and having heard the same censure repeated against a right hon. gent. (Mr. Sheridan) this day, rose to state, for the consolation of his hon. friend and the house, that his absence had in part been occasioned, in the former instance, by his waiting on that hon. friend, to ascertain the part he meant to take on the occasion, and that his right hon. friend remained of his former opinion, and would attend in his place whenever the subject should be brought forward. The several motions were then agreed to.

April 21.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* rose, in consequence of the notice which he had previously given, of a motion for a paper containing the opinion of the court of directors relative to the transactions in India, during the administration of lord Wellesley. Before he proceeded to make his motion, he hoped the house would allow him to preface it by a few preliminary observations. He first apologised for himself in taking up this business, but he was placed in this situation by the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Huddlestone) having abandoned his original intention of moving for this paper. He disclaimed all idea of moving for it with a view to its being made a ground of charge, or a point of evidence against lord Wellesley. Much as he disapproved of the system upon which that noble lord acted, he had no intention of this kind. There would be sufficient opportunity afterwards for his declaring his opinion on that subject. His object in moving for this paper then, was to make it a ground of charge against the late board of controul, and the noble lord (Castlereagh) who presided there. If it appeared afterwards that the proceedings of that board had been just and proper, nobody could be more ready to acknowledge his error than he would be; but, unless he was very much mistaken indeed, it would turn out that there were good grounds of charge against them. The noble lord had, year after year, gone on stating that the affairs of India were in a condition of the highest prosperity. The directors now said that they were on the brink of ruin. One or other must be mistaken; and his object was, to ascertain which statement was correct, and to whom the evils that had fallen upon India were to be attributed, supposing that the opinion of the directors was well

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founded. This he considered as a very proper subject of deliberation for the house. The dispatch of the court of directors to the government of Bengal, disapproving of the system that had been pursued, had been submitted to the late board of control, and was withheld by them. The directors were at the same time obliged to sign a dispatch contradicting their real sentiments, and approving those very measures which they considered as pernicious. Was the noble lord prepared to own himself the author of the awkward and unpleasant situation in which the directors were thus placed? What share of such a measure would he take upon himself, and what would he ascribe to others? He called the attention of the house to the state of the unfortunate directors, who had a dispatch forced upon them, contradictory to what was their real opinion, and this a dispatch which was afterwards laid before the house as a statement of their real sentiments. This was the effect of that system for the government of India which had been so much opposed by his right hon. friend, (Mr. Fox,) and which, had his bill been adopted, would never have taken place. The court of directors were without power, and the board of control without responsibility. He would ask any gent. what would be his feelings, were he called upon in his private capacity to approve of what was contrary to his real sentiments? It was not for him to criticise the conduct of the directors, or to examine how far they were culpable in their compliance. Probably it was not in their power to have acted otherwise than they did. He confessed he had reason, on this occasion, to fear the opposition of some of those friends with whom he usually acted; but he was not conscious of having expressed any opinion contrary to those which they had been in the habit of maintaining. He should, at least, have the satisfaction of thinking, that the sentiments he had delivered respecting the inefficacy and absurdity of the present system for the government of India were similar to theirs. The noble lord then replied to several objections which he thought might be made to his motion, and concluded with moving, "That there be laid before the house a dispatch, approved by the court of directors, dated 3d April, 1805, to the governor-general in council; the answer from the board of control refusing to transmit the same; and a reply from the court of directors to that answer."

Mr. *Hudleston*.—Sir, as I had given repeated notice of intending to move for papers which would have included an extract from the most important of those now moved for by the noble lord, I should have felt it necessary to offer a few words on the present occasion, even if I had not been particularly alluded to by the noble lord, lest my silence now should be as much misconstrued as I find the motive has been which induced me to relinquish my intention of bringing forward those motions. The noble lord, by way of distinguishing his own object from mine, has stated, that his is not to criminate lord Wellesley. Whenever an investigation may take place on the important subject of the state of our affairs in India, I trust I shall not shrink from the discussion. But, in respect to my motive for wishing the papers in question to be before the house, the facts are briefly and simply these. A discussion in

this

this house, near the close of the last session, had given an impression, both here and without doors, that the executive body of the East-India company, had approved of certain treaties concluded at Oude, and transactions connected with them. A paper certainly very favourable to that idea, had been moved for, and ordered to be laid before the house, in which approbation of those transactions is expressed under the hands of the secret committee of the court of directors. Now, sir, knowing that the court of directors had not even been made acquainted with those transactions until two years after the date of that letter, and that, on their becoming acquainted with them, they had recorded their disapprobation of them; I felt anxious to remove the impression which the production of that letter had occasioned. This was my sole object, and I therefore determined to move for certain papers, which, if produced, I knew would accomplish it, and which had reference to no other subject, than to the affairs of Oude and Furruckabad.—But, from circumstances which must be fresh in the recollection of the house, and to which it became me to yield every attention, I was induced to postpone my motions three several times: until at length the document, an extract from which was the most material of the papers I had intended to move for, was demanded by the East-India board, and after some days laid before them. The production of it here, therefore, was no longer necessary for the only object I had in view. I consequently determined to relinquish my intention to move for the papers; and I did so the more readily, from the consideration that persons to whose judgment I feel, and ought to feel deference, saw objections to the production of that paper; and also because, although the paper in question expresses the general sentiments of the court of directors, I might, in moving for it, appear to commit that body with regard to the necessity of its production here, which I had no authority to do.—But these considerations, without the more material one of the paper having been produced elsewhere, would have given place to the anxiety I felt, to exempt even the limited share and space which I occupy in the court of directors, from that proportion of the merit or demerit which may be thought hereafter to attach to the transactions in question. I trust I have shewn, that there was no inconsistency in my relinquishing my intention of moving for those papers, and now that the paper in question, and others, are moved for by the noble lord, I certainly shall vote for their production, though I cannot vote for it exactly on the grounds stated by the noble lord; for I am unable to perceive how the production of the paper in question can be considered as furnishing ground of accusation against any party, against the board of commissioners, any more than against the court of directors. For, surely, if the proceedings at Oude, and any other proceedings animadverted upon in that document, have been just and right, the court of directors will be open to censure for the disapprobation expressed of them on that account, and the board of commissioners will be entitled t commendation for having rejected it. To consider, therefore, the paper as furnishing a ground of accusation against either party, seems to me,

me, would be like prejudging that question. But I shall support the motion on what appears to me to be broader ground—that every paper on India affairs, that has been called for since the attention of this house and the public has been drawn to the late transactions in India, has been granted indiscriminately. And in respect to the Oude transactions, there is this additional argument for the production at least of so much of the document in question, as relates to them; namely, that the house has already ordered the production of a paper, expressing the approbation entertained of those transactions by the board of India commissioners. That paper of course has made its own impression on the house. The paper in question, on the other hand, expresses the disapprobation entertained by the court of directors of the same transactions: and as the former has been granted, there seems an obvious principle in favour of not withholding the other; or at least of so much of it as relates to those affairs which are before the house; namely, those of Oude and Furruckabad. At the same time I am aware, that the production of that particular paper is liable to the objection, that it is a proposed letter or dispatch only, which was not transmitted, and of course no opportunity of answering it given to the government, to which it was meant to be addressed. This objection I should feel to be decisive against the production of the paper now, if the late governor-general were still absent in India; but, as he is on the spot, it is open to him to have a copy of the paper to answer it, and to have a copy of his answer also moved for, and laid before this house: it may be said also, that in effect the paper has been answered in the reasons which the board of commissioners gave for rejecting it. But a stronger answer to the objection may be found in the fact, that a paper under the same circumstances has been moved for, and ordered without objection or discussion. The case was this: the court of directors imagined that the act of the 33d of the king, in the whole of the spirit of it, but more literally and expressly in the 57th clause, rendered it illegal for a governor to appoint to any civil office under the crown, any person not a covenanted servant of the company, and that even of those servants, no one who had not been 12 years actually resident in India, could be appointed to any place of which the emoluments exceeded 4,000*l*. per annum. Proceeding on this idea, the court of directors framed a dispatch, censuring and annulling as illegal, the appointment of a gentleman not in the service, to be deputy governor of Oude. The board of control rejected the dispatch, and wrote a letter to the court of directors, justifying the appointment as legal and proper. Copies both of the rejected dispatch, and of the answer from the board of commissioners, were moved for in this house, and I think by a member of the late board of commissioners, and were ordered without any objection. I am not aware of any objection to the production of the paper now moved for, that was not applicable to the production of the other. On these grounds, sir, I think it right to support the present motion for papers, as I have done every former motion made for India papers when I have been present in the house, in order that every information

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that can be derived from papers relating to transactions, in the consequences of which the public is deeply interested, may be fully and impartially before the house.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* declared, that it was with regret he heard that such a motion as the present was to be made, and more especially that it was to be made by two persons for whom he had a great respect (Mr. Huddlestone and Mr. R. Thornton). But the pain which he felt was not a little increased when he found it was to be made by the noble lord near him, (Hamilton) for whom he had the highest esteem, whole personal regard he would wish to conciliate, and with whom he would always desire to cultivate a political connection; for to him that noble lord's ideas respecting the constitution, and his sentiments on political subjects in general, appeared to rest on principles so just, and well founded, that it gave him the greatest concern to differ from him, even in the application of those principles to any particular point. But he thought that the present question ought to be considered with a view to the judicial enquiry about to come before the house, and therefore our attention ought to be directed to justice alone. Now, viewing the matter in this light, he could not reconcile it to his mind that the papers called for by his noble friend were not manifestly and grossly unjust. His noble friend seemed to admit that it would be improper to produce them as a ground of crimination against lord Wellesley, and he was glad that he coincided with him even thus far; but let us consider whether they would not operate against him in an unjust and oppressive manner. First, he might contend that these papers were not strictly official: but suppose they were, was the character of a man, under accusation, to be weighed down even by official papers? Look at the common judicial proceedings of the country, with which every person must be more or less acquainted; would it be endured that the general opinion should be stated as a ground of crimination against a person on trial? Nay, would not the publication of any thing like this against his character be a reason for putting off the trial, instead of being admitted as evidence before a jury? Now, to apply this to the present case; whose opinions were they calling for? those of the court of directors. But they, by law, could only communicate their opinions to the board of control; though, certainly, he did not mean to say that this was a good law. This, however, was at present the only way in which they could give their opinion; and when they were obliged to sign a thing which they strongly disapproved, their only remedy was that which was open to all in such a situation; namely, an application to parliament. But, besides, what were these directors? They were the persons supposed to be most conversant with the affairs of India; and, both on account of their knowledge of the subject, and their respectability as a body, justly considered as a high authority. But the higher their authority, so much the worse would it be to produce these papers when a man was under accusation. This was so clear, on every well-founded principle of jurisprudence, that he was amazed that it could escape the attention of any person. Now, in this case, there were some particular circumstances. The first was, the anomalous situation of the

the directors. They were bound to execute the commands of others. In every other department, when any thing was proposed to a person which appeared to him of the most mischievous tendency, he might refuse to sign it; but they were by law bound to sign, whether they approved or not, and their condition was more anomalous than that of any class of men in Europe, even under the most despotic government. The only remedy they had, when they found that the board of control insisted upon measures, which to them appeared of the most dangerous tendency, was to come and state their case to the house. Last session, a motion was made for a letter of the secret committee, which could properly be considered only as a letter of the board of control. It was fairly moved for, because an individual, when his conduct was called in question, might justly enough call for such documents as shewed the subsequent approbation of his superiors,—he said of his superiors, because though you (the directors) remonstrated with the board of control, you did not, it seems, think the matter of sufficient importance to come to the house and state your case, which, if you were aggrieved, was a plain and obvious course for you to pursue. Another point was, that the directors probably wished to defend themselves. This was not the stage for that. When the affair of the marquis Wellesley was decided upon, and when the papers now called for could have no influence on his case, then they might fairly be moved for. But it would be an intolerable hardship to an accused person, if you could say that you did not call for such papers to injure him, but to defend your own characters. The answer would be, that he had a great regard for your characters, but, in defending them, you were not entitled to injure him. There was another point to be considered. If the actions of lord Wellesley were such as they were represented to be, then the papers would operate against the board of control, and their influence would be increased when it was found that the board had rejected the better counsel of the directors. But, till the conduct of that board came under consideration, the papers ought not to be produced. If, indeed, the directors had come at the time when the transaction took place, and stated their opinion to the house, and their situation, that would have been a different matter.—With regard to the point of information, the public had it, and it was of course impossible that it could be kept from members of parliament, who formed a part of that public. It was not, therefore, for information that the other papers were called for, but on account of the authority which they would have in the enquiry before the house. But what was the difference, since they were already before the public? Truly the difference was, that the commons were to pass judgment in this enquiry, and not the public. Now, as far as this argument had been used, it would weigh more the other way. If you only want information, you have that, and as to the authority, the greater that was, so much the worse for the argument and the person accused; for this dispatch contained a strong case against the marquis Wellesley. What convenience could result from its production? He saw none, but the contrary. Were the accusers to stand behind the East-

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India company, or were the directors to support themselves at present by a case, of which they had not complained at the proper time? He hoped that neither of these things could be permitted. But then it was said that these papers were not intended to criminate lord Wellesley. One said that they were intended to criminate neither the board of control, nor lord Wellesley, and his noble friend wanted them as a general piece of information. But then they would have that effect collaterally, if not directly, and therefore they ought not to be produced. We were not at present considering the situation of the finances, or the fabric of the government of India. These might come under review, and then the papers might be produced. He knew that his noble friend, amongst all the excellent qualities he possessed, would regret to do a wrong thing, and he would ask him how he would feel, if, afterwards, these papers should, if now produced, be used in a manner which he would disapprove? Nothing at present would be lost in point of information, and though these papers might be useful at another period, they would just now be attended with the most injurious effects. Though it was not very usual to move the previous question on a motion for papers, yet, as there was nothing in the forms of the house to prevent it, he would move it in the present instance.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that the degree of astonishment under which he rose to present himself to the house, after what had just fallen from the right honourable secretary, scarcely left him the power of utterance. When that right honourable gentleman, and his friends, were on the opposition side of the house, he always understood them to be not only the warm friends, but the loud and strenuous advocates for investigation on Indian affairs. They had repeatedly asserted, and urged, that unless a thorough and minute enquiry into the whole system was speedily adopted, India must be inevitably lost to this country; but now that they had changed places, they, it seemed, had totally changed their opinions also, and deprecated enquiry as useless and unnecessary. Had his majesty's ministers been called on to produce documents from a commander-in-chief, there might be some plea for withholding them as of a secret and confidential nature; but how they could argue, that the letters, or dispatches, made up by the court of directors, for the purpose of being sent out to India, should be called unofficial and irrelevant upon an enquiry of this sort, he was wholly at a loss to account; but there was a precedent on the journals of the 18th of June, 1801, in direct refutation of such a pretence; for on that occasion an order was made to lay before the house, copies of the paragraphs prepared by the court of directors, and laid before the board of control, in order to be by them considered, and inserted in the dispatches sent out to India. The right honourable gentleman, he thought, must admit, that this precedent was conclusive authority; and there was also another case in point, upon a motion made by the right honourable gentleman himself, in 1798. The only argument in which he could agree with the right honourable gentleman was, that justice should not be violated; and if he could conceive that any such violation were likely

likely to result from the production of the papers in question, he should be one of the last men to urge it; but seeing no such cause of apprehension, he could conceive no reason why the house, in proceeding to an enquiry of so much importance, should debar itself from seeing what was the opinion of the court of directors, and of the board of control, on the subjects of Indian affairs. Those were the officers to whom the government of India was entrusted, and surely, their opinions must be extremely important for the house to know. When the investigation, relative to the conduct of Mr. Hastings, was proposed to parliament, and the house had agreed to proceed to the enquiry, if any man had held such language as that of the right honourable gentleman this night, in resistance to the production of documents so necessary to the information of the house; if any man had said, "Don't let us weigh down a criminal by such a mass of unofficial evidence," he would have encountered the right honourable gentleman's strongest reprobation. After the repeated assurances given to the house by the friends of that noble lord, of their readiness to give, upon every subject connected with his conduct, the fullest information to the house, the refusal in this instance was a strong reflection upon the character of that noble lord, and upon the conduct of the right honourable gentleman. If the noble lord's conduct was pure and unsullied, he could have nothing to fear from the production of these, or of any other opinions. He himself really had no idea that the noble lord was guilty of any intentional criminality, though it was possible he might have fallen into errors but too incident to men in great power, by making an improper use of that power, and this was really the utmost he meant to impute to the noble lord. But if differences of opinion had existed between the court of directors and the board of control, upon this subject, he owned, that it was somewhat singular that the India Company, and the public, should be put in possession of those differences, and parliament alone kept in the dark. In short, conceiving as he did, that the house, by being possessed of those papers, would have a much more accurate knowledge of the existing state of India, and be, of course, better capacitated to discuss the subject, he should persist in supporting the noble lord's motion.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* declared, that nothing ever astonished him more than the astonishment expressed by the honourable member in rising to answer the speech of his right honourable friend; (Mr. Fox) and in the whole of what had fallen from that right honourable gentleman, his opinion so fully coincided, that he felt it unnecessary to add any thing further upon points so ably and so eloquently elucidated. The noble lord who brought forward this motion, had professed, that he had no intention thereby to criminate the conduct of marquis Wellesley. He was willing to give the noble lord full credit for sincerity in his declaration; but yet he thought it was impossible, if those papers were produced, but that they must give rise to opinions injurious to his character, and strongly tend to excite prejudices against him. The document alluded to certainly was laid upon the table of the court of proprietors, by an honourable gentleman

gentleman, who certainly conceived it to be a confidential communication. It had, by some underhand means, he understood, found its way into print, and it contained a series of opinions in condemnation of the conduct of lord Wellesley, from the time he first set foot in India, upon a variety of points totally unconnected with the matters now in charge, and consequently irrelevant, and going only to excite general prejudice, in order to influence any decision that might take place upon the particular points in question. The house, therefore, in acceding to the motion for such a paper, at this moment, would, in his opinion, do an act of the grossest injustice, for which they could make no reparation, but by directing that all the documents upon which the court of directors had founded these opinions, should be laid before them. He, therefore, should oppose the motion.

Mr. *R. Thornton* having felt himself particularly alluded to in the course of the debate, thought himself called on to state his feelings and opinions. The house, in refusing to comply with the noble lord's motion, would voluntarily shut its own eyes, and keep itself in darkness and ignorance, when the fullest information was absolutely necessary. If he had been heretofore backward in moving to bring those documents forth, it was not because he thought them unimportant or unnecessary, but in deference to the opinions of the right honourable secretary, (Mr. Fox) the weight of whose talents and influence he understood would be against him. But now that the motion was brought before the house, it placed him in quite a different situation. Notwithstanding the resistance given to the noble lord, he was convinced, if the house did but even suspect what where the contents of the documents moved for, and the importance of the question, it would be so speedily called to discuss, it would be extremely anxious to have them produced. The embarrassed situation of the company's affairs, in consequence of the wars in India, was well known to the house. It was equally well known, that differences of opinion had long subsisted between the court of directors, and the board of control, respecting Indian affairs; and that the directions forwarded to India by the court of directors had not been obeyed. But when the house was told that the Indian system was to be reformed, that the board of control was to be changed, and that an entirely new system was to be adopted, was it not important that the house should be put in possession of the opinions of the court of directors, as to what were the errors of the former system, in order to judge how India ought to be governed? Was it not of high importance that a declaration on this subject, signed by twenty-nine independent men, out of the thirty appointed under an act of parliament for the direction of Indian affairs, should be in possession of the house, in order to its guidance, on proceeding upon so important a topic? The affairs of India, both at home and abroad, had become extremely embarrassed, and those embarrassments might ultimately come home with claims upon that house. He hoped they would not; but it was known the company had not been able to pay the 500,000*l.* a year, to which they were pledged to the country, as the consideration of their charter. When papers were now called for to elucidate the

the affairs of the company, gentlemen were told they must not allude to the past. How then, except by recurring to the past, were ruinous errors to be avoided for the future? Would the house shut its eyes against all information, and proceed in the dark? Gentlemen exclaimed, "Do not set conveniency against justice." True, but justice looked two ways, and required as much the vindication of the directors as of the noble lord. The papers would be produced sooner or later; every member would read it, and it was better it should be read in an avowed and direct way, To attempt to check the perusal of it, would be as vain as to attempt to stop an irruption of Mount Vesuvius. He had no private difference with lord Wellesley, though he disapproved of his administration of India; he had no wish to stigmatize any part of the administration of the great man, now no more; it was his intention, too, to support the present administration. He, therefore, could have no factious motive. The country was in the situation of a ship beset with storms and dangers, and in this situation he should say, with a departed hero, "England expects every man to do his duty." Where there had been a perversion of talents, and a waste of public money; where the India debt had been increased by lord Wellesley from 11 to 20 millions, investigation was due to the country.

Lord *Castlereagh* observed, that although the professed object of the motion of the noble lord was that of criminating the late board of control, that certainly was not the whole object of it. He had no disposition to conceal any thing, and therefore as such he would have no objection to any document which could be called for; but it would give him more satisfaction, if these documents were brought altogether under the contemplation of parliament, and the whole made properly public; it would be improper to make this document so without other documents before that house. He knew it had been laid on the table of the India house, and some how or other had found its way in print; but that was no rule for the house of commons. Its proceedings should be founded on regularity. He was persuaded that those who laid the dispatch in question on the table of the India house considered it as a confidential document, and fit to be produced, but he wished it had not found its way before the public, unless it had been accompanied by others, and the explanations of the reasons of the court of directors for their opinions should have appeared; without all which it was impossible for those who perused the document to understand it. He did not find it difficult to decide whether the affairs of Oude were properly subject to the board of control, or to the court of directors, but these were points not now before the house. He concurred entirely with the opinion of the right hon. secretary, who had so ably spoken on this occasion, in the view he had taken of it. If the transactions of Oude were improper, the board of commissioners had made themselves parties to that act, by the approbation they gave of the conduct, and, therefore, a complaint ought long ago to have been made against them, but this was not the proper course to take for that purpose. This case had been stated to be similar to a case of a document being called for, and produced on the subject of the trial of

Mr.

Mr. Hastings. But a distinction was to be taken between the two cases; that was an act in itself legal, being a dispatch from government, and transmitted to India, and it became necessary to lay it before parliament, in order to be decided upon; that which was now called for was only the opinion of a number of individuals, and, whatever weight that opinion might have, the house would form its own upon the facts, and not upon the opinion of others, as the right hon. secretary had justly stated; and, therefore, there was no ground laid for bringing this dispatch before the house. In saying this, he was not proposing to delay the remedy, if there was any misconduct in the affairs of India, for the propriety or impropriety of the transactions of Oude did not decide the general merits of the affairs of India, or of the conduct of the board of control; they must be decided on their own merits, and the opinion of individuals had nothing to do with the general view of the affairs of India. Nothing in the refusal of laying this dispatch before parliament would have the tendency of rendering the India board less amenable to parliament than they would be if the document was before the house. A great part of the speech of the noble lord went to impeach the conduct of the board of control, and to impeach the system of general policy acted upon in India; but if he had any disposition to censure that board, he apprehended the noble lord would find some difficulty in getting the support of the house, but the non-compliance with this motion would be no obstacle to him in that pursuit. The truth was, that although he was aware that considerable difficulties attached to the affairs of this country in India, they were not insuperable, neither was he disposed to take the same gloomy view of them that some did. Certainly the expenditure was very heavy at present, but that arose from the state of war in which it was engaged, and which he hoped would be of short duration; he was confident we should be able to struggle with those difficulties, and to surmount them, and although gentlemen appeared to differ so much, yet he believed, that on a close view of our condition in India, and a due consideration of all our circumstances, without which it would be impossible to form a correct opinion, the points of difference would not ultimately be so many as some gentlemen at present apprehended. There was one general observation to be made on this subject, and that was, that much of the conduct of the marquis of Wellesley, which some gentlemen appeared disposed to censure, was conduct in direct obedience to the direction of the legislature itself; so that, if these measures were wrong, no complaint should be made against any power except that of the legislature. As to the general merits of the transaction to which the document now called for referred, opportunities would be afforded of discussing them in due season, and that discussion would embrace many points besides those to which that dispatch related, and which were not now under the view of the house, without which the discussion must be partial; all which defects might be supplied hereafter by a full discussion of all the affairs of India, and nothing short of it could answer any good purpose.

Mr. *Paull* said a few words expressive of his determination to lay before

before the house to-morrow, criminating charges against the marquis Wellesley; and also of his surprise that Mr. Fox should not have supported the motion of the noble lord to-night, instead of moving the previous question upon it.

Lord *H. Petty* was desirous of explaining the reason for his vote on this occasion, which should be for the previous question moved by his right hon. friend. With his noble friend who opened this debate, he had the happiness to concur on general and great constitutional principles; and he trusted he should long have that happiness uninterrupted by casual differences upon minor points. He thought it important to the public, that the paper now called for, should, at some time or other, be introduced, and in voting for the previous question he should be sorry that any one should conceive him to alter his opinion on the subject of the publicity of all sorts of necessary documents for the information of the house. All he conceived to be the effect of the previous question was this, that the production of the paper moved for at this particular moment should be suspended until the accusation against the noble marquis should be disposed of one way or the other, that accusation being of a criminating nature, and the authority of this paper could not be made use of in the house in voting on that accusation. This paper contained the opinion of certain individuals on the conduct of that noble lord, and was a necessary piece of information for the house some time or other; but not so at present, for it was an authority which it would be unjust for the house to weigh when considering the conduct of the noble marquis. The house would form its judgment of that noble marquis from his actions, and not from the opinion of others. Although the house might hereafter possess itself of the information which the paper contained, the house, in voting for the previous question now, only suspended the production of the paper until the pending accusation against the noble marquis should be disposed of one way or other, and then the paper might very properly be called for in order to the general discussion of India affairs.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, he had so great a sense of the importance of the paper, that he would vote for the production of it, even under the present circumstances, if it could not be more properly produced at another time. The difficulties ministers had to contend with at present, were so great, that he was sorry to see their attention distracted by any Indian questions. When a virtual censure had been passed on lord Wellesley's administration, by sending out the late noble governor, whom all lamented, to establish a contrary system; and when a noble lord, in whom there was every reason to confide, was about to be sent out to confirm the amended system, he thought the proposed investigation unnecessary and unwise. When investigation was once entered upon, there would be no end to it. There must be a general revisal. He was astonished that 29 out of 30 directors, had sat still when their opinions were so broadly departed from; that they submitted to sign a garbled and mutilated abstract of that opinion, and that they remained a whole year without coming to the house to remonstrate, under an insult that must have been most galling to their feelings.

Doctor

Dr. *Laurence* strenuously supported the original motion for the production of the dispatch in question, as a necessary piece of information. He did not think it wise to depend much on the personal character and qualities of individuals in the conduct of public affairs, although he had no exceptions to take to those who had been alluded to on this occasion. It was childish to say abuses should be suffered to go on, because enquiry was inconvenient. To abstain from the production of a paper of the most useful general nature, because part of the information it contained might be applied to a particular question, he looked upon as foolish and absurd. The questions on the marquis Wellesley's conduct were so plain and direct, that they could be easily decided upon, without having recourse to collateral or remote matter, which nobody would think of connecting with them.

Mr. *Grant* (late chairman of the India company) said, that whatever his opinion might be of the system of measures pursued in India, in the latter years of lord Wellesley's administration, as indeed of many of those measures he could not help thinking very unfavourably, yet he was no way concerned in bringing forward the enquiries respecting them, which an hon. member (Mr. Paull) had agitated in that house. It was not the practice of the court of directors to bring impeachments before parliament. They were not represented in that house; concord between the different branches of the India administration, was in general important to the due management of affairs; and the situation of the court was a delicate one, when they had to contend with persons of high rank and connections, who filled the first situations in the India government, who filled the first situations and supported, probably, as they would be, by the administration at home; under which circumstances, the mode of impeachment must be a very unpromising and inexpedient one for them to take. Even without proceeding to that extremity, they must, in the circumstances described, sometimes find themselves under great difficulties in following what appeared to them to be the path of duty. Besides this general reason, which weighed with him as a member of the direction, he thought it evident that unless the leading talents and influence of that house supported a motion for impeachment, an attempt to introduce it must prove a vain attempt; he moreover thought the present crisis, in which the safety of the nation called for the chief care and attention of the house, an unsuitable time for going into so intricate and tedious a business as the impeachment of an Indian governor would be found; and he avowed still another reason for being disinclined, at the present moment, to the agitation of such a measure, namely, the importance of preserving to the country, in its actual situation, the union of all the talents and interests which formed the present administration, among the members of which, it was understood that a difference of sentiment respecting the conduct of the late government did exist, and that difference, if they were forced into the public assertion of it, perhaps upon various points, might have consequences prejudicial to the country. Influenced by these views, though he had at first approved of the intention of an hon. colleague of his

(Mr. Huddlestone) to move for an extract of the paper now in question, as calculated to elucidate a subject already before the house: yet, on further consideration, and on hearing the ground on which that motion would be resisted, he had advised his hon. colleague to drop his intention. But the present motion was a very different one. It did not call for an extract of the proposed dispatch of the court of directors, in order to throw light on the Oude negotiation of 1801; it called for the whole of that dispatch, not with any particular reference to the charge respecting Oude, but for the purpose of bringing the general matter of it before the house. This was a new question; and to such a proposition he could not refuse his assent, because if he did, it might seem that he was unwilling to bring into public light, a dispatch, in the framing of which he had his share of responsibility, and to the contents of which he still professed to adhere. It was true, he rather discouraged, and partly for some of the reasons already mentioned, the demand made by the proprietors of India stock, for the production of this document; and how the letter had got into print, as he perceived it now to be, he was utterly ignorant, having had no idea of any intention to print it, till he observed a gentleman reading it as a pamphlet, in the course of that debate. But the letter being so far public, and a motion being made to bring it before that house, it was impossible for him to do otherwise than support such a motion. The letter contained the deliberate sentiments of the court of directors, upon a review, not indeed of the whole of lord Wellesley's administration, but of various measures of that administration, upon which they had thought it their duty to animadvert. Considerable as the talents of marquis Wellesley were allowed to be, and happy as some parts of his administration were, the court had been necessitated to express their disapprobation of many things, and for his own part Mr. Grant said, he lamented the occasion given for it. In particular, the letter in question contained the opinion of the court upon some of the subjects, which an hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) had brought before the house; and, notwithstanding all the ingenuity, ability, and eloquence, with which a right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) had opposed the production of the letter, because it was said to be the opinion of a third party on a cause at issue between the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) and the late governor-general, yet he (Mr. Grant) could not reconcile it to justice, or indeed, to common sense, that, in such a case, the opinion of the India company, given in the most regular form in which it could be expressed, should be shut out. The company, of whom the court of directors were the executive body, was an integral part of the system framed by the legislature, for the government of British India. It was the right and duty of the court to propose their opinions and orders upon all important subjects, relating to the government of our Eastern empire; and to shut out the sentiments of that body in a parliamentary enquiry into any of those subjects, seemed to him contrary to the whole spirit and tenor of the constitution, given by the law to British India. He thought it no valid objection to the production of their opinions in parliament, that the board of control had not sanctioned them. That reason

reason might operate the other way. The Indian government, as now framed, might be considered as a system of checks: the board of commissioners, controlled the court of directors; the court of directors, had to judge of the conduct of the government-general; the government-general in its turn, had always the power of representation respecting such orders from home, as it found to be inexpedient for the public interests; but the government-general abroad, confederating with the board of control at home, the one by originating measures there, the other by upholding those measures here, might entirely exclude the court of directors from any part, either for or against those measures, and by means of the channel of the secret committee, even from the knowledge of them. Such, in fact, had been the case with respect to the Oude negotiation in question. It was therefore but the more natural and necessary, that if parliament wished to have full information on this subject, which is now before the house, the opinion of the court of directors, as part of such information, should be received, not as a decision of the case, for then the objection of injustice urged by the right hon. gent. might lie; but as throwing light upon it, which would better enable the house to form its own judgment. Mr. Grant said, he did not support the motion for the reason assigned for it by the noble lord, that of founding a charge against the late board of control. He was happy to agree with many of the other sentiments expressed by the noble lord, but he did not desire to bring forward any such charge. Between the departments of the India board, and the court of directors, diversities of opinion might be expected, and if there was not a conciliatory spirit maintained between them, every difference might be pushed to an extreme, that would interrupt the public business. Certainly, the court had differed widely from the late board of control, concerning the conduct and measures of marquis Wellesley, and the court thought the proceeding of that board in relation to these points wrong; but he was not prepared to accuse the board of acting contrary to its opinions, and in the general conduct of the late board, he was full as ready as if the noble lord, (Castlereagh) who presided over it, was still in place, to acknowledge the ability, clearness, and intelligence which he manifested in the business of it. Mr. Grant said, he could not hear, without uneasiness, some observations which had been thrown out by the noble mover, and another speaker, concerning the situation of the court of directors in being obliged to sign dispatches dictated to them by the board of control. It did happen that this power was sometimes exercised by the board, and in cases of great moment. The law had given them this power. But in the general currency of affairs, in the thousands of orders which were to be given upon all the various subjects relating to India, the court originated the dispatches, and those dispatches were seldom materially altered. To attempt a change now, would be a delicate, and might be a dangerous undertaking. Time and practice had consolidated, for the general purposes of practical utility, the different parts of the complex machine of Indian government; and, on the whole, it had from habit acquired a facility of movement. If one piece was taken away, others might be weakened, and

and in short, the whole machine be destroyed. He therefore deprecated an attempt to make any change, the whole extent and effect of which should not be distinctly seen and proved to be beneficial. On the whole, he said, he should vote for the original motion.

Lord *Temple* said, it was necessary to explain, that this proposed dispatch, condemning the administration of lord Wellesley, had not been prepared till four or five years of his government had expired. The authorities he had to look to for the guidance of his conduct had not till then expressed any dissatisfaction. It was at the request of the court of directors that lord Wellesley retained the government in 1802. This dispatch of disapprobation had not been proposed to the board of control till the noble marquis was on the seas to return to this country, and had never reached him. He wished for the production of every paper tending to elucidate the case, but this did not bear on the case, and it went to excite prejudices of the most unjust nature.

Mr. *Windham*, though sorry to differ from certain right hon. friends of his upon the present occasion, yet, feeling the question one of great importance, and himself therefore bound to express an opinion upon it, he must give an impartial one; and, therefore, keeping totally out of view all personal considerations, as with respect to lord Wellesley, and considering the question merely as between A. and B. he was clearly of opinion that the papers ought to be produced. For though the house was bound to maintain impartial justice with respect to the character and conduct of lord Wellesley, yet it was not bound to shut its eyes and ears to every thing else upon the great subject of Indian affairs. It would not be fair to give the authority of the court of directors against what had been done, neither would it be fair to give their sanction and opinion as an authority approving of that conduct which the house would be called upon to try. In the present instance, however, there was no great danger of the house being misled by the production of the papers, as the contents of them were already pretty well known. Thinking, therefore, that the production of those papers could be of no material advantage or disadvantage to the case of the noble lord, he was inclined to vote for their production, because he thought that the house had a right to be put in possession of the means of estimating and ascertaining the value of the authority of the court of directors. Although, perhaps, according to the strict rules of one of the courts of Westminster-hall, those papers should not be granted, yet he conceived that parliament should not be fettered in the same manner. He could see no objection to the production of the papers in the shape they had been proposed, and as he thought they might convey much useful information to the house, he should support the original motion.

The *Master of the Rolls* observed, that nothing could be more widely different than the grounds which had been taken by the different gentlemen who were for the production of these papers. Some supported it as the means of exculpating the board of directors, and others as justifying the conduct of lord Wellesley; while another hon. gent. seemed to consider, that the great advantage in producing the papers would be to interest the house in the affairs of India, and

that

combine them with the enquiries that were to be made. All parties, however, appeared to agree in this conclusion, that it would be most unjust and unfair that those papers should have any operation against the noble lord, or create any prejudice which might be to his disadvantage. The general argument appeared to him to have been completely answered by the right hon. gent. who moved the previous question. But the manner the noble lord meant to apply the papers, if they should be granted, appeared to him in the highest degree unjust. Whatever might be the opinion or the conduct of the court of directors, or of the board of control, nothing would be more unfair than that lord Wellesley should be judged of, or condemned, through their medium. With respect to that noble lord, the house should consider itself somewhat in the nature of a grand jury, and although it might not be fettered by the same rules which governed inferior jurisdictions, yet it was bound not to depart from the substantial principles of justice. He did not feel that the house was driven to the dilemma which had been stated by an hon. gent.; but if he had no other alternative but to chuse between permitting a false impression to remain, or to introduce a body of evidence which he considered contrary to the established principles of justice, he should prefer the former. He therefore felt himself obliged to oppose the production of the papers.

Mr. *Alexander* disapproved of the motion, and thought the house, in ordering the production moved for, would resemble a grand jury examining evidence, not for the purpose of trying the validity of the charge, but with a view to make new accusations. This practice he deprecated as illegal and unjust.

Mr. *Fuller* thought it quite inconsistent to refuse the production of a document in that house, which had obtained such publicity out of doors, and which was so material to inform gentlemen upon the subject to which it referred.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that on account of his long and private friendship with the marquis Wellesley, he had hitherto forborne to deliver his opinion on these subjects; but he could not see how the production of this paper could at all affect his case. The fact was, that the paper was substantially before the house, and already printed; but it was printed in a surreptitious manner, without the name of any bookseller prefixed to it, and circulated in an indirect way. He therefore thought it would be much better that it should come before them regularly and officially. The government of India was, in many respects, an anomaly, and there were two parts that he thought should be kept distinct, namely, the political power, and the patronage, of India. As for the patronage, he thought it might be dangerous to the constitution, if such great additional patronage was to be given to the minister, and he therefore thought it would remain more safely in the hands of the court of directors. As for political measures, when there should be a difference of opinion between the court of directors and the board of control, he thought the opinion of the latter should preponderate. It appeared to him, that the court of directors should, however, possess every means of elucidating their conduct, and manifesting the opinions they held on India affairs.

For

For this purpose he should vote for the production of the paper.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he perfectly agreed with the right hon. gent. who spoke last, that the court of directors should certainly have an opportunity, at a proper time, of putting the house in possession of their sentiments upon the affairs of India; but it did not appear to him that the present was the proper time, when the production of the paper might have an effect on the question of impeachment, which the house were to decide on. It had been observed by every body, that the paper ought not to have any influence upon that question. It therefore appeared to him better, that it should not be produced until it was decided.—He concluded by suggesting a resolution, "that the altered dispatch of the 3d of April, 1805, had not the sanction of the court of directors."

The *Speaker* suggested to the hon. gent. that it would be necessary first to put the previous question.

Lord *A. Hamilton* shortly replied to the arguments that had been urged against his motion, and disclaimed the idea of having brought it forward with any view of prejudicing the case of the noble marquis.

Mr. *Windham* observed, that one great objection to the resolution proposed by his right honourable friend, was, that the house would thus adopt a resolution for which they had no authority before them.

Lord *Castlereagh*, in reply to a question put by Mr. Fox, stated, that the dispatch respecting the treaty of Oude, in 1803, had been drawn up by the court of directors, and altered by the commissioners of the board of control. In every thing that did not relate to questions of war or peace, the dispatches originated with the court of directors.

Mr. *Jervis* was of opinion that a period might arrive when it would be proper to produce this paper; but he thought it was not proper now. The house ought not to receive any thing against lord Wellesley that would not be received in a court of equity.

Mr. *R. Thornton* said, the house appeared to him to be in a great error in matter of fact. The court of directors had first written a dispatch, which censured strongly some part of lord Wellesley's conduct. The board of control altered that dispatch in a great many respects, and softened down several of the expressions; but still what remained was, as far as it went, the opinion of the court of directors. A right hon. gent. had conceived an improper opinion of the court of directors, if he supposed they could be absolutely forced to sign papers contrary to their opinion. If there were no other way of avoiding that, they had at least the liberty to resign their situations.—The question was then called for, and on the house dividing, there appeared

For lord A. Hamilton's motion	27
For the previous question . .	121
Majority . .	94

April 22.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.] Mr. *Paull* rose, in pursuance of the notice which he had previously given to bring forward his First Charge against marquis Wellesley. The hon. gent. said that it was not now, nor

nor had it ever been, his intention to trespass, at any unnecessary length, on the time of the house, much less at an dvanced hour of the evening, whén its attention must have been, in some degree, exhausted by a discussion certainly of much local importance to the country. He should barely state the heads of the charges he meant to bring forward, and the manner in which he meant to proceed in following them up. It might possibly be asked of him, why he had volunteered in this business? or why he had not left it to the discretion of the India directors themselves, to have instituted proceedings, as being the parties to whom that duty most properly belonged? To this he would answer, that finding the India directors, to some of whom he had applied on the subject, averse to urge any proceeding, he certainly did volunteer, and more especially in the case of the Nabobs of Oude and Furruckabad, because he was intimately acquainted, from his own knowledge, with the whole of the circumstances, and therefore felt it his duty to bring the matter forward. It was not a task he had undertaken as one agreeable to himself, or which could yield him any personal satisfaction, but one which he had assumed upon public grounds alone, and under a sense of imperious duty as a member of parliament. The task had been to him extremely arduous. It was one which the court of directors were in duty bound to have undertaken. Since he had given notice of his intention to bring forward the accusation, and evinced his determination to follow up his purpose, the court of directors were so sensible of the criminality of that noble lord, that they had drawn up an indictment against him, in terms as strong as ever submitted to the decision of a court of criminal judicature. In bringing forward those charges at the present moment, he lamented extremely the absence of a noble lord (lord Folkestone,) who had done so much honour to himself, and to the cause of justice, by his conduct on this occasion, and who, had he been present, would have given him the most cordial support; and nothing but a state of illness, which rendered him unable to attend, could have occasioned his absence that night. For the manner in which the charge was drawn up, he must beg leave to apologize, and to appeal to the indulgence of the house. Its merit or demerit was exclusively his own. Scarcely known, as he was to the house, and unaided by any associated support or influence that could tend to facilitate his purpose, he felt much difficulty to form his charges; for any *professional* aid on the occasion he had not applied. In the course he had adopted, he had endeavoured, to the best of his judgment, to found himself on precedent. He should read the statement containing those charges to the house, as part of his speech, and should lay them upon the table; then it would be his object to move, that they be taken into consideration at some future day. The hon. gent. then proceeded to read a long catalogue of charges against Marquis Wellesley, which, as they have never yet been substantiated by evidence, nor even attempted to be supported by argument, cannot, with any propriety, be introduced into our report of the proceedings in parliament on India affairs; because this

this work is a register of authenticated facts, in which all unfounded accusations are, of course, inadmissible.—Mr. Paull concluded his statement, by saying, he had read it as part of his speech, and should now move, that it be ordered to lie on the table.

The *Speaker* observed, that he apprehended that could be no question. From the journals of the house, and from other information that he had received, he found that there had not been many instances of impeachment in this form; that he did not find that there had ever arisen a question on the right of a member to put in articles of charge, and have them read. Here, however, the right of an individual ended, and there had always been some motion made, on which the house had an opportunity of expressing their sense. Various modes had been adopted for this purpose. Sometimes by proposing to call witnesses to establish the charges; and in other, and later cases, by proposing that the house should take them into consideration. On the whole, the house would judge of the importance of preserving to individual members, the right of presenting articles of this description, and of preserving to themselves, as a body, the right of deciding whether or not they should be entertained.

Mr. *Paull*, agreeably to this suggestion, moved, and the title of the charge was shortly read by the clerk. He then moved that the charge be taken into consideration, with a view to appoint a future day for that purpose.

The *Speaker*, in addition to his former remarks, stated, that in modern times there was still another mode of procedure, which was to print the charges, and refer them to a committee of the whole house. It was competent to the hon. gent. to move, that this charge be printed, and then taken into consideration.

Mr. *Paull*, in compliance with this intimation, moved that the charge be printed, which was ordered; and also expressed his intention, on some future day, probably in the course of the present week, to introduce other charges against marquis Wellesley; and when a sufficient time had been given to allow the members to understand them as well as he did himself, to proceed. He meant to follow the same course with the charge which related to lord Wellesley's conduct to the nabob of Furruckabad as in the present, namely, to print it, and on some future day to move that it be taken into consideration.

The *Speaker*, as the hon. gent. had submitted no question to the house, felt it his duty to call the attention of the house to the former proceedings, on similar subjects, which prescribed some motion either of adoption or of rejection. If the hon. gent. was unwilling to propose any such motion, it was open to any other member to do so.

Mr. *Paull* said, that he had produced a charge, which he conceived would be amply supported by documents that could be furnished by the court of directors. He did not pretend to such a knowledge of the journals of the house as to enable him exactly to say what was the preferable mode of proceeding. He should move, however, that the charge be taken into further consideration this day three weeks.

The

The *Speaker* enquired, who seconded the motion. After a considerable pause,

Mr. *Paull* observed, that he could only say, if the noble lord to whom he had before alluded (lord Folkestone) had been in the house, he should not have wanted a seconder. — Another pause took place, when sir W. Geary rose and seconded the motion.

Mr. *Secretary Fox* observed, that the hon. gent. had laid before the house a serious charge against the marquis Wellesley, but he had not told the house what were the documents to be adduced in support of that charge, nor when they were to be laid before the house; besides, he had given notice of his intention to bring forward two other charges. He understood the hon. member really had no documents, though he had proposed a day for discussion; but if, when that day should come, the hon. member should not then be provided with any documents in support of his charges, he trusted the house would not allow of farther delay. He acknowledged that it was the right of every member to produce any charge in that house; but if the member producing it, should name a day to take it into consideration, and afterwards not be able to substantiate it by documents, he would find himself in a very unpleasant, and in a very awkward situation. The hon. gent. was to judge for himself. He would recollect that the proceeded at his peril, and if he had at present no documents to support his charge, he should lose no time in moving for them, as without them, he would stand in the place of a person bringing forward a charge without any documents to substantiate it.

Mr. *Paull* said, it did not remain with him to enforce the production of the necessary documents: he had a list of them in his hand, and should move for them this night; but if they should not be forthcoming on the day he had named, he should hope the house would indulge him by deferring the discussion until the papers should be produced.

Mr. *Lee* thought the hon. gent. had not proceeded in this case as he had professed, by adopting the precedent laid down by Mr. Burke, in the case of Mr. Hastings; for that gentleman had not brought forward his charges, until he had previously moved for the documents upon which they were to be supported, and those documents were actually laid upon the table. The precedents were precisely the same in the nineteen cases which had occurred since the Revolution; and if these charges were entertained, without the documents being laid on the table, the marquis Wellesley would have just ground to charge the house with having dispensed with its usual forms, in receiving articles of impeachment against him. Here was a charge of wasteful expenditure of the money of the East-India company. If the company felt that charge to be just, why did they not bring it forward? They were in possession of all the evidence, and were best acquainted with the nature of the case. The house ought now to have as much evidence as a Grand Jury should have before it found a bill.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, if he had conceived that naming a day was countenancing the charge, he would by no means have supported it, but he had thought this a mere matter of form. There certainly

was

was much good sense in what had fallen from the hon. member who last spoke: but if he was inclined to suppose that the house would be put in possession of some documents on the subject, he should have no objection to adjourn the debate till this day week; and if they should not be then forthcoming, the house would decide what further proceedings it would then be right to take. He moved accordingly.

The *Speaker* could see no objection in point of form to this motion.

Mr. *Rose*, though he thought the last motion less objectionable than the former, yet, as he really thought the charges had been brought forward without any evidence whatever to support them, and that the voluminous papers with which the hon. gent. had been day after day indulged, which covered the table, and had been printed at an expense of not less than 8 or 10,000*l.* to the public, had been merely sought by the hon. gent. with a view to search for evidence, but in vain; he was of opinion it would be taking too much notice of the charges, thus unsupported, to entertain them at all.

Sir *W. Geary* declared that his object, in seconding the motion, was not because he was convinced of the guilt of the noble marquis. When, however, he saw charges of so grave a nature brought forward, he thought it due to the dignity of the house that an opportunity of proving such charges, if well founded, should not be denied.

Mr. *Paull* pledged himself to adduce documents to prove every tittle of the charges he had brought forward. He complained, that he met much difficulty and interruption in being able to procure the necessary documents; and he alluded to an hon. gent. (Mr. Golding), who had said he would move for papers, that would refute every tittle of the charges he (Mr. P.) was to bring forward this day, though the particulars of these charges were not disclosed by him.

Mr. *Golding* said, that he was convinced, from finding the charges so vague, futile, and indefinite, that the hon. gent. had only moved for the numerous documents already produced, with a view to fish out something to be produced against the noble marquis.

Mr. *Robert Thornton* said, the court of which he had the honour to belong, having been so particularly alluded to, and seeming so much interested in the question, he might not seem to discharge his duty if he did not say a few words on the subject, while he, at the same time, expressed his own feelings. He felt regret at the situation into which the hon. gent. had brought himself, the house, and the court of directors. He lamented the hon. gent. had gone so far. He had not the honour of being acquainted with him till he had come forward in his present character, but he thought the spirit and manliness displayed by the hon. gent. throughout, did him the highest credit. Though he stopt short of the hon. gent. he thought he had well-grounded cause of complaint, and that there was much truth in the generality of his charges. He thought, however, that the hon. gentleman's was not a happy mode of proceeding, and that enquiry was the proper mode. If he had followed that mode, he (Mr. T.) should

have voted with him. It was not for him to dictate to the hon. gent. but he only stated his opinion thus far, that the hon. gent. might not expect greater support from him than he was to receive. He thought justice to the hon. gent. required that he should be warned that there might be many others from whom he might have looked for support, who would not be inclined to go the length he wished. He (Mr. T.) did think, that marquis Wellesley had been guilty of a wasteful expenditure of the company's money; that he had committed many errors, and violated the law in several instances; but he was apprehensive that the mode of accusation resorted to by the hon. gent. would only have the effect of bringing the marquis off, and holding him up to the world as a man that had been unjustly attacked. The hon. gent. had been accused of not having produced documents to support the charge. He certainly had been hasty, had not consulted his friends sufficiently, and had relied too much on himself. This, however, he must say, in justice to him, that if the house had given him the paper which was yesterday moved for, he would have been in no want of documents. He (Mr. T.) knew many of the statements of figures given by the hon. gent. in the charge presented by him this night, to be correct, and to be contained in that document. Such documents he had at that moment in his pocket, and such were taken from that official letter. This he said in vindication of the hon. gent. He regretted the situation in which they were placed. He said so, both in justice to the hon. gent. and to himself. If he could withdraw his motion, he thought it would carry a stronger censure against the noble marquis, than anything that could follow under his charge would import. Impeachment was a step much stronger than any thing which he was prepared to think the conduct of the marquis Wellesley, improper as he esteemed it, could warrant him in adopting.

Lord *Temple* agreed with the hon. director (Mr. Thornton,) that the hon. mover had displayed considerable manliness in the perseverance he had shewn in this business, and he hoped that the same manliness would induce him to retract his accusations when he should perceive them to be ill founded. It appeared to him an extraordinary course, that the house should be first called upon to adopt the charge, and then to vote for the papers upon which that charge should be founded, From this embarrassment he felt relieved by the motion which had been made by his right hon. friend (Mr. Fox). As to this paper which was called a charge, he thought it was paying too high a compliment to it, to entertain it at all. Although it was competent to every member, to bring a charge of this nature against whom he might think proper, yet, there was something in the manner of bringing forward the present charge, which appeared to him neither fair nor candid. In the first place, no notice was given of it to the noble person who was the object of it, and who felt much more for his character, than his life; nor was any previous notice given to his friends, or near relations, in that house. He was convinced, how-

however, that the hon. gent. himself could not be more anxious than they were, that since the charge was made, the subject should be fully and fairly investigated; he was convinced, that the character of the noble marquis could well stand the test of examination: he, therefore, instead of avoiding the discussion of the general question, wished that the time might come when the character and conduct of lord Wellesley should be fully before the house.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley*, though he did not rise to object to the motion before the house, could not help saying a few words upon the manner in which the noble marquis, who was the object of the charge, had been frequently held up as a public delinquent. The house would recollect how often that noble marquis had been thanked by the house and the court of directors, for those measures, many of which were now brought forward as matters of charge. The hon. gent. had not laid any ground for his charge, much less had he produced any evidence to support it. The service, in which he had himself been employd, enabled him to speak to some of the facts contained in the charge. He could say, therefore, that there was no foundation for several of them. Some of the facts were misrepresented, and otherwise wholly destitute of any foundation. The hon. director had said, that he had in his pocket a paper which would prove many of them. If so, why did he not move for the production of that paper? If the hon. gent. had really any such in his pocket, and could produce it, he was ready to meet it. The hon. director had stated, that the letter which had been moved for last night, contained proofs of many of the hon. gent.'s statements, but this he begged to dispute. That letter contained no such proofs. It might contain references to documents relating to the allegations in the charge, but that would not amount to a proof. He confessed that he could easily conceive the delicacy of the situation into which the house had been brought by the course that had been adopted by the hon. gent. He could conceive, that it might be a question with the house, whether in justice it could receive a charge without any proof being offered in support of it. He felt it also due to justice, that some enquiry should be made. On this ground it was that he supported the motion of the right hon. secretary. He did not wish to press the house to any precipitate judgment, but he hoped they would consider the feelings of his noble relative, and come to such decision, as would lead to a speedy and full discussion of the whole case.

Mr. *I. H. Browne* thought, that it would be treating the charge with too much respect to adjourn the debate. It ought not to be entertained, nor the present debate adjourned, because competent ground had been laid for such a proceeding, and no evidence whatever had been produced. He thought that an accusation of so serious a nature should not be countenanced on such grounds against such a great and glorious character, who had carried the renown of this country farther than any other individual alive. He was prepared to meet the motion with a direct negative. This would not preclude future enquiry. He should not say whether the result of that enquiry

enquiry would be to criminate or exculpate the noble marquis.

Mr. *Rose* desired to know whether it was a matter of course that the charge should be entered on the journals, if the present motion should be agreed to.

The *Speaker* replied in the affirmative.

Mr. *Rose* then suggested to the house, that it would be right to consider how far it would be fair, with respect to marquis Wellesley, to have a libel, without any evidence adduced in support of it, put on the journals of the house, which would be the case, if they were to give countenance to the charge by adjourning the present debate to a future day.

Mr. *R. Thornton*, in explanation, said, that the paper which he had in his pocket, was, like the statement of figures in the charge, copied from the documents which were in the India house.

Mr. *Garrow*, in his maiden speech, said he felt no small degree of alarm for the situation the house was placed in, in point of precedent. He considered, that the proposal of adjourning the debate, proceeded only from the great candour of the right honourable secretary of state, (Mr. Fox) but that it would be setting a dangerous and alarming precedent to agree to that course. Without meaning to make any imputation on the honourable gentleman, who brought forward the present charge, he should consider it as an improper practice, if a gentleman should be permitted to come down to the house, with charges of the severest nature, and after stating that he had consulted with nobody, and listened to no advice, to read as part of his speech, a charge of the great length of the present, which must necessarily be printed, and which might produce a considerable impression before it would be possible to answer it. In the present case, there was not a man in the house who could point out a single document on the table which contained one syllable of evidence in support of the charge. He knew it was competent to every member of that house to bring forward charges in the nature of impeachment, but, as the right honourable secretary of state had well expressed it, whoever brought forward such accusations, did it at his peril. The accuser certainly did come forward at considerable peril, and at the risk of his own character. When a man had long filled one of the most important offices in the state, he should not, on light grounds, be made the subject of a motion of impeachment: and yet the present charge was not only brought forward without evidence to support it, but even it was a considerable time before a member could be found to second the motion; and that member had expressly declared his disapprobation of the manner in which the charge had been brought forward. It appeared to him, that, in seconding the motion, the honourable baronet (sir W. Geary) paid a higher compliment to his charity than to his discretion. He should have thought it quite as well, if that charge, which came into the house like a foundling, and which was so long before it found any body willing to adopt it, had been disowned by every body, and had been left with its real father, without the benefit of finding a parent by adoption. If the honourable baronet had not adopted it, the charge might have died for the present, but could have

have been brought forward again, when the honourable mover had found out documents to support it; he was more confirmed in his opinion, when he recollected what had fallen from an honourable director; but if the honourable gentleman chose to be hasty, to consult nobody, and to bring forward his charge without evidence, it would be no hardship to require him to be better prepared. The honourable director (Mr. Thornton) had stated, that if the paper had been granted the preceding night, there would have been some evidence; but it should be recollected, that, although of those who wished for the production of that paper, no two agreed in the object for which they wished it, yet all had agreed in disclaiming the idea of its being produced as evidence on this charge. The honourable mover had accused himself from bringing forward the charge hastily and prematurely. [Mr. Paull rose to order, but being asked by the speaker to state what he complained of as disorderly, was silent.] Mr. Garrow then continued, and said, that he could not exactly say, as the honourable gentleman could, that he was not in the habits of speaking, yet not being in the habits of speaking in that assembly, he was afraid he might be as little acquainted as he was with the points of order. He had, indeed, not intended to speak that night, and had made a sort of league and covenant with himself to remain silent. As to the paper that was spoken of, it could never be brought as a document against lord Wellesley. It was not any order or instruction to him, but it was merely a written opinion given by the gentlemen sitting in Leadenhall Street, but which opinion never reached India. An *ex post facto* opinion of this sort, could never be brought to substantiate a criminal charge against the noble marquis. It might appear extraordinary, that, when the friends and relations of the noble marquis wished for the enquiry, he, who had the honour of being acquainted with him, opposed the adjournment. It was for the sake of precedent that he opposed it; it was because he thought the house should not suffer the valuable privilege of impeachment to be in any case, or even for a short time, the instrument of calumny. Besides the danger of the precedent, he considered the adjourning the debate would take up the time of parliament unnecessarily.

Sir *J. Wrottesley* was inclined to support the motion for adjourning the debate. As to the honourable mover, although, perhaps, he had not shewn sufficient discretion, he had certainly evinced a manliness of mind in the prosecution of this business; whereas, there was another body of men, whose conduct excited no other sentiment in his mind than disgust. The court of directors had been chosen by the proprietors in a manner somewhat similar to that in which the members of that house had been returned by their constituents. How had they performed their duty? An honourable director had asserted, that the figures were rightly stated by the honourable mover, and agreed with him, that marquis Wellesley had wasted the public money, and violated the law. Why then, did not he, or some of his brother directors, come forward to impeach him? Was there ever such a dereliction of public duty? Since the honourable director had made that speech, he thought it impossible

impossible to drop the question. It must be taken up either by the court of directors or by somebody else.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he had given his best attention to every thing that had been said on the present question, and was ready to admit, that the house was involved in some embarrassment by the course of proceeding that had been pursued. But he did not think the difficulty of their situation so great as had been represented; or such, from which, with due attention, they might not extricate themselves. He could not, therefore, agree with his learned friend, who had that night, for the first time, delivered his sentiments to the house, and whom he hoped often to hear taking his part in the discussions in that house, as to the alarming consequences of the present proceeding. His learned friend had apprized them of the danger he apprehended, but had neglected to point out any means by which that danger might be avoided: and as his learned friend said, that he had, at first, made a league and covenant with himself not to speak upon this question, he believed it would have been quite as well if he had kept to his league and covenant. An honourable director had said, that the paper moved for yesterday would have supported the allegations. If that paper could not be had, the documents to which it referred might easily be had. It appeared to him a very extraordinary circumstance respecting this paper, that being dated the 5th of April, 1805, it should refer to the transactions of the years 1801-2-3, and censure almost every part of lord Wellesley's conduct in the administration of his government. It would have appeared, that what they disapproved of so violently, they might have censured sooner. Whoever brought forward a charge of this nature, certainly did so at infinite peril. He might even in some cases draw upon himself the reprobation of the house. If the house were to consider itself in the nature of a grand jury upon the present question, he should say, arguing from analogy, that it would be an extraordinary thing for a grand jury to find the bill in the first place, and ask for the evidence afterwards. And yet it was in this way, that the house had been called upon to act in the present instance. They were desired first to adopt the charge, and then see whether any document could be brought forward in support of it. What he considered the greatest danger was, that if the charge should be so far hastily adopted, as to be ordered to be printed, it might injure the character of the noble lord materially, before any possibility was afforded of removing the impression that such publication might make. It was not so much from the entry on the journals, that he thought the noble lord likely to suffer, because, in a few months, there might also be an entry of his lordship's exculpation from that charge, but, in the mean time, a great deal of mischief might be done by the charge being printed and published through the means of newspapers, and other ways. [Here the Speaker informed the right honourable member, that the charge must be entered in the votes, and printed for the use of the members.] The honourable gentleman then concluded, by recommending both motions to be withdrawn. He wished that his right

right hon. friend (Mr. Fox) would withdraw his motion for adjourning the debate, and that the hon. mover would also withdraw his original motion.

Mr. *Grant* said, he felt it necessary to offer a few words in answer to an hon. baronet (sir J. Wrottesley), and to a right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Sheridan), who had censured the court of directors because they had not come forward to impeach marquis Wellesley. He had spoken, he said, to this point on a former occasion. He trusted the court of directors, as well as every other class of his majesty's subjects, had a right to exercise their own judgment, and to take that course which duty and propriety appeared to them to point out. Those of the directors who were members of that house, discharged their duty individually as such, but had no right to bring the India company before parliament. That company, by their executive body, the directors, had taken the way the law prescribed to them to deliver their opinion on the measures of lord Wellesley, which was, by stating those opinions in the draft of a letter, addressed to the Bengal government, and sent to the board of commissioners for their concurrence. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Sheridan) was mistaken in supposing the only object of that letter, written in 1805, to have been a censure on lord Wellesley, for transactions which passed in 1802. That object also, when circumstances should be explained, would appear fully justified; but there was another and a general object of a prospective nature. The court of directors thought that the constitution, appointed by law for British India, had been, in many respects, violated under the administration of lord Wellesley, and they deemed it necessary, when a change of the governor-general was about to take place, to assert and recall the true principles of the constitution, so that no acts by which it had been infringed, should seem to have the sanction of tolerance or prescription. This was a general and strong reason for the framing of the letter which they had written; and in this view they held the measure of writing that letter to be their indispensable duty, and of very great importance. But it did not follow, that because they disapproved of the conduct of marquis Wellesley, or of any other governor, that therefore they must come forward to that house with an impeachment. If this was to be their course, even upon every occasion of grave disapprobation, they might, perhaps, occupy the attention of that house and their own, in a way incompatible with the due transaction of the many other affairs in which they were necessarily engaged. This was not the way for the company usually to take, and gentlemen who contended for it did not know enough of the subject. The court had other means of redress within their power; they might recall a governor, and impeachment was the last resort. He, therefore, deprecated these imputations against the company, or their executive body. He trusted that if their conduct were fairly examined, they would be found to have done their duty. With respect to the measures now in progress, he thought it would be proper in him, as occasions arose, to state his opinion. He certainly judged enquiry to be necessary, but did not, under all the circumstances

stances he had before stated, deem it adviseable to proceed to impeachment.

Mr. *Wellesley Pole* rose for the purpose of expressing the joy he felt that the charge had been at length brought forward; he rejoiced that they had got the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) in a tangible shape, after ten months of shifting and turning. He had been accustomed always to look up to his noble relation as a man, the whole of whose life was devoted to honour, and the greatest part of it spent in the service of his country. It was, therefore, with surprise, and with acute sufferings, that he witnessed the hon. mover (Mr. Paull,) on the second day that he set his foot in that house, declare his intention of coming forward as the accuser of the marquis Wellesley. As his connection with that noble lord had been the pride and happiness of his life for the last forty years, that declaration gave him considerable pain in the first instance; he, however, now, after nearly twelve months had been spent in moving for papers, and speaking of the noble lord as a criminal, was glad to find that the charge was brought, and that they had got the hon. mover in a tangible shape. As the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) had said, a very heavy responsibility rested on the person who brought such charges. If there should turn out to be any thing in the conduct of his noble relation which would justify the charges, he was sure that right hon. gent. would be the last to screen him; but should the charge turn out, as he trusted it would do, to be altogether without foundation, then that right hon. gent. would be the first to reprobate it. He had himself been long in the habit of admiring the ingenuity of the court of directors, in their candour to the noble marquis. One hon. director, who confessed that it was his opinion that marquis Wellesley had wasted the public money, and violated the law, still said he did not wish to impeach him. And why? because if he were impeached and acquitted, his character would be freed from the imputation. The hon. directors, however, in their mercy, seemed to think that it was the better way to stigmatise his character, without giving him the chance of acquittal or explanation. What could be said if, instead of marquis Wellesley, it should be said of the meanest subject of this country, that the only reason for not bringing him to his trial was the fear that he should be acquitted by his peers? Although that letter was not granted the preceding day, he hoped the time would come when it would be laid before the house. In mean the time, he would observe, that the manner it had got into circulation was somewhat remarkable. He was given to understand that four clerks had been employed in copying out this paper at Mr. Budd's, in Pall-Mall. The hon. mover had contrived to get a copy from the East-India directors, and had got it printed and circulated exclusively among his own friends. The India directors shewed their ingenuity in calculation, when they sent that opinion to the board of control. They knew that as lord Wellesley was on the point of quitting India, he would never receive it, and consequently would have no opportunity of replying to it. In that opinion they found fault with almost every transaction of lord Wellesley's government, from the year 1798, to the year 1804. Among the things they disapproved of was the expense of the government

ment-house; and yet the estimate of that shocking government-house was resolved upon, not by lord Wellesley particularly, but by the governor-general in council, was transmitted to the court of directors so long ago as the year 1798, and was not then disapproved of. After the long series of transactions so beginning in 1798, the board of directors sent to lord Wellesley, who wished to resign, and requested him to stay in India for another year. And yet the president of that body, (Mr. Grant,) in that grave and measured tone of voice that gave solemnity to every thing which fell from him, ventured to assert directly, that the horrible business of Oude was not known to the directors when they sent this letter. He should, however, shew, that it was known to them, and even approved of by them, in a letter written by themselves to marquis Wellesley. The hon. gent. then read an extract of a letter, dated September, 1803, from the court of directors, and signed by Messrs. Bosanquet, Robarts, Smith, Parry, R. Thornton, and thirteen directors. In this letter it was stated, "that they perused with great satisfaction the account of the arrangement made with the nabob vizier of Oude, and that they were glad to find that the revenues of the district ceded were more by 21 lacks of star pagodas than had been estimated; that there was a reasonable expectation of a progressive improvement; and that they therefore approved of the suggestion in the letter, that the revenue should not be calculated for more than five years, in order to ascertain the amount at the end of that period," or, in other words, to try whether he could not squeeze something more out of them. The letter also expressed the general satisfaction with which the court of directors had heard of the commercial treaty to be established with the nabob vizier. After such a document, under their own hands, it could not be said that they were not perfectly acquainted with the business of Oude, which two years afterwards they were pleased so strongly to condemn. He, with the feelings that he entertained for his noble relative, had no other wish than for a full, free, and fair discussion of the question that had been brought forward, and was glad to think that the time for shifting, turning, and evading the question, was now at an end. He thought the mode proposed by the right hon. gent. was the most likely to bring the question speedily to an issue.

Mr. *Grant* explained. He said he could make great allowances for the honourable gentleman in the situation in which he stood. He should avoid personalities, and confine himself to some of the principal charges of the hon. gent. That hon. gent. accused him of saying, on a former night, that the court of directors had known nothing of the treaty respecting Oude till a short time before their proposed letter of April 1805 was written; whereas the hon. gent. quotes a letter of theirs of September, 1803, in which that treaty is distinctly recognized, and rather favourable opinions expressed of certain arrangements respecting the ceded territories. Now, the fact, Mr. Grant said, which he asserted, and which he still maintained, was, that the court of directors did not know, till pretty late in the year 1804, any particulars of the negociations with the nabob of Oude in 1801, which ended in that treaty. The treaty came home nakedly,

without

without explanation or comment; afterwards public letters upon the revenue business of the districts which had been ceded by that treaty came home, and were answered in the usual routine of business; one of the answers of the court the hon. gent. had quoted; but all this time the court were ignorant of the *means* by which the districts had been acquired. The details of the negotiations were sent, after long delay, by lord Wellesley, to the secret committee, and in the recesses of the secret committee they were locked up till late in the year 1804. Then, and then only, the court of directors were allowed to see them; and from these details it already appeared, that the cession of the districts had been produced from the nabob by mere coercion, by absolute compulsion. The court of directors could not sanction what they held to be flagrant injustice; they thought it their duty to remonstrate against it, and this is done in the letter to which the honourable gentleman alluded, written early in 1805. The hon. gent. (continutinued Mr. Grant,) says, concerning this letter, that it was written at a time when the directors were pretty sure it could not reach marquis Wellesley in India, and, therefore, when he could have no opportunity of answering it. But it has been already explained, that there is a continued chain of correspondence between the company and the governments in India: this chain is not broken upon the removal of a governor. The sentiments of the court of directors must still be transmitted upon all important events that pass there to the last moment of any governor's residence —sentiments however which it may be impossible for him to learn during his stay in India. Nay, answers to letters written by the Bengal government in lord Wellesley's time, have gone out since his arrival in England. This is unavoidable in the course of business, and has proceeded from no fear of meeting the discussions of lord Wellesley on any subject. The hon. gent. has further accused the court of directors, of having written a letter in 1802 to lord Wellesley, desiring him to continue in the government of India, and then of bringing forward, in 1805, censures for acts done before 1802. It is sufficient to say to an accusation otherwise so little conclusive, that by the influence of lord Wellesley's powerful friends in this country, the court were induced in 1802 to ask him to continue one year longer in the government, in order to carry on a plan of retrenchments in expenditure which he was understood to have begun, and soon after the arrival of that letter in India, instead of pursuing that plan of retrenchments, he launched out into those measures of foreign policy and war which have had such unfavourable effects upon the company's affairs. Mr. Grant concluded by saying, the directors were prepared and determined to maintain all they advanced against marquis Wellesley, and were confident they should be able to substantiate every part of it.

Mr. *Perceval* had no doubt that it was the wish of the house as well as of the relations of the marquis Wellesley, that the course they might take should not preclude investigation, but at the same time, he was of opinion, with his learned friend (Mr. Garrow), that it would introduce a very improper precedent. He wished to have the question disposed of, but there was some difficulty in extricating the house from the present embarrass-

ment. The best way for this purpose was for the hon. gent. to withdraw his charge, if that could be done consistently with parliamentary forms, and in that case the charge would not appear on the journals till there appeared some sufficient grounds to warrant it. If this could not be done, the only other alternative was for the right hon secretary to withdraw his amendment, and to negative the original question, which would leave the subject open to the hon. member, at any period he should think himself prepared with sufficient grounds to make good his charges.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, he was not obstinately attached to the mode he had recommended, but it yet appeared to him to obviate all the difficulties in the case. It was very singular, that the hon. gent. had moved for volumes of papers, referring to charges he had not made, and yet had not to produce a single authenticated instrument applicable to his present motion.

Mr. *Paull* was surprised at the extraordinary language of an hon. gent. (Mr. W. Pole), who had expressed so much pleasure, that he (Mr. P.) had now appeared in a tangible form. How was he to be disposed of, now he had been discovered in this tangible shape, had not been explained. It was represented that he had moved for papers with the design, not to support a valid charge, but to fish out materials to constitute such an accusation; and he was to be considered culpable for not substantiating his allegations by documents, when he had moved for papers as early as June in the last year, none of which were now produced on the table of the house. He did not come now to support the charge, he designed merely to present the general charge, and to move for the vouchers by which it would be justified; and he was not convinced, that this mode of proceeding was either inefficient or irregular. His sentiments on the misconduct of the noble marquis, were neither new nor peculiar. A noble lord, of the highest reputation, entertained the same opinions; many others of sound discretion, saw matters in the same light; and twenty-nine, out of thirty, of the East-India directors, had sanctioned his thoughts on the subject. The right hon. secretary of state himself had been at least nearly of the same opinion, as he had approved in the most unqualified manner of a speech of an hon. member below him, (Mr. Francis) in 1805, which represented the conduct of lord Wellesley in the same light that he had done. Another right hon. gent. also on the bench below him, (Mr. Sheridan) had represented the transactions of the Carnatic, as of the foulest and most criminal kind, and had declared, if government at that time should not adopt some proper proceeding thereon, he should think it his duty to take some steps to expose the criminality of those proceedings. He thought he had a right to call upon those gentlemen to remain faithful to their assertions, and to give him their cordial support, in conformity with their declared sentiments.

Mr. *Francis*.—Sir; it is with the utmost reluctance that I now, or at any time meddle with this subject. But I am called upon in such terms, as force me, whether I will or no, to take part in the debate. I have not changed or relinquished my opinion on the subject of the Mahratta war, as I delivered it in this house on the 5th of April, 1805, and

and, since that, to the public.—They, who will not consult the record, have no right to question my principles, or to judge of my conduct. I never undertook to impeach lord Wellesley. My purpose, in proceeding as I did, was to do a public service of another kind, which might have been accomplished without an impeachment. At least, I thought so. But it could not be accomplished without a strict examination of his conduct with respect to peace and war in India. In that speech, sir, there is not one word, which I do not believe to be true, and which I am not able to make good. All this was done, and concluded too, before I ever saw the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) or heard his voice, for in fact I heard him, before I saw him, or knew his name. If I understood my right hon. friend near me, (Mr. Fox) I think he has mistaken me. I can assure him that I did never say that there was no ground for impeaching lord Wellesley, or that he ought not to be impeached for the Mahratta war. My right hon. friend, who has seen the speech in print, and read it attentively, will not find one word in it to that effect.

Mr. *Huddleston*.—I shall certainly detain the house but for a few seconds, from the pleasure it must always receive in hearing the right hon. member (Mr. Sheridan). The speech of my hon. colleague (Mr. Grant) has made it quite unnecessary for me to enter into any defence of the court of directors against the warm strictures of the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. W. Pole). I honour the feelings shewn by that hon. gent. in the cause of his near relation, and am not surprised they should prevent his feeling at all for those whose duty it has been to animadvert on the conduct of that noble person: but there are two or three points in the speech of the hon. gent. to which I must advert distinctly, as an individual member of that body, upon which he, and the other hon. gentlemen, from motives less apparent, have lavished such unqualified censure. First, with regard to the paragraphs of a letter from the court of directors in the revenue department, which the hon. member has read to the house, I declare upon my honour, that to the best of my knowledge and recollection, I never heard of those paragraphs before, nor of any letter having been written by the court, that could be construed into a recognition of the propriety of our possessing ourselves of the territory and revenues in question; and I am persuaded, that those directors who signed the letter of which those paragraphs form a part, would not, after reading them, have signed it, if they had known by what means that territory and revenue had been obtained: but, as I have already had occasion to state to the house, the court of directors were not made acquainted with the Oude transactions until two years after; and upon their being made acquainted with them, they lost no time in expressing their disapprobation of them. Now, sir, with regard to the letter, or proposed letter, which has been so much alluded to, and for the production of which the hon. gent. has seemed to consider the directors as having shewn themselves particularly desirous, I beg to remind the hon. gent. or to inform him, if he was not present at the debate here yesterday, that my argument went only to the production of so much of that letter as relates to the treaties

ties with the nabobs of Oude and Furruckabad, because of the subjects discussed in the letter, those only had been to that time brought before the house, and the ground upon which I thought those parts of the letter ought to be laid before the house, was this, that as the house had ordered, without objection or discussion, the production of another document, which expressed, under the signatures of the committee of the court of directors, the approbation of those transactions entertained by the board of commissioners; which document had of course made its own impression on the house; there seemed an obvious principle which forbade the withholding another document which expressed the disapprobation entertained of the same transactions by the court of directors. But, sir, respecting the whole of that letter, after what has been said of it, I desire to acknowledge my full share of any censure that may be thought due to it. The ability with which it is written, is far beyond any to which I have the least pretension, but I approved of every part of it, and never gave my assent to any measure, or put my name to any paper with a more perfect consciousness of doing what was right, and what my duty required of me. That it will be answered, and most ably answered, I have no doubt; and if the answer shall disprove or do away the facts, or any of them, which it states, or convince me, that my view of them has been erroneous, and the answer founded upon it unjust, I shall be most ready and happy to acknowledge it. But, sir, I believe there are facts, stubborn and afflicting facts, stated in that letter, which no eloquence can disprove. I have been at all times ready to acknowledge the great merit, and splendid services which distinguished the early part of the marquis Wellesley's career in India, and I felt proportionate regret at seeing the lustre of those services obscured by the sytem he afterwards pursued. Respecting the procedure before the house, and the dilemma in which we are placed, I always thought that the most proper course for the hon. gent. to pursue, would have been first to place his documents on the table, and then to move for their being referred to a committee for investigation; and I should yet hope, that we may tread back the steps taken this evening, and the dilemma be got rid of in the mode proposed by the learned gent. below (Mr. Perceval). There is one point in the hon. gent.'s speech (Mr. W. Pole), which I think must have arisen from his misconception. He laid considerable stress on my hon. friend near me (Mr. R. Thornton) having stated, that the letter had been approved by twenty-nine out of thirty directors, as if my hon. friend had included, as directors, those gentlemen who were out by rotation: but this is easily cleared up, by merely stating the fact that the letter was approved in court, and sent up to the board of commissioners in the beginning of April, and after the annual election, was laid before the court of directors again, and again approved, so that twenty-nine out of thirty directors had given it their approbation.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he was not disposed to retract a single syllable of what he had asserted on India affairs. His observations had been solely directed to the Carnatic, and he had not even mentioned the name of marquis Wellesley in the course of them. His charge was not

not against this foreign resident; it was against the board of control, against the government of Madras, but, above all, against the whole body of the court of directors, who appeared to him to be the principal delinquents. But, said the right hon. gent. I have been called upon in a way I do not approve, as if I were inconsistent in my conduct, and called upon by an hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) from whom I should not have expected it. It would seem as if his intentions were to promote differences among the members of administration at a time when their cordial union and hearty co-operation were necessary to the welfare, if not to the salvation of the country. However indifferent the hon. gent. may appear, if report speak truly, the hon. gent. was inclined to sustain, on his own shoulders, the whole weight of the concerns of India; or if a favourable pliant moment had been employed to persuade him, he would have gone out to Bengal in a high responsible office. I do not mean to say, that the hon. gent. has acted from pique or disappointment; all his motives, I presume, originate in public spirit, mingled, perhaps, with a little apprehension for my parliamentary consistency; he must, however, leave me to be the protector of my own character, and of my own honour.

Mr. *Francis.*—I am so well pleased to see my right hon. friend once more in his place, that it would be very difficult for him to say any thing to me or of me, that could give me one moment's concern. The facts, to which he alludes, have been much misrepresented to him. The only way to justify the resentment is to overstate the offence. The terms in which I spoke of his absence, were good-humoured and complimentary. No man repines much at a loss, which he does not feel to be important. Respect and value are usually included in regret. But my right hon. friend is mistaken about the fact. I never mentioned the transactions in the Carnatic. I never uttered a word of provocation to him to make good his charge against lord Wellesley. You, sir, and the whole house, will bear me witness, that the supposed debts of the nabob of Arcot, in which lord Wellesley has no concern, was the subject on which I called for his assistance, and that of my hon. friend, the representative of Norwich. With respect to the government of Bengal, and to my disappointment, and all the anecdotes he alludes to, and his own meritorious conduct, it is quite enough for me to say, that he is mistaken in his premises; and that, as in fact I have expressed no resentment, he has no right to assert that I am influenced by disappointment. On the principle of his own insinuation, if the fact fails him, I am entitled to the opposite conclusion.

Sir *T. Metcalfe* trusted the house would give him some credit for his silence in the discussions on the rejected draught of a letter, particularly as he had so repeatedly been pointed at for having differed in opinion with the majority of his friends in the direction. The paper in question was laid before the court early in April, 1805, and contained every act of lord Wellesley's government that could make against him, in the opinion of the writer of the letter, from the year 1798. He stated, that the house should understand the established rule for carrying on the correspondence be-

tween the executive part of the company, and the governments in India, is by answering every letter, in the order of its arrival, paragraph by paragraph; and of course the former transactions of the Bengal government must have been decided on, by approval or censure, many years before the letter in question was produced: and as it appeared to him that the hon. member opposite (Mr. Grant) had undertaken an unprecedented task, in raking from the records every thing that could make against the government, without taking notice of any one meritorious act, he felt it his duty to object, at the India-house, to the directors entering into any contention with the commissioners on the alterations they had made, because it appeared to him they never had stronger grounds to stand on than in that instance: for, in addition to the legal authority they possessed in altering a political dispatch, they had the argument in their favour, that no such procedure had been adopted upon the departure of any former governor-general. And what appeared at the same time extraordinary, they were suffered to make an alteration in a letter purely commercial, which by law they had no authority to do. The hon. baronet (sir J. Wrottesley) was under a mistake in supposing that what fell in the debates from individual directors was to be considered as the opinion of the body at large. The India co. was not represented in that house, and each gent. spoke his own sentiments as a member of parliament. The hon. accuser of lord Wellesley, who had placed the house in so extraordinary a dilemma, not content with exhibiting a charge against the late governor-general, had introduced a very extraordinary charge against the India company, by accusing them of violating the act of parliament, which was not nearer the fact than the other most extraordinary assertion, that the company were indebted to the public in the sum of seven millions. Whereas, instead of the company being in debt to the public, the public are considerably in debt to the company for advances of money made by order of his majesty's government. Sir T. M. could not avoid observing, that the hon. gent. took unwarrantable liberties with the name of the court of directors, who could not in their collective capacity have any knowledge of the hon. gent. beyond having permitted him to go to India: and the return he now made for that obligation was to join them in the accusation he had brought forward against the noble marquis. With respect to that nobleman, sir T. M. declared, he had never received, nor expected to receive, the smallest favour at his hands. He had officially examined every act of lord Wellesley's government, and could with truth declare, that having in that examination discovered great talents as a statesman, with unbounded zeal for the interests of the India co. he felt it his paramount duty to give his feeble support to a much-injured character. With regard to the vote he was to give, he must be decided by the general feeling of the house, as he felt a difficulty in affording any countenance to what appeared to him a frivolous charge, unsupported by any kind of evidence.

Mr. *Grant* said, that the hon. baronet had no right to give him the credit of the letter in question, for that in fact five-sixths of it had been prepared by the officers of the India house, from the materials they possessed; neither was the hon.

hon. baronet warranted in saying, that only seven or eight of the directors had much concerned themselves about the letter, because the whole court (the hon. baronet excepted) were much interested in it, and many had even called for a stronger measure.

The motions were then put and carried.

April 23.

Mr. *Sheridan* rose, pursuant to notice, to move that the order for printing the charge, presented the preceding day against the marquis Wellesley, be rescinded. It could not, in his mind, or in that of any fair reflecting man, be consistent with justice that a charge against that noble lord, or any other person, should be published to the world, under the authority of that house, merely upon the allegation of guilt, unaccompanied by any proof whatever. He did not wish to throw any impediment in the way of the hon. gent. with whom this charge originated, or to discourage impeachment; but he must observe, that the course pursued by the hon. gent. was the most singular that could be well imagined. This was the opinion which he delivered the preceding day, and he was not disposed to retract it. The hon. gent. had moved for volumes of papers respecting the conduct of lord Wellesley, most part of which had been already laid on the table, many of them delivered to the members in print—those relative to Oude, indeed, were now distributing at the door. Yet the hon. gent. chose to overlook all these papers, and to bring forward the charge before the house, with regard to which not one document was to be found on the table, or was ever moved for. Thus, strange to tell, the hon. gent. passed by the accusations; to substantiate which, he had been so long collecting evidence, and fixed upon one with regard to which he had not yet attempted to adduce any evidence whatever. But the hon. gent. pleaded as an excuse for this, that he was provoked by a noble lord, (Temple) and another member, who were perpetually teazing him, as he stated, because he did nothing but move for papers, instead of bringing forward any charge. So far the hon. gent. seemed disposed to deal in a sort of repartee with the member of whom he complained, and therefore proposed a charge, with reference to which he had moved for no papers at all. The right hon. gent. did not mean it to be inferred from the motion he was about to submit, that he was in all cases adverse to the publication of a charge before trial, or that he had that objection to what were called *ex parte* statements, upon which the principle of a bill, lately introduced by a learned serjeant, (Best,) seemed to rest. On the contrary, he was determined to oppose that bill in every stage of its progress.—Returning to the subject of his motion, the right hon. gen. observed, that it was highly material this charge should be brought to issue as soon as possible. But as that issue was not to be looked for, he felt that nothing should be allowed to go forth from that house accompanied by the letters and extracts of dispatches from lord Cornwallis and others, of which no previous notice had been given, and which were calculated to prejudice the public mind upon the subject. He understood that several months would elapse before the documents to which

which the hon. gent. alluded the preceding day, could be prepared and laid before the house. If so, it would not surely be consistent with justice to allow the publication of a paper that must unfairly operate against the accused. An objection was the preceding night stated to his motion, on the ground that it was not calculated to produce the effect in view, as the charge under consideration would be published among the votes of the house, which were usually circulated among the members. But that statement he found, upon enquiry, to be erroneous, as this paper would be printed in the journals, which would not, of course, be published. The hon. gent. in order to satisfy the house, would ask his right hon. friend near him (Mr. H. Addington,) in what time the documents, on which the charge before the house professed to rest, could be got ready? The right hon. gent. concluded by moving, "that the order made yesterday, for printing the article of charge of high crimes and misdemeanours against marquis Wellesley, be discharged.

Mr. *H. Addington* replied, that to prepare the list of papers alluded to, would, he was sorry to say, require a considerable time. This he was enabled to state from his experience respecting other papers of a similar nature; and he was sorry for the delay, because it was highly desirable, that the whole of this case should be disposed of with all convenient expedition. He was sure, that every member must sympathize in the feelings of lord Wellesley, in consequence of such suspense. Wishing, therefore, the speedy decision of the question, he regretted to say that the papers referred to by his right hon. friend could not be prepared in less than two or three months.

Mr. *Paull* begged to state, that the papers which referred to any of the charges he had it in contemplation to bring forward, were not completely before the house. Not one of those with regard to Bhurtpore or Surat were yet on the table, although he moved for them between three and four months ago. There were other papers, between the production of which, and the order on his motion for them, not less than ten months had elapsed. These circumstances he mentioned, merely to shew with what justice gentlemen could ascribe any delay to him. The charge which he brought forward the preceding day, evinced, clearly, that he was ready to answer the challenge of those who called for accusations, and he would prove that he could sustain them too, if the papers were granted to him for which he should apply. As soon as those papers should be before the house, he was resolved to follow up his charges; but if, in the course of his progress, he should, from inexperience, be betrayed into error, he hoped the house would feel that he stood there with but little assistance. As to the error which the right hon. mover alluded to, he had only to say, that he acted according to the suggestion of the chair. With regard to the time necessary to prepare the papers connected with the charge before the house, he begged leave to observe, that the right hon. gent. who spoke last was not competent to speak to that point. He, in fact, was not likely to know any thing about them, for they were not in his department. They were all in the department of the directors of the India Company.

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The *Speaker*, in consequence of the hon. member having stated that he had taken the course he had adopted from a suggestion from the chair, feeling it necessary to stand right with the house, declared that he had but pointed out the manner in which the hon. member could best accommodate his proceedings to the precedent of Mr. Hastings's case, which he professed to have in view.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, he had no opposition to the motion of his right hon. friend; he thought these charges should not appear before the public, because, as yet, there appeared no evidence to support them; and it was but justice to the character of the noble marquis, to withhold from the public, aspersions upon it, until there was some evidence to support them. Of that noble marquis, said the hon. gent. I know but little, I had a slight acquaintance with him before he left this country. I have had no correspondence with him while abroad; since his return, I have not seen him. Of the hon. gent. who prefers these charges I know nothing, but that his name is Paull, and that he sits in this house. With him, I never exchanged a word, scarcely a look; yet I must declare, I think he is entitled to a different treatment of this house from that of which I have been a witness. I do confess, I think that, as a member of this house, he is entitled to credit for having no other motive than a desire to serve the country, by having public justice carried into effect. If this be his motive, I cannot but think that his reception, both in language and manner, was by no means consistent with the duty the house owes to its members. I cannot, however, help being of opinion, that the hon. gent.'s conduct is extremely impolitic and rash. If he has undertaken this business without any assistance, he is more rash than any one I ever knew. But if he has been assisted out of this house, and has been induced to bring this matter forward in the faith of having the same assistance in this house, I think not very highly of the courage of those who supported him in private, but who have now declined to come forward to avow that support in public. I have already said, that he appears to me not only rash, but also a little ignorant of the forms of the house; he has produced a charge in a manner not much to the credit of his experience, any more than to his prudence and discretion; but yet it was rather the business of the house to have led him on with kindness, rather than allow him to be treated in a manner I was very sorry to see. I know I have no right to recur to any particular expressions which fell last night. I wished to have an opportunity of alluding to particular expressions; but without alluding to them I do say, that, in my opinion, if any servant of the India Company, who returns from India, supposes, that he can fairly and justly charge another servant of the Company, with having abused the trust reposed in him, and injured the interests of his employers, it is the duty of this house to give him countenance; he ought to be kindly treated, and not in such a manner as if he were a calumniator. If, on investigation, it shall be proved, that the hon. gent. has brought forward charges which he cannot make good, he will deserve, and no doubt receive, a very severe censure indeed; but till that is shewn, he is entitled to the

the candid and impartial attention and protection of the house. The question was then put and carried.

April 28.

Mr. *Paull* rose and said:—Sir, as several gentlemen were not present, when I had the honour to present the First Charge, upon which hereafter I mean to move for the Impeachment of the marquis of Wellesley; and as many gentlemen are even ignorant of the allegations contained in that charge, before I apply evidence to the fact, and state the grounds upon which I am entitled to the printing of the charge, such gentlemen may be of opinion that the charge had better be read; however, this to me is a matter of perfect indifference; having made the charge, I am capable of arguing upon it, and applying the facts; and as the wish of the house seems rather against the reading, I shall proceed to state the reasons why the charge ought now to be printed. After stating these reasons, the hon. gent. expatiated for some time, in his usual strain of virulent abuse of the public conduct of marquis Wellesley, and concluded by moving, that the charge be now printed. This motion was seconded by Mr. Martin.

Dr. *Laurence* likewise supported this motion; though he at the same time submitted to the hon. member, whether it would not be better to postpone it, until the whole of the papers moved for in support of the charges, should be laid on the table of the house.

Mr. *Paull* declared he should not withdraw his motion.

The Marquis of *Douglas* said, it was true, that the charge rested at present upon little more than the assertion of an hon. member, who, though unsupported and unprotected, made no motion which the proceedings of the house did not tolerate; but at present it was no more than a dead letter, which it was proper to revive or animate, by having the charges printed, in order to enable that house fairly to judge of it. When a member of that house, actuated by manly and honourable feelings, stepped forward in a public cause of the greatest importance to the empire at large, and when that member was not only unsupported but discouraged, he felt himself impelled to assist in bringing this business to light. It would make a great impression on the public; and that house ought to consider what the consequence must be if they refused to entertain or consider this question. He had lately, he said, been led to enquire more than he did before, into the state of our affairs in India; and the result of his investigation was, that he found in the administration, many great and manifold evils, which, instead of assisting the finances of this country, must now become a burthen to it; and in fact, we were already advancing money as a loan to the company. It was therefore a considerable hardship to the people of England, to transmit its wealth to a foreign country, where it was not properly taken care of. He was of the opinion given some time since by an hon. gent. (Mr. Francis,) that the members of that house would soon have to protect the finances of this country against the distresses of India. The alarming state of embarrassment to which the affairs of India were brought, shewed there was a latent gangrene somewhere, which ought to be probed, and the danger, if possible, obviated, which brought that quarter of the empire to the brink

of ruin, before that ruin was complete, and should have plunged the country into fresh difficulties; for he considered India, which we were lately taught to view as a healthful and promising child of the parent state, as now exhausted by disease, clinging to the breast of the mother country, and ready to extract the last drop of her vital nutriment to prevent its own dissolution.

Mr. *Sheridan* observed that the hon. gent. in renewing his charges that day, had expressed a hope that he should not meet, from certain individuals, a repetition of the harsh treatment he had exprienced on a former night. He was at some loss to understand to what it was the hon. member made this allusion. He was sure that nothing of an improper nature would have been suffered to pass without the interposition of the chair. Who the individuals alluded to were, he could not tell; but, with respect to himself he had moved to discharge the order for printing the charges, not merely from any objection to their appearing in print, but because the printing of the charges could answer no purpose, unless they were accompanied by the evidence upon which they were to be supported. Certainly, in some of the papers since produced, there was much matter which appeared to support some of the hon. gent.'s charges against the noble marquis; for instance, the paper No. 8. and so far as that went, the objection to printing *now* was less strong than upon the former occasion. But the grand principle upon which he had first resisted the printing of the charges before the whole evidence was ready, was very little abated even yet. The hon. gent. had moved for forty other documents not yet before the house; an honourable relative of the noble marquis had also moved for forty other documents on the part of the defence, not yet forthcoming. These, whenever they were produced, would still remain to be printed. The hon. gent. had said, that if the India directors would do their duty, they could bring forward those papers in a day or two. He had, however, the assurance of persons very conversant in India business, that it would be impossible to produce them in the course of the present session. Now, in such a case, would it be proper that the charges should go forth in print unaccompanied by the testimony upon which they were avowedly founded? It was upon the ground of this defect that he had abstained from reading any part of the charges, or the documents hitherto produced, until he should have the whole before him. He should then have no objection to printing the charges, as then they would come fairly forward for consideration.

Mr. *Lee* adverted to the four precedents alluded to by the hon. mover, and contended that they made against the order of his proceeding. In the case of lord Coningsby, the evidence was previously brought and laid upon the table. Four years before the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, a committee was appointed, to enquire into his conduct, and made their report against him; after which, Mr. Burke came down to the house, and after the report was received, moved that it should be printed before he exhibited the articles of charge. In the third case, that of sir Elijah Impey, the house had, two years before the articles were printed, voted an address

to

to his majesty, praying for his recall; and, lastly, in lord Melville's case, the house had before it full and complete evidence in the several reports of the naval commissioners. He said he did not mean to give any opposition to the motion, though he thought it right to let the hon. gent. see that he was not supported by his precedents; but as he understood that there were some of the papers moved for, which could not possibly be produced in the course of the present session, the house, he thought, should pause before they gave public circulation to the charge.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* declared his opinion to be decidedly in favour of printing the charge, and he could not help considering the treatment experienced by the hon. member who brought them forward, as extremely harsh: for, instead of stretching out to him the hand of encouragement to prosecute enquiry in the cause of justice against a person high in power, he had met with nothing but discouragement; he had been thwarted and embarrassed in every step he had taken; nay, exposed almost to personal disrespect, sarcasm, and even ridicule. Such a conduct from any portion of the house towards any individual member, certainly was not very decorous, nor yet very politic, as it tended to discourage members from bringing forward impeachments, when, to their own minds and conviction, they conceived themselves warranted so to do, by acts of public delinquency. If this were a case where the accuser was considered and known to be a person of such character and description, or the charges themselves *primâ facie*, so absurd, or improbable, as not to deserve being entertained for one moment; in that case, such discountenance would be justified. But no man had ventured to allege, much less to shew, that this was the case in the present instance. The hon. gent. was, he said, but a very slight acquaintaince of his, having but very recently returned from India; he was here, it was true, an individual little known, unconnected, and unsupported; but he was not the worse qualified to bring forward the charge in this case, for if he had been long absent from this country, he was long present in that where the matter originated; and he founded his proceeding upon circumstances which, he alleged, had passed under his own observation. With regard to the argument of precedents stated by an hon. member, he would admit it was a good principle, upon which, in general, to act; but then, precedents should only operate in cases precisely similar. It was proper first, to read the charges themselves; but to read the evidence first, and the charges afterwards, would be to invert the regular order of proceeding. Besides, if members were to wait for the accumulation of such a mass of documents on both sides, before they commenced their own consideration, it was very possible that members would be discouraged from investigating such voluminous masses of matter. The right hon. secretary concluded by voting for the hon. gent.'s motion, though he certainly could have wished him to act by the temperate suggestion of his hon. and learned friend.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, he should vote for printing the charge. There was no great difference between himself and his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) on the general principle. He agreed with him

him, that any member of the house had a right to present a charge. He would go farther, and allow that it was regular that a day should be appointed for its consideration. But now they were on a question, whether it should be printed without evidence, or scarcely any notice of evidence. He would not even there differ with his right hon. friend, as to the right, but at the same time when a member did this, without there being any necessity for it, he must say that his mode of proceeding was injudicious; and that he would have acted much better, had he waited for the evidence. He might then say, 'there is the evidence, and you may compare the evidence with the charge, and know how far it is well founded.' Now it was possible, undoubtedly, that a member in calling for papers, might be told when his object was not exactly understood, "bring forward your charge, otherwise we will not grant you your papers." But, in this case, a variety of motions for papers had been made, none of which had been over-ruled, at least none that had been made by the hon. gent. himself. But he might have proceeded in another way, and have said, "there is the charge, and, to prove this, such and such papers are necessary." But the hon. gent. moved for a variety of papers first, and then brought forward a charge to which scarcely one of them applied. This conduct he certainly thought preposterous in the truest sense of the word. If any of the ridicules and discouragements to which his right hon. friend had alluded, though he knew he did not refer to him particularly, were employed on this account, he, for his part, did not repent what had been done. The hon. gent. had that day, as usual, made a long speech, and certainly it would have required a mind of no ordinary sagacity to discover the connection between things so remote and apparently so little connected with the subject as those which he had introduced. He had, however, discovered some papers which bore on his charge. Now some said that these papers would be ready soon, and others affirmed that they could not be ready for some time. The present mode, however, was regular, though he thought that a different one would be far more eligible. But here again the hon. gent. demanded that the charge should be printed. This was a sort of language to which the house would not listen with great complacency, in a matter where its own convenience alone was to be considered. The demand then was indeed inconsistent with the principle on which papers were printed by the house. "Demand," he did not say "publish," though certainly it appeared as if this had been the hon. gent.'s object. But he hoped that the house would not be led to print papers upon any improper pretences. He would, however, vote for the printing of the charge, not because it was demanded, but because it would suit the convenience of the house. Now, one word as to the general way in which this business had been conducted. All the papers moved for had been granted, except one which had been called for by a noble friend of his (lord A. Hamilton.) He wished that the house would arrange some mode by which all the various papers could be soon procured, that the house might be allowed some repose; for it was certainly unpleasant to have papers continually

called

called for, and opinions given, and questions debated on every occasion. He wished to know when all the papers would be moved for. Mr. Burke, in the course of his proceedings, in preparing the way for the charge against Mr. Hastings, carefully abstained from provoking debates on the merits, before the matter was fully before the house, and he wished that his conduct had been imitated in the present instance. As to the question now before the house, he agreed with his right hon. friend that it was of little consequence which way it was decided. As to any communication which the hon. gent. had with him, he had given him his opinion, and on good grounds, that he was adopting a very injudicious mode of proceeding.

Mr. *Paull* explained. He said, that out of ninety-nine papers, for which he had moved, only eleven were produced; of these, only three were immediately relevant to his purpose. The Bhurtpore papers were not presented, nor any others that he moved for, except those relative to Oude.

Sir *A. Wellesley* said, that the practice of parliament in such cases had already been shewn to be, that the evidence should generally, if not always, precede the charges, and he saw no necessity for deviating from that rule on the present occasion; though he admitted, that every case should stand upon its own peculiar merits. The charge of the hon. gent. against his noble relation, was for squandering the money of the East-India company in unnecessary purposes of personal splendour; but the papers hitherto produced (those of Oude) applied to charges of which as yet he had given no notice. With regard to the money taken from the canton treasury, his answer to it was, that this and other proceedings which were adverted to, had received the approbation of the court of directors, and that if the money were so disposed of, there was a proportionate increase of assets both at home and abroad. As to the observation, that he himself was implicated in some of the proceedings, his short reply was, that what he did in India was in obedience to the orders he had received; and for the manner of that obedience, and its immediate result, he was ready to answer, either to that house, or to any other tribunal in the realm.

Dr. *Laurence* adverted to the precedents which had been quoted in the course of the debate, particularly that of Mr. Hastings, none of which he conceived bore on the present case. He declared, that his sense of the business would have been, for the hon. gent. who made the motion, to have withdrawn it, and waited until the evidence was before the house; but, as he had not thought proper to do that, he could not, as the business now stood, see any good reason against printing the charge.

Lord *H. Petty* was inclined to think, that it would have been much better if the hon. gent. who made the motion, had agreed to the first suggestion of the learned gent. who seconded it, and not pressed it on the house. He also conceived that it was of no importance whatever, whether the charge was or was not now printed; but he thought it was always the object of the accuser, to bring forward his charge and his evidence at the same time; what evidence was sufficient, lay with him entirely to determine. In the present case, therefore, he considered the hon. mover as the best judge, whether the

the evidence on the table were sufficient, and he would therefore, move for the printing of the paper.

Mr. *Bathurst* was of opinion, that this motion ought not to have been pressed, but he did not think because it was pressed, that therefore the house should agree to it. He did not pretend to say, that there were no cases in which charges might be produced before evidence, but he believed there were none except those with which, as they originated at home, the members were acquainted. The hon. gent. then said, that as the hon. mover would not agree to withdraw his motion, he thought a motion for the order of the day would be most applicable, and concluded by moving the previous question.

Mr. *Corry* seconded the motion, as he said it would put the parties into a relative situation, one with another. It would be no hardship to the hon. gent. who made the original motion, as the papers to substantiate the charge were not before the house; and it would appear as if the House of Commons were resolved to support him throughout, if the paper were allowed to be printed.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, it appeared to him to be rather an irregular mode to print the charge before all the evidence was produced. The very circumstance of some of the evidence being already before the house, was a reason against it, and he therefore would vote against the original motion.

Mr. *Johnstone*, in part, coincided in opinion with the right hon. secretary of state. He, however, differed with him in many essential points; and, after arguing the question for some time, he declared that he felt himself precluded altogether from giving any vote on the occasion.

Mr. *Grant* said, that if the question before the house were to be influenced by the expectation of having the papers which were moved for, laid upon the table in a short time, he thought it a duty to state his opinion that this expectation could not be fulfilled. The court of directors was always eager to obey the orders of the house: there would be no intentional delay, but the papers moved for both by the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) and the hon. general (sir A. Wellesley) were so voluminous, that it was not possible to get them prepared in a very short time. Mr. Grant said, there would also be a necessity for calling for other papers, because the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) had in his speech that night, and formerly, advanced positions respecting the causes of the company's debt, and particularly the alleged increase of it, from supplying funds for the commerce of the company, which he (Mr. Grant) had before combated, and which he should feel it to be his duty, if no one else would undertake it, fully to disprove, by documents to be called for from the India house. In like manner, the hon. general appeared to have, in the list of papers moved for by him, included some which seemed to bear upon certain points in the conduct of the court of directors lately animadverted upon in that house; and it might be necessary to move for additional papers, in order to bring those points fully before the house. He alluded particularly to a reference which had been made on a former night by an hon. gent. (Mr. W. Pole) to a proposed dispatch of the court of directors, upon which that hon. gent. had been pleased to arraign

arraign them, although that dispatch was not before the house, although the house would not admit it to be produced, and although the hon. gent. acknowledged he had not read it.—With respect to the question now under consideration, Mr. Grant said, the inclination of his mind was, that the charge should not be printed until it was accompanied by documents on which the proof of it rested. Feeling this to be the fair and candid way of proceeding, he would avow his opinion, because, having unfortunately had occasion to take rather a prominent part in many of these questions, and being likely to see it his duty to do so again, he found his only support, in the painful predicament in which so much collision with the feelings and opinions of others placed him, to be, in the consciousness of honestly following the dictates of his own mind.

Mr. *Windham*, in explanation, said, that when he had before delivered his opinion, he conceived that the hon. gent. would have withdrawn his motion, but he now thought, that the motion lately made by his hon. friend, reconciled every thing, and he would support it.

Mr. *Paull* desired to be informed, what mode of proceeding he should adopt, as he did not wish to persist against the sense of the house?

The *Speaker* wished to know the hon. gent.'s object before he gave any opinion, namely, whether the hon. gent. meant to withdraw his motion, or put it to the vote?

Mr. *Paull* expressed his willingness to yield to the wishes of the house. Therefore, although contrary to his own opinion, he should, agreeably to what appeared to be the prevailing sentiment, consent to withdraw his motion.

Mr. *Bathurst* observed, that his motion was in the hands of the house. Upon which a division was called for; the gallery was ordered to be cleared, but after some conversation both motions were withdrawn.

May 8.

Mr. *Paull* rose to move for the production of several papers, in support of his charges against the marquis Wellesley. They consisted of an account of the new taxes levied, and the old imposts revived, under the government and during the administration of the marquis, in India, with a long series of others, respecting the revenues, police, and municipal arrangements of the country. On the question being put upon the first,

Mr. *Bankes* observed, that the house having now proceeded so far in the business, as to have allowed a charge to be laid upon their table, for the crimination of the noble marquis; and to grant to the hon. gent. who brought it forward, a vast mass of papers to support those charges, the business now began to assume a serious turn; and it therefore became necessary for the house to consider what steps were most fit to be farther pursued. The first thing to be considered was, whether the charges sustained upon such documents as were now before the house, were such as ought to be entertained? and if they were, then the next thing to be considered was, in what manner the house should proceed, as best calculated to attain the ends of public justice, with all convenient dispatch: for he trusted, that the hon. gent. who had brought this charge forward, was not to be indulged in moving for

for papers *ad infinitum*, but would be obliged to come to issue upon the points of accusation as speedily as possible. Any person who had looked into the papers upon the table must have observed, that great part of the charges bore upon the political conduct of marquis Wellesley; that they accused him of various illegal and corrupt abuses of his authority; of extorting money from several of the native princes of the country under his government, which he employed in expensive and ruinous wars, contrary to his duty, and to the interests of the company who employed him; and with profusely squandering, or corruptly appropriating to his own use several enormous sums of money: charges, undoubtedly, of a very flagitious nature, and which the house, in the ordinary confidence it was bound to give to one of its own members, could not refuse to entertain, without some very solid and substantial reasons.—The country, however, had, within the last twenty years, experience enough to shew, how injudicious it was to meddle with impeachments. Besides, by what kind of tribunal was the party accused to be tried? Before one, certainly, where the guilty man might escape through delay, or the most innocent man be ruined through expense; and, therefore, if there were any other legal or competent jurisdiction, before which this cause could be tried, the house ought not, for the sake of speedy and substantial justice, to proceed by the ordinary mode of impeachment. He was happy to know that such a tribunal did exist, for under two clauses of two acts of parliament, namely, of the 24th of the king, cap. 25, and the 26th of the king, cap. 57, for further regulation of the first, provision was made peculiarly for the case of trying charges of delinquency in India, and a discretion was vested in the court of King's Bench, to originate criminal proceedings against such delinquents, if it should appear just so to do: in consequence the house was empowered to nominate a certain number of its members, who, with a certain number of the lords, and three of the judges, (one of whom should constantly preside) would form a court for the trial of all such accusations. Conceiving, then, that the charges now laid on the table against the noble marquis were precisely of the description which came legally within the proper cognizance and jurisdiction of such a court, he strongly recommended it to the house, and to the hon. gent. to proceed in the manner he suggested, and make his application to the court of King's Bench. He expressed high respect and friendship for the noble marquis, who had his best wishes; and he earnestly hoped, that the charges would ultimately prove unfounded: but the cause of public justice was a motive superior to all private considerations.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, that he recollected the clauses to which the hon. gent. alluded, and disapproved of them at the time they were under discussion. He agreed with the sentiment of the hon. gent. that the house ought not to assume judicial functions where it could be avoided, because the judicial functions of that house was a powerful weapon, which ought not to be used every day, and upon every slight subject. But the judicial functions of the house was a privilege of too much value and importance to be abandoned or surrendered, upon any occasion, without

out due consideration and great caution; for convinced he was that by the exercise of its functions, the House of Commons had done more towards placing this country upon the high constitutional ground it now stood, than any other part of its deliberative proceedings. He therefore wished that it never should be supposed for a single moment, that the house had abandoned or surrendered that privilege to a minor court, upon which so much of the safety of the country might hereafter depend.

The Marquis of *Douglas*, instead of considering the subject unfit to be brought before that house, thought it their duty not to recede a single step in the proceeding which had been commenced. He was far from thinking that this was a case which ought to be abandoned to the inferior courts. But in consequence of what had fallen from the right hon. secretary of state, in the true spirit of those principles which he had always professed, he should deem it unnecessary to trespass on the time of the house in endeavouring to shew that parliamentary impeachment was the only fit mode of proceeding in accusations of high crimes and misdemeanors.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* declared, that the more speedily the subject of the charges against his noble relation could be put at issue, and the more expeditious the mode by which the matter could be brought to its final decision, the more satisfactory would it be to that noble lord, and to all his friends; but, at the same time, he thought it highly necessary that all the papers moved for by the hon. gent. should be laid on the table, and considered by the house, before they came to any decision whatever as to the mode of further proceeding. He admitted that the charge against his noble relative might originally have proceeded before the court of King's Bench, but having come before the house, he submitted that it must be got quit of by a specific vote, establishing either his guilt or innocence. He therefore thought, there could be no objection to the papers being produced.

Mr. *Francis* denied the doctrine laid down by Mr. Fox, that the House of Commons was a court of justice, or acted in a judicial capacity; to call it so was a misnomer: it was properly the grand inquest, whose province was to inquire respecting the validity of great criminal charges, and then to proceed as the accuser or prosecutor before a high court of justice. But he was of opinion, that such were the charges which the house had now entertained against the noble marquis, and so enormous was their nature, that, if true, they sunk the imputed criminality of another noble lord, now on his trial, comparatively, almost to nothing. If lord Melville's case was one which required impeachment, marquis Wellesley's was one which required it much more strongly. Where one was accused of taking thousands, the other was accused of wasting millions. The house was bound to go into an inquiry, and come to some decision upon the business, instead of abandoning it to the jurisdiction of another tribunal. He did not, for his own part, presume to anticipate any guilt on the part of the noble marquis. He wished to have him heard at the bar, in answer to these charges, as had been the case with sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Hastings; and if he could make a satisfactory defence for his own vindication, he

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should have his vote to quash all further proceedings.

Mr. *Fox* said, he only meant that the particular charge of extortion might be a fit subject for the jurisdiction of the court appointed by the 24th of his majesty, without reference to the other charges.

Mr. *H. Addington* stated, that the difference between this case and that of another lord alluded to, consisted in this: the case alluded to proceeded on a resolution of this house, finding that the noble lord in question had violated an act of parliament, and that he had applied the public money to his own advantage. Here no peculation was even alleged, nor was any evidence given of the supposed breach of the law.

Dr. *Laurence* thought it was in the power of any individual in the house to propose whatever course he pleased. He could see no object in the observations of the right hon. gent. who had just spoken, than to lower the tone of the house. The charges against the marquis Wellesley were of an infinitely stronger nature, than those against the noble lord who was then on his trial. He was in favour of proceeding by impeachment; but as that was not now the question, he would vote for the production of the papers.—The motion was then put and agreed to.

Mr. *Paull* then moved for a variety of other papers, for the purpose of shewing the interest paid on the loans by the marquis Wellesley, the amounts of salaries, house-rents, &c. payable to persons holding offices under him, &c.; which, after some additional remarks from Mr. Bankes, in which he expressed his determination, on a future occasion, to call the attention of the house to the state in which the matter then stood, were agreed to. On the motion of the Marquis of Douglas, in addition to a former order, there was ordered to be laid before the house an account of all gratuities, pensions, or presents, paid or payable in India to servants of the East India company down to the latest period.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* said, he wished to enquire of the hon. gent., (Mr. Pauli,) whether he meant to bring forward the charge against the marquis of Wellesley, respecting his transactions in Oude, this week? The reason why he asked the question was, that it would be much more convenient for him to attend the discussion in the course of the ensuing week, as particular business required his going for a few days into the country. His object, however, at present, was, pursuant to his notice, to move for the following papers, viz. that there be laid before this house 1. "A copy of a letter to the court of directors in the judicial department, dated 6th July, 1802, from the governor-general in council, transmitting a copy of the answers to the governor-general's interrogatories sent by the several judicial officers and collectors throughout the provinces. 2. That there be laid before this house, extract of a general letter from the court of directors in the revenue and judicial department, dated 14th September, 1803, paragraph 15, to the government of Bengal, signifying the court's approbation of the zeal which the governor-general had manifested for the public interests, in proposing certain queries to the collectors and magistrates. 3. That there be laid before this house, extract of a letter from the court of directors in the public department, dated 20th March, 1031, para-

paragraph 48, approving of the arrangements of the governor-general in council for the regulation of the press. 4. That there be laid before this house, a copy of the minutes of the governor-general, lord Wellesley, dated 19th March, 1801, and recorded in the secret and political department, for improving the governor-general's office. 5. That there be laid before this house, extract of a separate letter from the governor-general in council to the court of directors, dated 31st of July, 1801, paragraphs 28 to 40 inclusive, respecting the re-establishment of the town duties, and the improvement of the government customs; together with any reply from the court of directors to the same. 6. That there be laid before this house, extract of a letter in the revenue department from the Bengal government to the court of directors, dated 5th March, 1800, paragraphs 14 to 20, inclusive, relative to the stamp duties, and to the establishment of other sources of revenue. 7. That there be laid before this house, extract of a letter from the Bengal government, in the revenue partment to the court of directors, dated 5th September, 1800, relative to the abkaree, or tax on spirituous liquors, and the court's reply to the same. 8. That there be laid before this house, extract of a letter from the court of directors to the Bengal government, dated 14th September, 1803, paragraph 24, approving of the regulations for levying a duty on spirituous liquors distilled according to the European method. 9. That there be laid before this house extracts of letters from the Bengal government, in the public department, dated 31st July, 1798, paragraph 35, and the 25th December, 1798, paragraphs 128 to 134, to the court of directors, relative to the revenues of the post office, and the court's replies to the same. 10. That there be laid before this house, extract of such part of the proceedings of the Bengal government, in the law department, dated 6th May, 1800, as relate to the establishment of the police; together with such proceedings and resolutions of the government, in the judicial department (criminal branch) on the same subject, dated 15th May, 1800; and all such minutes of the governor-general, and reports, as relate to the establishment of the police at Calcutta in the year 1800, under the improvements introduced by lord Wellesley. 11. That there be laid before this house, an account of the net revenues of the ceded provinces in Oude, after deducting expenses of collection, and other contingent charges, since the conclusion of the treaty of Lucknow in November, 1801, to the latest period, shewing the amount of revenue applicable to the payment of the troops, after deducting all civil charges. 12. That there be laid before this house, a copy of the governor-general's minute, in the political department, dated 12th April, 1805, relative to captain Sydenham's allowances." Ordered.

Mr. *Paull* signified his readiness to concur in the suggestion of the hon. general, and declared his intention to submit a motion to the house on the subject if some satisfactory reason should not be given for the delay in the production of the Bhurtpore papers.

PEACE IN INDIA.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, he rose for the purpose of asking a question upon a subject which he considered to

to be of extreme public importance. He had heard that a dispatch had been received at the India house, stating that lord Lake had written letters to general Nicholson and general Jones, in one of which he ordered general Jones to withdraw his troops from the position they held, as a peace had been concluded with Scindia. He therefore wished to enquire whether that report were true? It appeared that the present administration had, on coming into office, approved of sir George Barlow as a fit person to administer the affairs of the company abroad; and certainly, if within three months his government had succeeded in giving peace to that country, it was highly creditable, and a good presage of what was in future to be expected from it.

Mr. *Creevey* replied, that an overland dispatch had certainly been received from Bombay, at the India house, stating not the actual conclusion of peace with Scindiah, but that such an event was probable, and describing the distresses of Holkar. If the hon. gent. was desirous of learning the contents of the dispatch, he might have satisfied his wishes by applying in another quarter.

May 15.

Mr. *Paull*, seeing a noble lord in his place (lord Morpeth,) wished to know why the papers he had moved for respecting Bhurtpore, were so long delayed. He had first moved for their production on the 11th of March, and finding the order of that day was not complied with, he moved, upon the 13th of April, for a peremptory order. As the papers were by no means voluminous, and there had been such abundant time for their production, he should now make a further motion, unless he received a satisfactory reason for their delay.

Mr. *Creevey* said, that the board of control had done all that was incumbent on them to do, when they served the India company with notice of the order that had been made by that house. He thought, however, that it must appear most unfair in that hon. gent. to charge the board of control with wishing to keep back any information, when it was recollected, that they had not resisted one of the ninety-eight motions for papers which the hon. gent. had made in the course of the last four months. He, however, in consequence of the conversation in that house upon the subject, had sent to Mr. Ramsey, the secretary of the India company, to know the reason why those papers were not produced. He was informed by the answer, that there was at present a chasm in the consultations of Bengal, which probably the next ships would supply. Since that time, the hon. gent. had made thirty-nine motions for papers, which went so far as to require a detailed account of the most minute expenses of the marquis Wellesley in his entertainments. At the same time, they were getting ready the papers relative to Surat, which were no less than 2000 close folio pages. While all these accounts were making out at the same time, it would not be wonderful if there should be some delay; this delay could not, however, be imputed, in any degree, to the board of control, who were really willing to give him as many papers as he asked for. If these papers were not necessary, they had a mischievous effect, as they interfered with the making up of the official documents. There were two India budgets

budgets in arrear, and now in preparation, the papers connected with which would afford a much better knowledge of the affairs of India, than all the minute details moved for by the hon. gent.

Mr. *Paull* replied, that he was entitled to these papers to enable him to substantiate against the marquis Wellesley, as important charges as ever were brought forward in that house. He thought there was great delay in the production of all these papers.

Mr. *Creevey* denied that there was any delay that was not unavoidable.

Mr. *Francis* thought, that when a member moved for any papers, he was himself the best judge of their effect, and therefore was not obliged to take the advice of those who might be adverse to his views. He had seen a paper signed by twenty-three directors, who, amongst other things, complained that the marquis Wellesley did not register his papers regularly in the consultation. The chasm could however be no reason for not making a return. If no record could be found, the answer would be easier

Sir *Hugh Inglis* said, the principal reasons which occasioned the delay of those papers were, first, the voluminous nature of the papers which were ordered with respect to Surat; in the second place, there had no vessel left Bengal since the Medusa, which sailed in November. He had reason, however, to think, that the first ship which arrived would supply the chasm that was complained of. He assured the hon. gent. that there was no wish to delay, and that the papers should be laid upon the table as soon as, in the circumstances of the case, they could be got ready.—Upon this explanation, and after a few words from lord Morpeth, Mr. Paull consented to withdraw his motion. Mr. Paull then gave notice, that he should move, the next day, to rescind an order that had been made in the month of April, for the production of a protest of Mr. Bosanquet, relative to this transaction.

May 20.

DEBTS OF THE NABOBS OF ARCOT.

Mr. *Hobhouse* moved the second reading of the nabobs of Arcot's creditors bill. On the question that the bill be now read a second time,

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* rose to call the attention of the house to this subject, to which it had hitherto paid little attention, though it had drawn millions out of the exchequer of England. By the statute for renewing the company's charter, the public became a partner in this firm, and was to participate to a certain amount in the profits. Every gentleman, at that time, did expect, and the public had a right to expect, that the time of participating would have arrived before this. This charter was a sort of deed of partnership between the country and the company; but although the country had hitherto acted the part of a sleeping partner, yet it most clearly possessed the right of examining into the affairs of the concern, and of investigating the causes which prevented it from receiving that participation to which it naturally appeared to be entitled. When an object of that nature came before the house, it was necessary to look very narrowly into the causes which prevented this participation. In this point of view, he hoped the chancellor of the enchequer would bestow

bestow his attention to this subject, as, in the present difficulties of the country, it was serious loss, in a financial point of view, to be kept from that participation in the revenues of India, to which the country appeared entitled. All those who had turned their attention to India accounts, must know, that for these thirty or forty years past, claims had been continually rising up, and sometimes suddenly bursting out, upon the revenues of these princes. These claims, after deliberate enquiry, had been rejected by the India government abroad, but, nevertheless, did not cease to be pressed upon the court of directors here. That court consequently gave orders that security should be given for the payment of five lacks of pagodas due to the company in 1794, but the board of control afterwards postponed that claim, and gave a preference to the other creditors. It had since, however, been explained, that these last debts arose out of the violation of public orders, and had increased from small to very large sums, from the extravagant interest that was charged upon them. From the illegal manner in which these creditors acted, they could not be said to have any just title to recover. In proof of this, he read an extract from the publications, forbidding any of the company's servants to lend money to the native princes, at a higher interest than 12*l.* per cent. and making void all obligations bearing a higher rate of interest. In confirmation of this statement, he was fortified by the opinion of an hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) who had paid great and laudable attention to all India subjects; who had passed, encompassed with the greatest difficulties, many years of his life in India; and, after having made a moderate fortune by the most irreproachable means, returned to this country with a character unsullied and uncontaminated by the vices and abuses which he left behind him.—He then dwelt upon the various obligations and letters of attorney granted by the princes of Arcot, to Germans, English, Greeks, Armenians, &c. which, after being rejected by the government in India, stood, for a time, at a discount of 99*l.* per cent. After all, however, by these proceedings, upwards of five millions were actually taken out of the pockets of the several nabobs. He believed, that of the debts now claimed, amounting to 5,600,000*l.* there was not more than 500,000*l.* honestly contracted. That being the case, he trusted the house would not think their time misemployed in attending to this subject. He did not impute any improper motives or conduct to the commissioners. The gentleman (Mr. Hobhouse,) who had brought the measure forward, had for a series of years, on the opposition side of the house, manifested a laudable jealousy of all the measures of government, particularly on subjects of finance, and he was sure he would apply the same jealousy to the present case. Another of the commissioners had passed twenty-five years in India, and done considerable service to his country without bringing forward any claim on the native powers. The third was a gentleman, who was capable of contributing very essentially to the public service, as he had on other occasions, by his powerful talents, though his application of them in the share that gentleman (Mr. Fordyce) had in this business, did not appear to him in

in the same favourable light. Letters of attorney had been executed to him by eleven different persons of different nations, Armenians, Persians, Germans, from which considerable advantages would be derived. It was proposed to appropriate 136,000*l.* a year to satisfy their claims, upon which there would be a profit to the individual and his heirs, of 6,800*l.* per annum, until the whole should be liquidated. He came next to the most painful part of his duty. There appeared in the list of the nabob's creditors the names of several person who had held high official stations in the company's service. Mr. Benfield had received 500,000*l.* and appeared a creditor now to the same amount. Another, sir John M'Pherson, he was sorry to find in the same list a creditor to the amount of 102,000*l.* (The hon. member here proposed to have a report, made by a select committee in 1785, on the transactions of the Carnatic, read, with a view to shew the grounds upon which such claims rested.) The clerk had proceeded a considerable way in reading the report, which commented with some severity on certain transactions relative to the Carnatic, in which the gentleman referred to was concerned, when

Mr. *W. Dundas* submitted, whether it would be desirable to have the time of the house occupied with hearing long reports read on every individual creditor on the list?

Mr. *W. Keene* apologized for occupying the attention of the house to so long a statement, but he thought it necessary to state the probable origin of the great debt which sir John M'Pherson now claimed. The above, he said, was the first report that threw any great light on all the transactions in India; and he read himself a few pages more, in which it was stated, that sir John M'Pherson undertook to get an act of parliament passed, to accommodate the interests of the nabob; and for that purpose came over to England and offered a present of great value to the duke of Grafton, the then prime minister. This present having been rejected by the duke, sir John M'Pherson thought it might be more effectually bestowed on the subordinate ministers; and stated to them, that what he had then to offer, made only a part of a much larger sum, which would be subsequently given. In fact, bribery was so much the custom of the East, that he could not persuade the nabob that the great men in England were favourable to his cause, if they refused his presents. He then offered to bribe the government, or the public itself, for he offered, in the name of the nabob, a loan of 700,000*l.* either to the treasury or to the nation, at an interest of 2*l.* per cent. where there was nothing to prevent him from receiving what was then the current interest. It was fortunate for the country, that the revolution of 1688 took place; for had such offers been made in the time of Charles II. the nabob of Arcot could not only have bought the Carnatic, but Bengal too. It was services like this, which probably entitled sir John M'Pherson to be a creditor for more than 100,000*l.* The hon. member then proceeded to state several instances which appeared to him to prove conclusively that these debts were all of them contracted in pursuing measures which were hostile to the interests of the company. He concluded by dwel-

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ling strongly upon the case of sir Richard Sullivan appearing as a creditor for a large amount, who was confidential secretary to the government at Madras, and who, being also in correspondence with the nabob, revealed to him all the secrets which he had heard in his public capacity, in the course of half an hour after he had them. He hoped all these debts would undergo a rigorous examination.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that he had not originally intended to speak upon the question, but could not sit silent when he heard the character of a most respectable friend of his, and to whom he owed many obligations, aspersed in this manner. He thought it was extraordinary that the hon. gent. should have chosen to go nearly forty years back for transactions, with which to charge sir John M'Pherson. As to the reports on which he grounded his accusation, there were some reports, and that which had been read was one, which deserved no more credit than the reveries of Robinson Crusoe. The sense that was entertained by the country, of the conduct and services of that gentleman, was directly opposite to the statement in that report. Long subsequent to those transactions, he had been made governor of Bengal, and had introduced savings, or reductions, to the amount of 1,200,000*l*. He wished all other governors of Bengal had done as much good. His majesty had shewn his sense of his services, by creating him a baronet. As to what had been done forty years ago, it was a little hard to go so far back. If, at that time, he was perfectly unemployed by the company, he had a right to accept employment from the nabob. There was another gent. however, who was attacked, he could not say in a disorderly manner, for the Speaker would have stopped any thing that had been disorderly. He must say, however, that it appeared contrary to the usual courtesy between man and man, to attach the character of a member of that house so violently, in his absence, as the hon. gent. had done, with respect to sir R. Sullivan. How could the hon. member presume to say, that sir R. Sullivan had betrayed the trust that was reposed in him by the British government? How could he presume to say that, while in the service of the company, he had betrayed their secrets to a foreign prince? He was not particularly acquainted with sir R. Sullivan, but he could not bear to hear the characters of hon. men treated in such a manner. As to Mr. Fordyce, whose name had also been mentioned by the hon. member, he must say, that he had no concern in the original arrangement for the payment of these debts.

Mr. *W. Keene*, in explanation, said, he had made no attack on any man, but only read transactions from the records of the house, which threw a light on the present question.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, this was a letter from lord Macartney, who had been prejudiced against sir R. Sullivan.

Dr. *Laurence* expressed his surprise and regret, that any gent. should suppose this subject had become obsolete, or ever would become so. It was necessary that that enormous mass of corruption that had been carried on in India, should be sifted and exposed. As to the distance of time, it was nothing, the present debts were the modest remains of claims, which those who made them now, dared

not

not bring forward at the period alluded to. He thought, therefore, that the house and the country were much indebted to the hon. gent. (Mr. Keene) for what he had done; and though sir John M'Pherson had since that period been made governor-general of India, he thought it necessary the house should enquire, why a bond for 100,000*l*. dated in 1796, and given to him by the nabob of Arcot, should not have been brought forward sooner? If it should turn out to be for presents, contrary to law, it would become a question, whether it ought to be allowed. What had been the history of all those debts? It was, he said, utterly impossible that any man could read the proceedings of that period, and recollect he was an Englishman, without feeling the mixed emotions of disgust, contempt, indignation, and horror, that such proceedings should be allowed, and that 140,000*l*, a-year should be set apart to liquidate debts, contracted under such shameful and profligate circumstançes. He wished a parliamentary commission to be appointed for the purpose of enquiry into those debts, and thought that the house should not be called upon to sanction a measure that would permit the introduction of many fraudulent and unjust claims.

Lord *Castlereagh* was of opinion, that a good deal of extraneous matter had been introduced into the discussion of the present question. The house were not now called upon to sanction the agreement entered in between the East-India company and the creditors of the nabob. That agreement had already been concluded, and commissioners had been appointed under it, who were employed in carrying it into exécution. This agreement had also been entered into by the parties who were competent to form it; by the creditors of the nabob on the one side, and by the East-India company, under the sanction of the board of control, on the other. He could not see, therefore, how it was competent for parliament to interfere with this agreement. The only question before the house was, whether they should lend their authority to the better execution of the agreement, by enabling the commissioners to administer oaths; for the purpose of rendering their enquiries more complete and satisfactory? He admitted that there was a very considerable mixture of fraudulent claims with others that were well founded. But the commissioners were appointed for the very purpose of separating the fraudulent from those that were just; and the present bill was intended to enable them more effectually to accomplish this purpose. He admitted that the public were interested in the claims made on the East-India company, and might indeed be considered as parties in the agreement. But he could not think that they had the sole right of appointing a commission for adjudicating the claims of the creditors, without the express consent and approbation of the company, and the creditors themselves. He considered also, that the interests of the public were protected by the board of control, whose sanction was necessary to the appointment of the present commissioners. It was certainly just in itself, that some fund should be appropriated for liquidating the debts of the nabob, since the East-India company, by acquiring his revenues and possessions, were placed in his room, and become liable for his public debts.

debts. Accordingly, a sum of 260,000*l*. per annum, had been set apart for this purpose; and, as the nabob was indebted to the East-India company, in 1798, in the sum of 2,800,000*l*. a division of the original sum had been made, and only 136,000*l*. a year had been appropriated to the payment of the private creditors. It had appeared, that the company were possessed of assets derived from the nabob, fully sufficient to provide for this annual sum of 136,000*l*. The simple question, therefore, before the house was, whether the original agreement should be carried into full effect, and the commissioners be enabled to carry on their investigations, on the oaths of the parties. Thinking this to be the proper state of the question; and believing also, that the commissioners were possessed of every qualification necessary to conduct their enquiries to an honourable and successful termination, he felt it his duty to support the bill.

Mr. *Francis* said, that the noble lord appeared to him to have delivered some very new and extrordinary doctrines, to which he wished to call the attention of the house. But he thought, from the present thinness of the house, that the discussions could not now take place in a very satisfactory manner, and he therefore wished the debate to be adjourned to some future day. He therefore moved, that the farther consideration of the bill be deferred to this day fortnight.

Mr. *Hobhouse* observed, that if the ground of the hon. gent.'s motion was the thinness of the house, he feared that this ground would not be removed by a fuller attendance on a future occasion. But, if it was the general wish of the house, that the discussion should be postponed, he should not object to the motion, though he could see no reason for so long a delay as a fortnight.

Dr. *Laurence* said, that there were several subjects of great importance, demanding the attention of the house, besides the interval of the recess. He therefore thought that Friday se'nnight was the earliest day on which this subject could again come before the house.—The debate was therefore adjourned to Friday se'nnight.

May 28.

OUDE CHARGE.

Mr. *Paull*, pursuant to the notice he had given, brought forward his promised charge against the marquis Wellesley, for his conduct to the nabob of Oude; and moved that the charge be now read. The charge was accordingly read by the clerk at the table.

This charge, which is of great length, we must omit in this place, for the purpose of inserting it in another department of this volume (under the head *Political Papers*) together with those remarks, by way of answer to it, which the cause of truth and justice, and the public conduct and character of the accused, which it is the evident object of this charge to misrepresent and vilify, call upon us to make.

After the charge was read, Mr. Paull moved that it should be printed.

Lord *A. Hamilton*, seconded the motion.

Mr. *Whitshed Keene*, was glad the charge was brought forward; but at the same time he begged gentlemen to consider, that the political state and relations of the princes of India, and those of Europe, were totally different. Such a thing as a balance of power was not

not known in India. There was no power in India but the power of the sword. The chief, who could procure a command of troops and money, and who was of a warlike and enterprizing disposition, was always sure to disturb the peace, and to rule over the other chiefs of India, until a more powerful spoiler should arise to supercede him. It was, therefore, impossible to regard the charges of government in India, with the same feelings as we do those in Europe, where the foreign policy of states, is regulated, by principles and causes, so diametrically opposite in their nature.

Mr. *Francis* agreed that there was no power known in India but the sword; but that it was the British sword.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* observed, that after what had fallen from his hon. friend, it was perfectly unnecessary for him to say a word more on the subject. If the hon. gent. opposite, thought that the Indian princes were not entitled, at our hands, to the same justice as other independent sovereigns, he hoped that the number in this house who agreed with him were but small. There was no proposition more universal than this, that you acknowledged the right of a sovereign with whom you treated. It was true, that when an ancient sovereign fell, and another came in his place, the feelings of regret for the fate of the sufferer might be more acute, and the indignation against the more recent sovereign more strong and general. Yet this must be confined to third persons; for those who treated with him must, by that act, be considered as having acknowledged his authority. But if ever there was one case where the breach of treaty ought to occasion more indignation than in another, it was where there was no power but the power of the sword, especially in India, where, as had been stated, that sword was the British sword. If ever there could be a case where a breach of treaty could be defended, it was only in support of the weak against the strong. But in India the British ought to be bound by their compacts the more closely, the more it was in their power to break them. This he hoped and believed would be the general sentiment of the house. He could not help saying thus much on the general principle, without applying it at present in any way to the case before the house.

Mr. *Bankes*, in concurring in the sentiments that had fallen from the right hon. gent. who spoke last, hoped that he should not be considered as giving any countenance to this mode of proceeding. He still maintained that the matter ought to be submitted to that board which had been appointed for the express purpose of investigating Indian affairs.—The charge was then ordered to be printed.

Mr. *Paull*, in answer to the question put by the hon. baronet, said he would proceed in the charge in three weeks at the farthest. He would move on Friday for certain papers relative to the expulsion of the Rajah of Shasnee.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* thought the delay of three weeks too much, after so many papers had been moved for, and a general notice given twelve months since. He took this opportunity of stating, that he knew no distinction of right with respect to the princes of India and the princes of Europe. In his defence of

of lord Wellesley, far from assuming such a distinction, he would shew that lord Wellesley had neither invaded a right nor violated a treaty.

Mr. *Paull* said, that the papers were voluminous, and that he himself, with all his exertion, could not be prepared to proceed upon the charge sooner than the time mentioned. If the hon. baronet would look into the precedents, he would find that three weeks was the shortest period: as to the papers, they were essential.

Mr. *R. Thornton,* as he had been particularly referred to concerning these papers, stated that they had not certainly come to the directors in the regular way in which they ought to have come. They had only come in the Bengal consultations. They were not so long, perhaps as far as he could judge, as the Furruckabad papers. They certainly were very material, and applied to the present charge. As to making them the ground of a separate article, he did not think that desirable. He was sorry that they had not come to hand as they ought to have done, as by this means the directors were not in possession of some material information on the point to which they related.

Mr. *Wellesley Pole* said, that the hon. gent. had stated no reason for putting off the consideration of the charge for three weeks.

The *Speaker* said, that on that head the hon. gent. had a right to exercise his own discretion.

Mr. *Paull* advised the hon. gent. to look at the precedents, and then he would find that three weeks was the shortest time that had been mentioned for entering into consideration of such charges.—The charge was accordingly ordered to be considered on that day three weeks.

May 30.

PAPERS RELATIVE TO SIR R. SULLIVAN.

Mr. *Sullivan* said, he rose to move for the papers of which he had given notice two days ago.—That, having been prevented by an afflicting distress in his family, from attending in his place during the last week, he had not had an opportunity of hearing the observations which an hon. member had permitted himself to make to the disadvantage of a near and dear relation of his, a member of that house, who was absent through infirmity. From what he had since heard and read of those observations, he did not hesitate to say, that they were unfounded; and that the house would find, in the papers to which he had alluded, the most distinct and pointed contradiction to what the hon. gent. had asserted. That the transactions, to which those papers related, had reference to a proceeding in which the government of Madras, and the superior government of Bengal, were the principal parties, and in which the hon. bart. was an active and efficient instrument. The inferior government of Madras had recorded, in strong terms, their disapprobation of the conduct of the hon. bart.; and this record had been adduced to the house, as the ground and warrant for the imputation which the hon. gent. had thought proper to cast on his hon. relation. The superior government of Bengal, with this record before them, pronounced the conduct of the hon. bart. to have been highly meritorious, and, in consequence, they gave it their strongest commendation. That it was not his intention to trespass upon

upon the time of the house, by going into the controversy between the two governments; but that he appealed to the justice of the house, and to the honourable feelings of every man in it, whether the proceedings of the hon. member, in adverting exclusively to the opinion that was expressed by one of the parties, and thereupon founding a judgment could be justifiable in any case, but particularly in that of a member absent through illness?—That the misery and desolation that overspread the Carnatic in the years 1780 and 1781, and the reduced state of our military force and resources at that time, were historical facts, to which he only referred, as they gave rise to a proposition out of which the transaction in question arose, namely, a proposition for ceding to the Dutch company, in perpetuity, the Southern provinces of the Carnatic, upon condition that an immediate military aid, of 1000 European soldiers, should be furnished by that company.—The news of a rupture with Holland was received in India before the arrangements upon this proposition could be carried into effect. But the alarm, which it had excited in the mind of the nabob of the Carnatic, was not the less strong; nor were his doubts and apprehensions to be appeased by the interposition of the temporary authority which then prevailed at Madras, the government being held by devolution, and the gentleman so holding it not possessing the confidence of the nabob.—The exigency of the public affairs had become still more pressing, in consequence of the rupture with Holland; and the nabob was urged, by the temporary government of Madras, to assign the collection of his revenues into their hands. The nabob resisted the proposition, and want of confidence increased the difficulties of our situation.—At this time the hon. bart. held the office of secretary to the government of Madras, and, from his knowledge of the Persian language, he was enabled to communicate directly with the nabob; that he availed himself of this advantage, not to betray the secrets of government, as the hon. gent. had thought proper to state, but to impress upon the mind of the nabob, the necessity of his making the great sacrifice that was required of him for the general safety.—The nabob, seeing the public danger on one side, and his personal risk on the other, was some time before he could bring his mind to decide; at length he signified his disposition to concur in the proposition, provided the hon. bart. would undertake to negotiate terms of the assignment with the government-general, and to obtain a formal assurance from that superior authority, that his just rights should be restored to him upon the return of peace. The hon. bart. did not hesitate between personal responsibility, and what appeared to him an object, upon the attainment of which our political existence in the Carnatic might depend. He therefore accepted powers from the nabob, to treat with the government-general for the assignment of all his revenues during the war, subject to certain conditions and reservations. A treaty was, in consequence, executed at Calcutta, in March 1781; and the government-general, with a view of confirming in the nabob, the fullest confidence in the good faith which they intended to preserve towards him, thought proper so invest the hon. bart. with powers

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as their minister at the court of the nabob, to see that the terms of the treaty were observed. Before the hon. bart. arrived at Madras, in the character of a public minister from the superior government, lord Macartney had assumed the reins of that government, to which he was regularly appointed by the company, with the approbation of the crown. The hon. bart. immediately delivered his dispatches to lord Macartney, and observed to his lordship, that, as the situation of the Madras government was so materially changed by his being placed at the head of it, he (the minister) was persuaded, that the government-general would approve of his suspending the executive duties of his commission, until his lordship could receive answers to any reference he might think proper to make to him upon the subject of his mission, and he accordingly confined himself to the act of delivering the treaty to the nabob.—That it would be an unnecessary intrusion on the patience of the house, if he were to go further into this subject. That he only begged it might not be inferred, from what he had said, that he considered the treaty of March 1781, as a perfect arrangement. All he meant to say upon that point was, that it was better than any thing that had preceded it, and that it was the object which the temporary government of Madras endeavoured, but without effect, to obtain; that it was obtained through the representations of the hon. bart. that the government-general considered it as an object of great importance; and marked their approbation of the hon. bart. in the most distinguished manner, by vesting him with the character of their minister. That lord Macartney, in a letter to the chairman, of the 15th of December, 1782, calls it a "considerable step towards remedying the defects of past transactions." That in a letter of 1st December, 1781, to the secret committee, adverting to it under the modifications he had introduced into it, he calls it "that rock of strength upon which you stand in the Carnatic;" and that the treaty of 1792, made by lord Cornwallis, was formed upon the basis of this assignment.—He begged again, that it might not be inferred, from what he had said, that he considered any of those measures as free from objection. He had long since published the opinion he entertained on this subject. That opinion had not varied; and he had no difficulty in now stating, that he thought the zeal of my lord Wellesley, for the public service, had carried him too far, in the arrangement which was made under his authority in the Carnatic. Had his lordship made his arrangement in the Carnatic, upon the principle upon which his arrangement in Oude was formed, it would have had his hearty concurrence, as that measure had, upon the fullest consideration he had been able to give it. He explained, that he now adverted to the cession of the frontier provinces, as a full compensation for the military protection of the dominions of Oude. —That the hon. member was represented to have implicated, in his censure, another hon. friend of his (Mr. Laurence Sullivan,) who, after a long life, thirty years of which were passed in the chief management of the affairs of the India company, had reposed in his grave full twenty years.—That there are still living many persons, some perhaps now in that house, who must remember the plenitude of power with which Mr. Sullivan directed

directed the affairs of India, with little intermission, from the year 1757 to 1786. The hon. member might, himself, possibly recollect the contest for supremacy, in 1768, between lord Clive and Mr. Sullivan: that contest was sustained with warmth, and an exertion of interest that seldom had been equalled in the party-struggles of this country. The law which had since rendered it necessary that India stock should be held a year before a proprietor could be qualified to vote, did not then exist. Mr. Sullivan, and Mr. Vansittart, who had united with him (he alluded to the father of a right hon. gent. now an ornament to the house) extended their interest, by entrusting stock amongst persons who were attached to them respectively: that in the number of persons of this description, were Mr. William Burke and Mr. Lauchlin Macleane, who had, each, been under-secretaries of state; that those gentlemen became, in consequence, largely indebted to Mr. Sullivan; that they both went out of the world without having discharged this debt. That each of these gentlemen had become agents to native princes in India. Mr. Macleane was lost on his return from that country, in 1782 or 1783, being at that time in the service of the nabob of the Carnatic. That the executor of Mr. Macleane, Mr. Stuart, who was secretary to the mission, had a knowledge of this long-standing debt to Mr. Sullivan; and, in urging the claims of Mr. Macleane upon the nabob, he represented it to him, and recommended that provision might be made for the payment of it, as Mr. Sullivan, in his old age, was in embarrassed circumstances. The bond to Mr. Stuart, in trust for Mr. Sullivan, was the consequence of this representation. It is dated February 5, 1785. Mr. Sullivan, was informed of this transaction in the summer of that year. He immediately wrote to him (Mr. John Sullivan,) desiring that he would take measures to have the bond cancelled; for, though the transaction was fair and honourable, yet, as he was a public man, it was open to misconstruction. That letter was on its way to India, when he was on his passage to England; had he received it there, entering fully into the honourable and high feelings of his friend, he would have acted upon it. That Mr. Sullivan died a short time after his arrival in England. Upon his death, his son called on Mr. J. Sullivan to assist in the arrangement of his father's affairs. They found them to be involved beyond the extent of all the property he left. Under these circumstances, they could not consider themselves at liberty to act as the high spirit of that distinguished man had directed. The bond was, in fact, the property of his creditors, and they could not, in justice, deprive them of any benefit that might arise out of it.—They had also considered, that the man whose influence had rewarded the services of colonel Clive, by appointing him to the government of Bengal, had placed Mr. Vansittart in that high office; had put the British interests in India under the care and guardianship of Mr. Hastings; the man who had been the friend and patron of Lawrence and Callaird; through whose influence lord Macartney had been appointed to the government of Madras (and here he availed himself of the opportunity to express the strong sense he entertained of the talents and probity that distinguished that noble lord:) that they had

had considered, that the man who had selected such characters, as the objects of his patronage, could not be in danger of having his good name lightly brought into question. That he had now described the origin of the bond that had been alluded to; let it be investigated, but let not the breath of calumny be employed to taint the well-earned fame of his revered friend. He observed, that the characters of public men were the property of his country, and, after their decease, that house should be their sanctuary. He would not trespass further on the patience of the house; but moved, "that there be laid before this house an extract of a letter, from the governor-general and council of Bengal to the court of directors, dated October 20, 1783." Also, "that there be laid before this house a copy of a letter, from the governor-general to the court of directors, dated November 28, 1783."

Mr. *W. Keene* said, on looking over the list of the debts of the nabob of the Carnatic, he referred merely to what was inserted in the papers, which had an effect on his mind, and on which his former observations were grounded. He was concerned if he gave pain to any gentleman.

Mr. *Sullivan* said, after what he had stated to the hon. gent. he trusted he would have done justice to his brother; instead of which, he aggravated his former remarks.

Mr. *Ellison* contended, that when an individual was criminated, he had a right to bring forward the best evidence he had, and agreed thoroughly with what had been stated by the hon. gent. who made the motion.—The motion was then put and agreed to.

June 3.

OUDE CHARGE.

Lord *Temple*, pursuant to the notice he had given upon a former day, now rose for the purpose of moving a specific day, for taking into consideration the charges of high crimes and misdemeanors against the marquis Wellesley, laid upon the table by an hon member, on the 28th of last month. He hoped it would not be necessary for him to preface his motion by observations to any great length. But, as the hon. member who had brought forward those charges, had named no particular day for moving the house to their consideration, feeling, as he did, the nature and importance of those charges to be such as called for their full investigation with the least possible delay, he now rose for that purpose. Gentlemen who had looked into those charges, must have felt them to be of the most weighty nature. They directly imputed to lord Wellesley, not only every species of public delinquency that could brand the character of a public officer, but every charge of private depravity that could stain the personal reputation of an individual. He had no doubt, that the hon. gent. who brought forward those charges, had done so under a self-persuasion of their truth, and a belief that he should be able to substantiate them in evidence. He would not pay the hon. gent. so bad a compliment, as to suppose he would bring forward such charges against any man, much less against the noble lord, unless he was himself persuaded they were founded in fact, and without being prepared with evidence, which he himself conceived competent to sustain them. But the hon. gent. must allow that, notwithstanding the

strength of his own persuasion upon the subject, it was still possible the noble lord might possess a confidence in his own innocence, superior to every accusation of such a nature, and must feel extremely impatient for the opportunity of his own vindication; more especially, when those charges included one of a nature more atrocious than all the rest, and such a one as called for the most immediate investigation, namely, the charge of a foul, deliberate, and cruel murder. In this charge was also included another person, not a member of either house of parliament; for whose account, also, much anxiety must be felt, though he had not the honour even of a slight personal acquaintance with him, namely, Mr. Henry Wellesley. But, from the nature of the charges altogether, and more especially the last, it became absolutely necessary, that an early investigation should now take place. If the hon. gent. had named any day for such enquiry, it would not be his wish to take it out of his hands: for the present, however, he should move, "That the article of charge, of high crimes and misdemeanors committed by marquis Wellesley, in his transactions with respect to the nabob vizier of Oude, which was delivered in at the table, and read upon the 28th day of May last, be taken into consideration to-morrow fortnight, the 18th day of this instant June." If the hon. gent. should then have any motion to submit to the house upon the subject, he would have an opportunity of doing so. If not, he (lord Temple) should certainly propose a motion on the subject.

Mr. *Paull* adverted to the precedent of Mr. Burke's proceedings against Mr. Hastings; and said, that the right hon. gent. after five years deliberation, and repeated motions, had, on the 4th of April, 1786, laid on the table seven articles of charge against Mr. Hastings. On the 12th of April, he laid four more; and, on the 7th of May, three more: and, notwithstanding the right hon. gent. had taken five years to deliberate upon his purpose, that he had the benefit of the reports of the secret committee, of the various papers he moved for, and of evidence examined at the bar for the proof of his charges, yet it was not less than six weeks afterwards that he moved the house to any proceeding upon those charges. Now, he had given notice only the preceding day, that he had witnesses to examine; and had, also, moved for a number of papers, many of which were absolutely necessary in support of the charges alluded to by the noble lord. Let those witnesses be examined at the bar; let those papers be produced in proper time; and he should not have the smallest objection to proceed to the investigation on the day proposed. Indeed, it was his intention to have moved for that day, if the testimony and documents had been fairly before the house; but, until they were, he should not be induced to move one step to the right or to the left, or to move one degree quicker or slower, in consequence of the noble lord's motion, or of any importunity from the friends of lord Wellesley.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* could not let pass some expressions which had fallen from the noble lord, without making a few observations upon them. The noble lord had complained, that the charges of the hon. gent. went to impeach the private character of lord Wellesley, for acts merely of public and official conduct; and that he had applied to the noble marquis, personally

sonally, every atrocious epithet, of tyranny, cruelty, oppression, plunder, and even of murder, for acts done in his public and official situation. But he must conceive it impossible, that such could have been the purpose of the hon. gent.; and as to the charge of murder, he did not conceive it to be put by the hon. gent. in the way it was imputed. But really, if, in bringing forward charges such as those now on the table of the house, and every tittle of which his lordship conceived to be warranted by the documents already brought forward in support of them, a member was to be restrained in the use of such language, and such epithets, as were usual in expressing opinions extremely natural to his feelings, upon such circumstances as those charged, lest the private character of the party accused should be supposed to be implicated in his public conduct, it would be impossible for any man to devise a becoming language for bringing before that house criminal charges against public delinquency in any man.

Sir *John Newport* expressed some surprise, how the noble lord who spoke last, if he had read the charges upon the table, could so far mistake that particular charge, which related to murder, as to say the crime was not roundly and specifically charged against the noble marquis, in conjunction with others. The honourable baronet here read an extract from the charge, which stated, that the said marquis, in conjunction with Henry Wellesley, had, with numbers of armed men, surrounded the mansions of certain zemindars and rajahs, the subjects of the nabob of Oude, and within his dominions; and did attack, slay, and destroy, several of the said rajah's zemindars, and their attendants and adherents; and did sack and plunder their said mansions of their property; thus completing the measure of his oppression and tyranny, by a foul, deliberate, wanton, and cruel murder. If this, then, was not a charge of murder, couched in as strong words as had ever appeared in the language of an indictment, he was at a loss to conceive what words could describe it more strongly.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* rose, to express some surprise at the declaration made by the noble lord who spoke last but one; namely, that he thought the charges against the noble marquis, his relation, borne out by the documents already laid upon the table; and more especially as the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) had said, only the moment before, that he could not sustain those charges, without several other documents, which he had moved for; and also, the examination of several witnesses at the bar. It was very extraordinary, therefore [illegible] the noble lord should [illegible]nounce so decidedly upon [illegible] of charges (which, [illegible], remained to be proved,) [illegible] his hon. friend, who brought them forward, declared he was not able to sustain without much more evidence. With respect to the charge of murder, however, it was one of too foul and atrocious a nature to be suffered to go forth unexplained, or remain as a stain upon the character of his noble relation, without placing the circumstances, upon which it was founded, in a proper point of view. There were certain officers, called zemindars and rajahs, resident in that part of the nabob's territory which was ceded to the company in 1801, and rendered liable to pay certain tributes, in the way of land-tax upon that territory, annually, to the company.

pany. The first year's tribute they did pay, he believed, regularly; and the regulations of the company, which were the laws of the country, were promulgated and established in that territory; but, upon the second payment being required, instead of complying with the law, they combined to resist it: they assembled together their armed forces, under the chief command of an officer named Amas Ali Khan; they retired to their forts; they set the laws at defiance; they refused to pay any tribute: and it was found necessary by the governor-general, in support of the laws, to reduce those men by force. So formidable were they, that it required the whole of the Bengal army, with the commander-in-chief at their head, to effect this service. They were attacked in their forts, and, in the course of their obstinate resistance, some persons fell; some blood was sp[illegible]: and this was what the hon. gent. [illegible]puted to the noble marquis as a murd[illegible]. It was an act of public power, do[illegible] in support of the laws of the cou[illegible] like what would have been done [illegible]gainst any class of British subjects, in similar resistance to the laws passed by that house; and the house would judge how far it was just to describe such a measure by the epithet of murder.

Lord *A. Hamilton* explained, that when he said the charge was warranted by the papers on the table, he could not be supposed to mean that it was proved. This was quite a different thing.

Mr. *Golding* said, a charge of murder was as well warranted against the lord lieutenant of Ireland, for the death of the rebels, slain in the suppression of the late insurrections in that country; or against the magistrates of London, and the ministers of the time, for the death of those killed in the suppression of the riots in 1780.

Mr. *Fox* submitted whether this was a time to enter upon the merits of the case; and expressed his hope, that the subject would be dismissed for the present.

Dr. *Laurence* said, that it was impossible, in a case of this kind, to fix a particular day. The house could not, with any propriety, proceed to the consideration of the charge, till the whole of the evidence was before them. Papers had been moved for, which had been suppressed by the late board of control, and had not yet been produced.

Lord *Castlereagh* complained of the illiberal manner in which he had been treated by the hon. and learned gent. who said that he had suppressed papers, when he had only exercised a proper discretion, thinking that the communication would be injurious to the public service. He thought the learned gent. ought rather to have made a specific motion on the subject, and then he should be prepared to defend himself. These papers would not certainly justify the expression in the charge.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that the papers in question related to troops and forts, and other matters of public notoriety, and were, therefore, the worst grounds in the world for the exercise of this discretion. As he was on his legs he must say, that the word "murder" was improperly applied.

Lord *H. Petty* agreed with his right hon. friend, (Mr. Fox) that this was a most improper time for entering on the merits of the case; and hoped, therefore, that the subject

subject would be dropped.—The motion was then put and carried.

June 5th.

[Oude Charge.] Mr. *Paull* gave notice that, on the 10th of June, he would move the consideration of the Oude charge. The speaker observed, that it was his duty to say, that the 18th of June had already been appointed for that purpose; and though an order might be postponed, it could not, according to the practice of the house, be accelerated. Mr. Paull said, that the house had not been brought into this dilemma by him.

Mr. *Fox* requested the speaker to read the question again: and, having heard it, said, that the thing was impossible: an order might be postponed, but not accelerated; and he did not know what the hon. gent. meant.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* said that, as the noble lord was not in the house, who moved the consideration of the charge on the 18th, he would propose, that the hon. gent. should, in the mean time, call his witnesses, and examine them at the bar.

Mr. *Paull* then moved, that the 18th be inserted instead of the 10th of June.

Mr. *Fox* said, that the 18th had already been fixed upon; but the hon. gent. might move, that his witnesses should attend on the 18th.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* observed, that the noble lord, who proposed the 18th, did it with a view to have a decision on that day. For his part, he only wished to have a decision this session. The hon. gent. might call his evidence on the 10th, if consistent with the orders of the house; and it might be considered on the 18th. He hoped, at all events, the matter would not be delayed beyond the present session.

Mr. *Fox* observed that, whatever might be the wishes of the hon. general, they could not supersede the established rules of the house. Evidence might be laid on the table; but oral evidence could only be taken when the subject was under consideration. The order then was, to consider it further and further, as there should appear occasion. Though the hon. gent. moved that his witnesses should be called on the 18th, yet it was not to be understood, that they were therefore to be heard. He concluded by declaring, that though the forms of the house could not be violated, yet that every facility ought to be given to the business, that the time of the house, and the interests of substantial justice, would allow.

Mr. *Paull* said, that no one had ever, in a similar situation, proceeded so rapidly as he had done. There should be no delay on his part.

Mr. *Francis* wished to know whether the hearing of evidence was equivalent to the taking a thing into consideration? If printed evidence was received before the period of entering upon the consideration of a subject, why should not oral evidence? If we could get over this difficulty, evidence might be heard in the mean time.

Mr. *Fox* replied that, by the forms of the house, oral evidence could not be received, except when a subject was under consideration: and this was the case, he apprehended, for these, among other reasons, that proper limits might be set to the evidence, and that the members might have it as fresh as possible in their recollection.

Mr.

Mr. *Paull* then moved, that the following gentlemen be ordered to attend the house on the 18th, viz. lord Teignmouth, gen. sir Alured Clarke, gen. sir J. Craig, lieut.-col. Edward Baynes, major-gen. St. Leger, col. Alex. Kidd, and H. Strachey, esq.

Sir *Henry Strachey* said, that Mr. Strachey was under orders for India; and that it would be hard if he should be detained by order of the house.

Mr. *Paull* said, that this gentleman had been private secretary to the governor, during the transactions at Furruckabad, and other places, and must, of course, be well acquainted with them. But he would still waive the order as to him, if it would occasion him any serious inconvenience; it being understood, however, that he was to attend if he should not have quitted the country. Upon this Mr. Strachey was struck out of the motion, which was then agreed to.

June 9th.

[FURRUCKABAD CHARGE.] Mr. *Paull* presented to the house an article of charge against Marquis Wellesley, for his conduct in his transactions with the nabob of Furruckabad.

This charge, with an answer to it, will be found under the head of Political Papers, in this volume.

The charge having been read by the clerk, was ordered to be printed.

June 11th.

Mr. *Paull* moved that the order of the house of the 22d of April last, relative to Indian papers, should be obeyed forthwith. This was agreed to. He then moved that the correspondence of the governor-general and his secretary, with major Ouseley, aid-de-camp to the nabob vizier, during the year 1802, should be laid before the house.

Sir *A. Wellesley* had no objection, on the part of the marquis Wellesley; but as it involved the character of Mr. Treeves, a gentleman who was absent, he submitted whether it would not be better to give a notice at present, and leave the board of control to consider whether the correspondence ought to be produced.

Mr. *Paull* said, that he did not move for these papers with any view to the character of the gentleman alluded to; but they were very important with respect to the Oude charge, as they would prove that major Ouseley had been threatened with disgraceful expulsion, except he made some communication which had been required of him.

Mr. *Wellesley Pole* trusted that the house would observe, that there was no objection to the production of this correspondence on the part of the friends of marquis Wellesley. They only meant to enter their protest against any attack on the character of an individual, who had no opportunity of defending himself.

Mr. *Creevey* thought the honourable gentleman should have given notice of such a motion as the present.

Mr. *Paull* said, that after the charge had been so long on the table, he did not think he was or ought to be confined strictly to the rules respecting notices. It was very different from the first opening of a business of this kind. The papers were highly essential to the elucidation of the charge, and he thought he had a right to move

move for them immediately: he had, however, no objection that what had passed should stand as a notice for to-morrow.

June 18th.

[OUDE CHARGE.] Earl *Temple* having moved the order of the day for taking the charge against the marquis Wellesley, relative to the nabob of Oude, into consideration, Mr. Paull was about to move that witnesses be called in, when the speaker informed him that the first question was, that the charge be now taken into consideration. The question being put,

Mr. *Bankes*, in pursuance of the intimation he had given the preceding day, rose to oppose the motion, and to state the reasons which induced him to think the house should proceed no further in this business, but dismiss it entirely from their consideration; in which he did not think it would be necessary for him to do more than to shew the house that the legislature had already provided another, and a more eligible mode of proceeding before a different tribunal. The tribunal to which he alluded, was that established by an act passed in 1784, for the special trial of crimes committed in India. He by no means denied the inquisitorial power of the House of Commons; on the contrary, he wished to speak of it always with the highest respect, and to acknowledge that, in many instances, it had been productive of the best consequences. But the power, like many other of its rights and privileges, should be used with sound discretion; for there were cases of such a nature, as it would be extremely unwise and injudicious to bring before the house; and those were cases in a considerable degree analogous to the present. It was a case not less complicated than that which, with so little success, and so little honour to the House of Commons, by whom it was urged forward, or that tribunal before which it was tried, had occupied the attention of parliament for seven successive sessions. The subject now before the house was no less than that of the revenues, and other political affairs of Oude, for a period of nearly 40 years; and in a more especial degree, during a period of five years that marquis Wellesley had been chief governor in India. The honourable member who brought forward these charges accused the noble marquis of a criminal interference in the affairs and government of the nabob of Oude; of having violated the independence guaranteed by treaty; of having wrested from the nabob one-half of his territory; and of having excited his subjects to rebellion, and then having recourse to arms to restore tranquillity. In support of this charge, a most voluminous mass of written documents had been laid on the table, and a considerable body of oral evidence was now, he understood, in waiting, for the purpose of being called in and heard. So voluminous was the mass of documents produced, that it was impossible for the house to have made the due use of them. The farther the subject was contemplated, the larger and more complicated did it appear. The house would therefore see it was a case at once too extensive, too abstruse, too intricate, and too hard for them to decide upon; and he doubted not that they would perceive the propriety of dismissing it without consideration, or

or giving any opinion upon it; for, whatever might be the innocence of the noble lord in question, and though the proceeding in the way of investigation by this house, with a view to subsequent impeachment, might not bring home to him any punishment, yet it was obvious, from experience, it might produce to him much embarrassment and vexation. In the case of Mr. Hastings, though after a tedious progress of seven sessions, he was finally acquitted; yet the trial brought ruin upon his fortune, and inflicted the most grievous inquietude upon his mind; and therefore of all tribunals he should avoid that the most, where the guilty had so little, and the innocent so much, to dread. Besides, it was utterly impossible that the individual members of that house, respectively, could have had time, consistently with their other avocations, to pay the particular attention necessary to every part of the evidence laid before them upon this case, to enable them to consider it with the minuteness necessary to warrant a solemn decision, as it would be the duty of a jury to do, before another tribunal. And with respect to impartiality, perhaps it would not be deemed altogether unjust to infer, that some share of party feeling on the subject might have its weight in the deliberation, which of all others should be the most free and unbiassed. There were certainly cases on which the house might feel itself pressed to some decision: but if ever there was a case on which it was desirable the house should not assume a jurisdiction, this was that one. The act to which he had alluded as providing especially for the trial of offences committed in India, passed in 1784, required that application should be made, by the party accusing, to the Court of King's Bench in the first instance, stating the nature of the accusation: and if the Court of King's Bench should, *prima facie*, deem the charge such as was worthy of serious trial, then it had power to direct that a tribunal be constituted, consisting of a certain number of members from each house of parliament, and one judge from each of the three courts of Westminster Hall, one of whom, at least, should always preside at the sittings of such tribunal, before which any such accusation should be tried. Such a tribunal certainly must be much more competent, in point of knowledge upon the subject, than any other which could be found. He had heard it said, that this act of parliament was not intended to extend to crimes of this high political nature, but was confined in its operation to others of a quite different description; but he had some observations to offer to the consideration of the house, which must remove all doubts, and silence all objections upon this point, and prove the full competence of the tribunal, to which he alluded, to try crimes of the present description. He mentioned the case of Mr. Holland, against whom charges were preferred by the crown, strictly of a political nature; such as, not marching troops with sufficient expedition against Tippoo Sultaun; not forwarding with sufficient promptitude dispatches from Tillicherry to Bombay, with an account of the hostilities which had broken out with Tippoo: and the whole of the charges, with but one or two exceptions, were of a simi-

lar nature, relating to the making of war, the marching of troops, &c. This cause had a final hearing in 1794; 12 of the counts out of 19 were confirmed; and for the other seven, which had been rejected, a writ of error was brought in the Court of King's Bench to confirm them; but in the interim Mr. Holland absconded with all his property. This instance, then, he hoped would prove the acknowledged competency of such a tribunal to try crimes of a high political nature. He had been told by some gentlemen, that, in the present case, he had made his objection too late, and that the house having entertained the charge, was now indispensably bound to come to some decision upon it. To this he would answer, that he could not make his objection until he was aware of the full grounds and nature of the charge, which he could not be until it was laid upon the table, with the documents upon which it was founded; and this was the very first opportunity he had had of making his objection since the charge and documents were completely before the house. Other members, who had not read the documents so extensively as he had, might not be so fixed in their opinions as to the impropriety of entertaining a charge of this nature before either house of parliament; however, he himself had let no time slip by him in making his objection upon the first fair opportunity that offered. The hon. member who brought forward this charge had an undoubted right to lay it upon the table, even though he stood entirely alone and unseconded. So far the house had entertained the charge, but no farther; they had founded upon it no proceeding, nor pledged themselves to any, and therefore could, with the utmost propriety, dismiss it.—There were precedents in point upon the journals:—the cases, for instance, of lord Coningsby and sir G. Porter, in the reign of King William, and some others. On the part of the noble lord, he was apprehensive that the dismissal would give him some pain, as it would look like refusing to hear the cause; but he could not think of violating an important public principle, in compliment to individual feelings, or give way to a mode of proceeding, which it was so desirable to avoid. It might be said, that misrepresentations had gone forth in print, and that documents had been printed by that house, in support of the charge, which rendered a speedy decision the more necessary; to which he had to answer, that documents equally strong, in refutation of those charges, had been also printed; and what right had the house to conclude that the public mind would only attend to the accusation, and reject the defence? For his own part, he had studiously avoided, throughout the whole of his speech, any expression that could in the slightest degree mark the bias of his own opinion upon the truth or falsehood of the charge in question; but in case the house should be disposed to entertain the charge, and to go into the discussion, he saw no reason why they could not, instead of proceeding by way of impeachment, if they should deem any further proceeding necessary, direct the king's Attorney General to proceed in the manner pointed out by the acts of

1784

1784 and 1786. The hon. member concluded by giving his negative to the motion for now proceeding to take the charge into consideration.

The *Master of the Rolls* observed, that the course which his hon. friend had proposed to the house to pursue, was certainly calculated to flatter their indolence; and, for his part, he should have been glad could it have been adopted with propriety. It would certainly relieve the house from a burden of which all must be sensible. But he thought that the principles and arguments of his hon. friend went too far, and would eventually trench upon those inquisitorial powers which belonged to the house, to enquire into charges of magnitude brought against persons of high dignity. In matters of this kind we must be content to follow the principles of our ancestors. His hon. friend had said, that impeachment should only be resorted to in cases of the last necessity. But it was by no means certain, this would proceed the length of impeachment. The charge alone was now proposed to be taken into consideration, and it would be afterwards for the house to decide, what course should be followed when that was gone through. With regard to the particular mode of trial which he recommended, it could not, from the instance which he had mentioned, be considered as likely to be very expeditious. In 1791, the information was filed against Mr. Holland, and it was not before 1794 that the Court of King's Bench had decided on the form of information to be laid before the tribunal to be appointed under the act. All the necessary subsequent proceedings upon this information were afterwards to take place. This mode, therefore, did not promise much more expedition, than that by impeachment. His honourable friend had stated a doubt, whether the present charge could be brought under the act in question. That act empowered the formation of a tribunal for the trial of extortion, and other misdemeanors; and it was rational to explain the general words, "other misdemeanors," as referring to offences of a similar or an inferior nature, since higher offences must have been specified in preference to those of a minor kind, had it been designed to include them. His hon. friend's doubt, therefore, appeared perfectly well founded, and he himself was convinced that the act had no reference to those higher political offences with which the noble lord was charged, and that therefore the trial of the charge could not be instituted under the act in question. It must be confessed, indeed, that the offences with which Mr. Holland was charged were of a political nature, and that the opinion of lord Kenyon was of high authority, but still he might be permitted to doubt the interpretation which was then put upon the act. It appeared to him, that the house could not drop their proceedings in the present instance. They had agreed to take the charge into consideration, and they could not pass from the vote they had already given. He wished that his hon. friend had offered his suggestion at an earlier period. For a whole year the subject had been before the house; papers had been moved for day after day, and the nature of the charge had been, in some mea-

measure, explained to the house. It was obvious that it related to the administration of the noble lord in India. When it was moved that the house should take the charge into consideration, then would have been the proper time for bringing forward the present motion. But now the house were in effect called upon to declare that they were in an error, and to say, that though they had resolved to take the charge into consideration, they would now give no opinion at all on the subject, nor come to any determination with regard to what should follow. It appeared to him that the present motion would do justice neither to the accuser nor the accused. Supposing the accuser to be actuated by malice, which he had no reason to presume, should the present motion be agreed to, he might congratulate himself on having gained his object, by exciting doubts in the public mind with regard to the conduct of the noble lord, and throwing a shade over his character which it might be difficult to remove. No opportunity would be given for the accused being heard in his own defence. The whole charge would be left to be discussed in a newspaper controversy, and such was certainly not the proper way for deciding it. Neither would justice be done to the accuser. After so long perplexing himself with papers and enquiry; after giving and taking so much trouble, it would not be fair to drop the matter at once, without coming to any determination upon it. But the house had already passed a resolution to take the charge into consideration. The matter might be postponed, but it could not be relinquished. It did not appear that this business could occupy much of the time of the house. The papers on which the charge was founded had long been printed, and it would not be difficult for any gentleman to form an opinion on the subject. Should the motion be agreed to, the house would be considered as having, in some measure, relinquished its inquisitorial power, and as having declared itself inadequate to such enquiries. Such was the conclusion which he thought the public would naturally draw.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* rose and observed, that if there was a wish that one could entertain on the subject in preference to another, it must be to accede to the proposition of the hon. gent. on the other side, not merely on account of the personal inconvenience with which a contrary mode of proceeding must be attended to individuals, and the labour to which it must subject them, but also on account of the great inconvenience which must thus be occasioned in conducting the public business of the house. Feeling as he did the importance of the latter consideration, he trusted the house would indulge him in saying a few words relative to the matter which now engaged their attention. Considering the embarrassment that must arise to public business, if the affair was to go on in the usual way, he thought that it would be absolutely necessary to find out some mode of quickening the natural course of the proceedings. For, if we were to proceed in the usual way, supposing that this oral evidence should last as long as it had done on former occasions, considering the time that must be spent in taking down the questions and the answers, it was impossible, unless the

the whole should be much shorter than any one could expect, that the matter could be brought to a conclusion this session of parliament. When he said "impossible," he wished to explain precisely what he meant by that term; it was impossible, supposing that parliament should sit only the usual time. He did not mean to state that ministers might not advise his majesty to prolong the session, and keep the parliament sitting, but it would be recollected, that it was not in their power to compel an attendance, that is, such an attendance as the importance of the case would demand. It must be seen, therefore, that the house was placed in a very disagreeable situation, and that it must be the wish of every person to escape from the labour and burthen of this inquiry, if it could be done with justice and propriety; not so much with a view to personal inconvenience, though that was something, as on account of the difficulties to which parliament would be reduced, in managing the public business of the nation. Now, with that wish strongly impressed on his mind, he certainly assented to a great part of what the hon. gent. had said. He having recognised the right which the house of commons had to proceed by the way of impeachment; and not only this, but having also recognised the inquisitorial power of the house as the vital principle by which the members had acquired the power to sit there, and to watch over the liberties, rights, and privileges of their constituents; having done all this, and indeed it was impossible for one so well versed in history and the principles of the constitution to do otherwise; he (Mr. Fox) certainly went with him a great way, and even agreed with him in many of the practical observations which he had made. He admitted the importance of the inquisitorial powers of that house, but he was, at the same time, convinced, that it was one of those powers which were best exercised when they were rarely exercised. As to the position of the hon. gent. that it was a power which ought not to be exercised, except in cases of absolute necessity, he certainly could not go with him that far; taking necessity in the strict signification of the term;—he admitted, however, that it ought not to be exercised, except in cases where honour rendered it necessary—that is, where no other mode of proceeding could be consistent with the honour of the crown, of the parliament, and the nation. He confessed that at first, so much did he wish to accede to the proposition of the hon. gent. influenced by the difficulties of parliament, and the arguments which the hon. gent. had advanced, that he had been considering how far it was possible to support him. But there was one part of his argument in which the hon. gent. had very materially failed, and that was, where he spoke to the point of time. With respect to the time at which this proposition was made, he would go half way between the hon. gent. and the learned gent. near him, (the master of the rolls). The latter had observed, that when you allowed voluminous papers to be laid on the table, and entertained the matter thus far, it was necessary that you should proceed farther.—He could not go with him thus far; for, if in these papers nothing should be found which could form any ground of proceeding, then you might undoubtedly stop and say,

say, that you would not advance any farther; or, if you saw good cause to go on, then you had still to consider whether another mode than impeachment, less burthensome to the members of this house, more consistent with the proper management of the public business, and equally consistent with the interests of justice, and the honour of the crown, the parliament, and the nation, might not be adopted. He could not therefore agree, that the act of allowing these papers to be laid on the table, did in itself render it absolutely necessary to proceed farther. But then the hon. gent. on the other side, said, that this was the earliest and most proper time at which he could come with his proposition—he was compelled to differ with him. He could not, he allowed, have objected to the production of the papers and of the charge, but when the matter came to a vote of the house—when the question was put sixteen days ago, whether the charge should be taken into consideration, aye or no, then was the time for the hon. gent. to have said no: but now, the house having pledged itself to the accuser and the accused, by this vote, and more than that, having actually ordered witnesses to attend, it stood bound to both parties to enter upon the consideration of this charge at some convenient time. He did not say, that it had pledged itself absolutely to proceed now, but it was bound to entertain the charge, and to consider it. And here, therefore, what the hon. gent. said was inapplicable. He said that we ought to have nothing to do with the charge, but that we ought to dismiss it without proceeding any farther. But, when the house had come to a vote on the subject, he conceived that the motion of the hon. gent. was totally inadmissible. For this he was extremely sorry, as he before stated, not only on account of the personal inconvenience which this affair might occasion to himself and others, but also on account of the difficulties which it would throw in the way of the public business. Now, with respect to the acts of 1784, and 1786, he had strong hopes when he came to the house, that the matter might, by possibility, be referred to such a tribunal. But when he heard the words of the acts "extortion or other misdemeanors," he had very great doubts whether a case of this kind could be brought under them. His notion was, when extortion and other misdemeanors were mentioned, that this must mean misdemeanors of a similar nature, and that even faults of a lower description, if of a different kind, could not properly be cognizable under these acts. However, it was very probable that the construction put upon the acts by the hon. and learned gent. was the right one, and that crimes of less magnitude than private extortion, for it was to this that the acts evidently referred, might be cognizable under the acts. As to the present case coming under them, that was out of the question. Yet he must, at the same time, say, that what the hon. gent. (Mr. Bankes) had said, militated a good deal against this construction, for the case of Mr. Holland, where the attorney-general, at that time (lord Eldon) thought that political matters were cognizable, under these acts, was undoubtedly very strong;—but in addition to the authority of the then attorney-general, we had the authority of the King's Bench here; for, he was speaking under correction,

tion, as he might be mistaken, that court seemed to have established this construction. The attorney-general moved the information, and if the Court of King's Bench allowed the proceedings to go on, it appeared like a proof that they had been of opinion that the crimes mentioned in the information were cognizable under the acts. These authorities then, were certainly in favour of the hon. gent.'s construction of the acts. But then the answer that had been given by the hon. and learned gent. was very strong. The accused, it appears, had not stated the objection, and, no doubt, it was very possible that the point might have been overlooked. But this, he would say, in passing, if the construction put on these acts by the hon. and learned gent. was the right one, and probably it was, there must be a very considerable alteration in them, in order to render them capable of answering any useful purpose; as it appeared that few things came under them, and that very considerable delay might take place; so that this mode of proceeding could not at least be recommended from any convenience of dispatch. He had indeed heard it said, that all those offences were punishable in the courts of law. Undoubtedly the court of king's bench was competent to the trial of such offences. But though this might be the case in point of theory, yet, in matters of this sort, it was not altogether the case in point of practice; and this, therefore, ought to be the object of future consideration. In the present case, the house had got into a difficulty, and he lamented to say, that he saw no way of getting rid of it, and therefore it must be fairly encountered. But as to the principle of impeachment in this instance, he might certainly change his opinion if he heard some new facts that had not yet come to his knowledge, or stronger arguments than he had as yet heard; but unless something of this sort should happen, he must say, that he was fully determined to vote against an impeachment. He might, to be sure, hear something that might give a different colour to the whole transaction, and then he would act as he saw proper.

Now, he had been one of the most earnest to engage in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, but before the conclusion of that trial he had come to this opinion, that it was morally impossible that justice could be obtained, (he meant no reflection on the tribunal by which Mr. Hastings had been tried) with regard to crimes connected with India, by the mode of impeachment. He felt this so strongly, that nothing but some new and very impressive information indeed, could induce him to vote, in the present instance, for a trial by impeachment. But it might be said, suppose you should be of opinion that lord Wellesley had very much misconducted himself, what were you to do? That would depend on the degree of delinquency, and on other circumstances. The opinion of the house of his conduct might be marked by a declaration of its sentiments, or if more than that should be required, then we had other modes of proceeding. But, at all events, whatever might be the result, he hoped that the mode of impeachment would not be adopted. Now, as to the way in which we were proceeding at present, there was one mode, and only one that he saw, by which this matter could be brought

brought to a conclusion, before the end of the present session. To be sure, it might be said that he wished to withdraw himself from the affair altogether when he proposed it; but it was to sacrifice the whole day to the business, to go on with the evidence at eleven o'clock in the morning, and to proceed with other business at the usual hour, in the same manner as the lords had lately done. He allowed that he must be absent if this mode should be adopted, for in the situation in which he stood, for him to attend would be absolutely impossible. This, therefore, was certainly not a mode to which he was partial, as his absence would be necessary, but, at present, he saw no other. But there were some here of opinion, that the examination of this oral testimony would not last long—perhaps not beyond two or three days; but if, contrary to expectation, it should last long, then he did not see any mode that could answer the purpose, except this vigorous prosecution of the business, which must be conducted in the absence of many members who would wish to be present. There might also be another objection to this point of form. But, however, we had only now to proceed with the evidence for two or three days; and if it was likely to go to any length, then it would be necessary to adopt some new and extraordinary course; for he felt that it was necessary, in justice to the accuser and the accused, that the house should come to some decision this session. The honourable gentleman who conducted this affair, must feel delay extremely unpleasant, though he certainly was not responsible for the delays of the House of Commons; and, on the other hand, it would be dreadful to keep the accused and his friends in suspense. He thought, therefore, that we should begin directly, and proceed with as much dispatch as the forms of the house would allow.

On the motion of Mr. Paull, the house then resolved itself into a committee, to consider of the charge, lord Folkestone in the chair. The chairman first desired the serjeant to call lord Teignmouth. Mr. Paull then said a few words, which we could not distinctly hear, relative to the introduction of a short-hand writer. The Speaker said, that pursuant to the practice of the house, it was not usual to make a motion on the subject; but the clerk, on an understanding, would do his duty,— Lord Teignmouth then having appeared at the inside of the bar, the chairman said, "my lord, there is a chair for your lordship to repose on, if you think proper."

Mr. *Paull* immediately rose, and proceeded to interrogate his lordship, with respect to transactions in India, from the period of his appointment to the post of governor-general. A question being put to the noble lord, with respect to the opinion he entertained of certain treaties, which had been entered into with the native princes.*

Mr. *Garrow* rose, and said, that whatever questions were asked should merely relate to facts. He apprehended, that the opinion of the noble lord, with regard to written documents, could not, with propriety, be asked; as the opinion the house should entertain, would be best known from the treaties themselves.

* For the minutes of lord Teignmouth's evidence, see the State Papers in this volume.

Mr. *Paull* said, if he was not allowed to put the question, a part of his charge must remain without proof.

Mr. *Garrow* said, the only mode the honourable gentleman could pursue, was first to prove the fact, and then to produce the treaty, to show in what manner it was broken.

Mr. *Johnstone* did not think the honourable gentleman (Mr. Paull) would find himself in any difficulty, as he could ask whether any demand was made on the Vizier, in consequence of additional troops?

Mr. *Paull* then proceeded with the examination. Upon the question; "if the nabob had made a forcible representation of the conduct of the resident, (Mr. Cherry) for improper interference, would your lordship have thought yourself justified in continuing him at Lucknow?" Lord Teignmouth was about to read, from a paper which he held in his hand; when

Lord *Temple* begged the noble witness might withdraw. He then submitted to the house, whether it was proper the noble lord should read his reply from papers, which were already before the committee? or whether it would not be better, to prevent the house from having garbled extracts from them enforced upon their attention, and to save time, that the witness should say at once, that the answer was to be found in the papers?

Mr. *Francis* said, he thought also that the reading of papers was anomalous, and that it was not the practice, in such cases as this, for the witnesses to refer to papers, for any purpose beyond that of refreshing their memories.

Mr. *Rose* considered it improper that the noble lord should be interrogated as to his opinion upon any point, and thought that the testimony ought to be confined to matter of fact.

Mr. *Paull* said, the practice of reading from papers had been invariably pursued, during the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, and the noble lord was merely referring to memorandums which he held in his hand, for his individual use.

Mr. *Garrow* could not conceive what the opinion of the noble witness, asked for in the interrogatory, could have to do with the malversation charged against the governor-general of India. He hardly knew to what extent that house felt itself privileged to make such enquiries in a case of the nature of that before them; but, certainly, in any other place, the rules of evidence would not permit an inquiry, as to the opinion of the witness.

Dr. *Laurence* told the honourable and learned gentleman that, in the proceedings before this house, strict legal evidence was not required, as nothing could be more different than the situation of the House of Commons in search of information, and that of a court of law. Would not the honourable gentleman, in the situation of an attorney-general, have been able, even in a court of justice, to put a question that should *lead* to legal evidence? Opinions had been admitted in the examination of witnesses in the case of Mr. Hastings. He also mentioned, that lord Hardwicke had ruled that, before the peers, hearsay evidence respecting a conspiracy should be received, with the proviso that only legal evidence should be taken as far as the prisoner (lord Lovat) was concerned. The question, he contended, was strictly in point. If his learned friend had, therefore, been

been acquainted with the practice of parliament, he would not have made this objection.

Mr. *Garrow* said that he was satisfied with the answer of the learned doctor; for it seemed he had strayed from the courts below to this place, where he found that legal knowledge was totally useful in the examination of witnesses. He thanked the learned doctor for his lecture, and said that it seemed, from his report, that this house had resolved most magnificently to depart from the rules of evidence, which had been established by the wisdom of ages for the protection of our lives and liberties. He denied it was possible that hearsay evidence could be received in any British court of justice; and, indeed, the learned doctor seemed to correct himself here; for he here added that legal evidence only was received as far as the prisoner was concerned.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* observed upon the tone in which the learned gentleman had spoken, and said that, though he had thanked his learned friend for the lecture, he had not profited by it. Now, he would tell that learned gentleman that he had profited by his lecture, and, moreover, that he did not even thank him for it. He had said he had come from the courts below, and from what he had said, one would suppose he thought himself there still. The question was, whether the rules of the courts below applied to parliamentary proceedings? Did the learned gentleman mean to say, that they did, where the cases were so very different? If he did not mean to say this, he said nothing at all. As to the particular question, opinions might, undoubtedly, be received in this preliminary enquiry, provided they came from competent persons.

Mr. *Garrow* expressed his surprize at the severity of the language which had been applied to him by the right honourable secretary. He had said, that he should not profit by the lecture which he (Mr. Garrow) had delivered; this was the second time he had ever addressed that house, and if he was deserving of a rebuke, the lecture of the right honourable gentleman would certainly be profitable to him; and he could not but thank him for the courtesy and kindness with which it had been given. He was not fencing with the argument of the learned gentleman, (Dr. Laurence) but would again decidedly express his conviction, that no hearsay evidence could be legally received, to advance the conviction of any man, for a conspiracy or otherwise.

Mr. Francis, and lord H. Petty, contended, that questions, as to opinion, might be put in such cases as the present, to competent persons; that the object of the house was to gain information, and that the rules of evidence, in the lower courts, did not apply there. Mr. Rose argued, that it was not proper to admit mere opinions, even in parliamentary preliminary enquiries, and said, that the house was much obliged to his learned friend for originating the present discussion. Mr. Martin, (of Galway) and Mr. Paull, argued in favour of putting the question. Mr. Alexander spoke against putting the question proposed.

Mr. *Wilberforce* thought it perfectly correct to interrogate, with regard to the constitution and practice of the Indian government, a person so competent to answer as the noble lord under examination. At

At the same time, he would recommend to the honourable examiner to put his questions more in a clear and precise manner, in order that the answers should be decisive, and not left open for various constructions.

Mr. *Paull* conceived his question as precise as could be desired. After a few words from Mr. Huskisson, the examination was resumed... When the examination was concluded for the day, and the house had resumed, a conversation took place on the subject of the order of the house in proceeding. It appeared to be the understanding of the house, at length, that the Speaker should take the chair at an early hour, for the purpose of forwarding private business, and that as soon after 5 o'clock as the members most interested in the case should be ready to hear evidence, that should take precedence of all other business. It was also understood that the second reading of the training bill was to be postponed; and that it would be impossible to bring on the Farruckabad charge until the next session of parliament.

June 19.

The house proceeded in the further examination of the oral evidence on the Oude charge. The minutes of the whole of that evidence will be found together under the head State Papers in this volume.

OUDE CHARGE.

Mr. *Paull* moved the order of the day, for the house resolving itself into a committee, to take into consideration the Oude charge.

Sir *A Wellesley* asked what time the hon. gent. thought the further examination of evidence would occupy?

Mr. *Paull* replied, that he expected to close his examination of sir Alured Clarke, major Ouseley, and Mr. Johnstone that night: but he proposed postponing the further evidence till Monday, on account of the absence of some important documents which were not yet before the house.—The house then resolved itself into a committee, lord A. Hamilton in the chair.

Mr. *Paull* expressed a wish, that Mr. Johnstone, as being a member of the house, should be first examined.

Mr. *Johnstone* felt himself placed in rather an aukward situation by being called on as a witness. He had wished to deliver his opinion on the charge as a member of the house, and probably his being called on to give evidence might preclude him from delivering his sentiments.

Mr. *Paull* conceived it absolutely necessary, to establish his charge, that the hon. gent. should be examined.

Mr. Johnstone was then examined in his place.*

Sir A. Clark was next examined, after which Mr. Paull moved an adjournment.

Earl *Temple* opposed the adjournment, and thought the speech of the hon. gent. most unparliamentary, when he proposed to take the sense of the committee to-morrow, on a question which had been already decided. The noble lord then made some remarks on the propriety of taking the opinion of witnesses in the manner proposed, which mode of proceeding he deprecated.

Mr. *Hutchinson* was decidedly of opinion that the hon. member had sufficient

* See Minutes of Evidence, &c.

sufficient ground for moving the adjournment. The question of opinion had been fully debated on the examination of lord Teignmouth, the result of which was, that questions of opinion may be put to the witness at the bar. This having been the decision of last night, he was really surprised to hear the point revived in twenty-four hours afterwards, with a view of departing from what appeared to have been established as the practice for future proceedings in this case.

Mr. *Fox* concurred with the hon. gent. that the departure from the practice of parliament sanctioned last night, was a sufficient ground for authorising the hon. member to move an adjournment. It was gravely and solemnly debated last night, whether questions of opinion should or should not be put to witnessess examined at the bar respecting this impeachment? Although several members had spoken in the negative, yet, on the whole, the house had certainly acquiesced in the affirmative, without dividing, or coming to any specific resolution. On this ground, and from a regard to the consistency of the house, he certainly thought the motion for adjournment well founded. After some conversation, both sides of the house came to an understanding, that the question of opinion be put. In consequence of which, sir Alured Clarke was called in, and finally examined.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* said, that in order to the defence of his noble relation against one of the principal charges of profusion and extravagance, it would be materially important to have the testimony of a gentleman, named Salmon, who had been the military auditor at Bengal, and who formed the estimates upon which the sums in allusion were expended. He therefore called upon the hon. gent. who brought forward those charges, to move that Mr. Salmon be summoned to attend the committee.

Mr. *Paull* thought it very extraordinary, that the hon. gentleman should dictate to him what witnesses he should bring forward in support of his charges, which he had no doubt of being able to substantiate.

Sir *A. Wellesley* said, he hoped when the committee should decide upon this part of the case, it would be recollected that the hon. gent. had been called upon, and refused to summon a most competent witness.

Colonel *Wood* said, if the hon. member refused to comply with a claim so fair, the house had the power, and he hoped would, for its own satisfaction, summon Mr. Salmon.—The chairman at length left the chair, and obtained leave to sit again to-morrow. Ordered, upon the motion of colonel Wood, that Mr. Salmon be summoned to attend the committee.

FOR PRINTING THE FIRST CHARGE.

Mr. *Paull* moved that the first article of charge against marquis Wellesley be printed. The printing of this article had formerly been discharged, in consequence of the evidence not being before the house. It was now, in a great measure, produced, and he apprehended the objection on this head could not be supposed longer to exist.

Sir *A. Wellesley* opposed the motion, and observed, that it was pretty extraordinary the hon. gent. should now move for printing this charge, which three months ago the house had by its vote ordered to be printed, and afterwards rescinded

scinded that vote. The printing at that time, when there was a prospect that the charge might have been taken into consideration in the course of this session, would have been perfectly fair and reasonable, compared with such a measure at this late period of the session, when there was no probability this subject could be taken into consideration, and when the charge, if printed, would not be for the consideration of the members, but for the purpose of going forth to the whole country, as one of the most heavy and criminal charges against his noble relation that ever had been brought against any man in a public situation; when afterwards it would depend entirely upon the discretion of the hon. gent. whether he should move the house to take it into consideration next session or not. He objected to the motion also in point of order, as the hon. gent. had not given any previous notice of such a motion.

Mr. *Paull* did not conceive himself under any necessity of giving such previous notice by the rules and orders of the house, and persisted in his motion. He disclaimed any such motive as that imputed to him by the hon. relative of the noble lord, and said, that he moved for the printing now, because it would be impossible to understand the subject with a view to its consideration, unless members were enabled to compare the evidence since laid on the table, with the several particulars of the charge, in order to see how the charge was supported.

The *Speaker* stated that the practice of the house required a notice in every case where opposition to the motion was likely to be made.

Lord *Folkestone* did not look upon the practice of giving notices as an established practice. It certainly was not uniformly enforced. He wished the point to be settled.

The *Speaker* said he had no difficulty in stating, that every annual and ordinary motion, of course also every new motion, where the person at the head of the department to which it applied was present, and did not object, might be made without notice. In all others he conceived, though he was ready to be instructed otherwise by the house, notice of a motion was necessary.

Sir *J. Wrottesley* said, that when this practice began first to prevail, he foresaw the difficulties that would result from it. According to the old rules of parliament, any member was competent to make what motion he pleased, and it could not be withdrawn, if seconded, without the leave of the house. Notices, therefore, were mere matter of agreement; but in this instance, as the motion was objected to, he hoped it would be withdrawn.

Mr. *Rose* said, though there was no standing order to the effect, he wished the practice to continue as laid down by the Speaker.

Mr. *Windham* stated the ancient usage of parliament to be, that motions might be offered without any notice. This usage was even now often applied with advantage. The recent practice, founded upon general convenience, was, certainly, that notice should be given. He was unwilling that any general unqualified rule should be established; but that every case should be left to the sense of the house on its own individual merits.

Lord *Folkestone* observed, that the

the rule was far from being uniformly observed; for, in a late instance, the house allowed the foreign secretary of state (Mr. Fox) to pass, at the hour of twelve o'clock at night, so important a thing as a vote of approbation for the conduct of earl St. Vincent, while at the head of the board of admiralty, without any previous notice.

Mr. *S. Bourne* said, that the vote passed in favour of earl St. Vincent, at midnight, and without any previous notice, was a singular and unprecedented proceeding; and was entering more at large into that subject, when he was interrupted by

The *Speaker*, who observed, that it was neither orderly nor convenient to take this opportunity of entering into the discussion of a former motion.

Mr. *Paull* said, that as there were many instances of motions without notice, he thought his would pass as a matter of course; but having been opposed, he would beg leave to withdraw it, and give notice that he should renew the motion on Tuesday next; which was agreed to.—He next observed, that one of the witnesses necessary to this impeachment (sir J. Craig) was ill, and unable to attend at the bar of the house. He, therefore, conformably to precedents, moved that a committee be appointed to examine him, to draw up questions, and report his answers to the house, which was agreed to, and Mr. Paull, sir A. Wellesley, and Mr. Hobhouse, were appointed to be the committee.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA—OUDE CHARGE.

Mr. *Paull* moved the order of the day for the house resolving itself into a committee for the further consideration of the Oude charge against marquis Wellesley.

Lord *Folkestone*, before the house should resolve itself into a committee, wished to call the consideration of the house to a subject which strongly affected his own mind. He thought that, from the great extent of the evidence on both sides, upon those several charges, it would be utterly impossible for members to have sufficiently considered the nature of that evidence, to enable them to come to a deliberate decision upon those charges in the present session. He was of opinion, therefore, that the best way to proceed would be to have the evidence fully gone through in the present session, and that all the documents adduced on both sides should be printed for the use of the members, who, in the course of the recess, would have an opportunity of considering and weighing the testimony maturely, and might come the better prepared, on the meeting of the ensuing session, to give a clear, deliberate, and decided vote on the subject. The hon. gent. who brought forward the charge would be greatly injured by a premature decision of the case. The noble lord would only have the disagreeable feeling of a charge having been made against him which had not been decided; a situation to which all persons in high situations must be aware that they were exposed. But he could not see what injury he could thereby sustain. Every person who read the one part of the evidence would have the curiosity to read the other also; and so no more injury would really be sustained than where the public, even after a decision, were entitled to read the evidence on both sides, and to form their own conclusions.

Mr. *Paull* said, that it would be highly conducive to his own

ease, quiet, and convenience, that the present charge should be determined during the present session. He, however, declared, that he conceived himself as having come under no pledge to conclude the charge during the present session, if the evidence should not have been completely and fully gone through. He was conscious that he had proceeded with a degree of rapidity unexampled in the annals of parliament, of course it could not be imputed to him as blame, if the noble marquis found himself placed in an unpleasant situation. He confessed that one of the charges was of a very serious nature, being no less than that of murder. He held in his hand, however, a copy of one of the charges against Mr. Hastings, containing an unqualified allegation of a foul and atrocious murder against several gentlemen, and among others against Mr. Hastings. Yet that charge was allowed to lie on the table two years before it was gone into. There all the talents, probably great part of the integrity of the country, were friendly to, and carried on, the prosecution. Here, though he acknowledged, and should recollect with gratitude to the latest moment of his life, the assistance and countenance he had received from the noble lord, (Folkestone) and other members of that house, the load of preparing the charges, and of maturing the evidence in support of them, had, in a great measure, if not altogether, devolved on him. If he had to receive blame on any account, it was for having given advantages against himself. It was not to him, but to the noble lord near him, (lord Temple) that the delay was imputable, of not having brought the present charge forward upon the 10th instead of the 18th inst. and when the noble lord had mentioned his own intention to bring it forward on the 18th, with a view, as he understood him, to a final decision on that day, feeling, as he did, that such a decision would be impossible on a fair consideration of the whole body of evidence he had to produce, he had declared that he would take no part in the proceeding of the noble lord, and that he never would, until the whole of the documents for which he moved upon each particular charge were laid upon the table, move one inch to the right or left, slower or quicker than suited the perfect convenience of his purpose. But as the consideration of a charge, so very important in houses so very thinly attended, was utterly inconsistent with any possibility of due deliberation, he should probably feel it to be his duty, late as it was in the session, to move for a call of the house, in order to enforce an attendance, as consistent with the decorum of parliamentary proceeding, as with the essence of parliamentary justice. The three charges he had brought forward were undoubtedly charges of very great importance; but there was a fourth charge, not yet brought forward, still more important, and which he could not well bring forward before next sessions, namely, that of the expulsion of the Rajah of Sassni, from his territories. He concluded by repeating his most earnest and eager wish for as speedy a decision upon the whole of the charges as was consistent with the due ends of justice.

Lord *Temple* disclaimed having ever expressed a wish or an intention to press the house to a final decision on the subject on any given day.

Here

Here the conversation ended, and the house resolved itself into a committee, and proceeded to the examination of evidence.

June 25.

[First Charge against Marquis Wellesley.] Mr. *Paull* moved, that as the evidence of the first charge against marquis Wellesley was on the table, the charge should be printed, in order to afford an opportunity of comparing it with the charge.

Sir *A. Wellesley* opposed the motion, and stated what the house had already done on the subject. The first resolution of the house for printing it had been rescinded next day. The reasons were, that no evidence was then before the house, and also that a charge of such a nature should not be eventually circulated through the country, before the house could take it into consideration. It did not appear that the house would be able to enter into this charge during the present session. He could not, therefore, see any benefit that would arise from printing it, while the character of his noble relative might, in the mean time, receive essential injury.

Lord *A. Hamilton* contended that the house was now in a different situation from what it had been formerly in, when it resolved that the charge should not be printed. It seemed then to be agreed, that the proper time for printing it would be when the evidence was before the house; and now that the principal papers were before them, it was proper that they should be fully enabled to compare the evidence with the charge.

Mr. *Rose* was of opinion, that the house would derive no advantage from printing the charge at present, while the character of the noble lord might receive no trifling injury from its circulation during the recess of parliament.

The Marquis of *Douglas* supported the motion, and took that opportunity of declaring, that he saw nothing in the charge but what was supported by the papers before the house.

Mr. *Windham* asked what was the reason for printing papers at all? Was it not for the use of the members? And the more numerous and complicated these papers were, it became the more important that the charge which they were produced to support, should also be printed, that the house might be fully able to compare the one with the other. It had been said, that false impressions would be produced; but he did not see much danger of that. A great deal of evidence had already been produced in defence of the noble lord, and more was on the point of being so; the danger of *ex parte* representation would therefore be much diminished. The sooner the house had the charge in their hands, and the longer it was in their possession, the better able would they be to come to a proper decision upon it.

Lord *Castlereagh* saw no possible benefit to any one from printing the charge. It would be a source of much hardship to the noble lord to have it printed. Much of the evidence for the defence was not yet before the house.

Lord *H. Petty* thought no inconvenience or prejudice could arise to the noble marquis from printing the charge. There was much more reason for not printing the evidence than for not printing the charge when the evidence was printed. The

The probable delay of the consideration of the charge till the next session, was rather a reason for printing it, that gentlemen might make themselves fully masters of the case.

Mr. *Bankes* thought the charge ought not to be printed, while the evidence was so imperfectly before the house, and when the charge could not be considered till next session.

Mr. *Grant* observed, that the eyes of India, and of the empire in general, were fixed upon the conduct of the house in this business. With regard to the objections urged against the publication of *ex parte* statements, he was surprised at the quarter from whence they proceeded. For he would ask, whether various papers, and *ex parte* statements, were not circulated by the friends of the noble marquis, though not among the public, yet among those who were to decide upon the great question to which the motion before the house referred?

Dr. *Laurence* considered the grounds of opposition to this motion as of a most extraordinary nature. The charges against Mr. Hastings had, it was well known, remained on the table, and were printed above eighteen months before they were taken into consideration; and yet it was now argued, that the charge before the house should not be printed until the shortest possible time before the house should be called to decide upon it. But no one attempted to argue in this way excepting those who, he had no hesitation in saying, were the avowed friends, supporters, and advocates of the noble marquis; and would the house allow itself to be dictated to by them? If so, there must of course be an end to all hopes of justice in the case. He apprehended that if the advice of the noble marquis's connections were attended to, the day of judgment would never come, although, strange to tell, those connections were sometimes heard calling out for a speedy trial. To-night, however, their language was, that it would be absurd to think of going into any of the charges until the next session.

Mr. *W. Pole* pledged himself to this fact, that not one word had been written or printed by marquis Wellesley or his friends relating to the first charge against that noble lord.

Mr. *Sheridan* thought the charge ought not to be printed until all the evidence should be before the house. Nor would this delay be attended with any inconvenience, for he presumed that all the evidence required on both sides, had already been moved for. At any rate the printing need not be deferred till the next session, for on the very last day of the session, an order might be made to print and deliver papers to the members even during the time that the house was not sitting.

Mr. *Paull* was at a loss to conceive why the friends of the marquis Wellesley were so averse from allowing this charge to be printed, when in fact, there was not a single allegation contained in it which was not also contained in a paper above 10,000 copies of which had been circulated by order of the court of East India proprietors. Whatever might be decision of the house on the subject of marquis Wellesley's conduct, a decision had taken place elsewhere. In a court of proprietors, a motion, which was stated at the time by the friends of the noble lord

lord to convey censure on him, was carried by a majority of 960 to 170, and of 23 directors to 1!

Mr. *Johnstone* recommended the hon. gent. who had just sat down to agree to the proposition of the right hon. gent. who had preceded him. The object of the motion which he had made in the court of East India proprietors, and to which the hon. gent. had alluded, was not to criminate marquis Wellesley, but simply to express his sense of the manly and laudable conduct of the court of directors.

Lord *Folkestone* urged the immediate printing of the charge.

Lord *H. Petty* finding that the sense of the house seemed to be, that it would be more fair to defer printing the charge until the whole of the evidence was before them, thought it most advisable to move the previous question; which was agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

June 26.

INDIA.

RECAL OF SIR G. BARLOW.

Lord *Melville* rose and stated, that he came down to the house with the intention of putting a question to a noble lord (Minto) had he seen him in his place, relative to the dispatches which had just been received from India. He was impressed with an opinion that ministers were not fully aware of the nature of those dispatches, and the consequences which might probably result from them. If he saw the noble lord whom he alluded to, in the house to-morrow, he would then put a question to him, for the purpose of ascertaining what were the ultimate intentions of his majesty's government as to the recal of sir George Barlow. It would depend on the answer he should receive, whether he should, or not, give notice of a motion on this subject on Monday. He did not wish to be considered as now giving any notice of a motion, and repeated, that whether he should do so, would depend on the answer he might receive to his intended question.

June 30.

RECAL OF SIR G. BARLOW.

Lord *Melville* adverted to the intention he had intimated on Thursday, of asking a question this day, respecting the affairs of India. Seeing a noble lord (Minto) in his place, he wished to ask, whether there existed at present any government-general of India in Bengal, and if there did, of whom it consisted?

Lord *Minto* said, he felt no difficulty in answering the questions of the noble viscount, to whom, as well as to every noble lord in the house, he wished to give every information in his power, whenever it could be given with propriety. He conceived that the same government-general of India existed now in Bengal as there did when that event took place, which was so much deplored—the death of marquis Cornwallis. He had no hesitation in stating, that his majesty had been advised to issue orders for vacating the commission under which the functions of the government of India were exercised. This had been done according to the terms of the act of parliament. There was, however, a provision made in the orders sent out, that all the members of the present government should exercise their functions, until the publication of a new commission at Calcutta. There would not, therefore, be a moment's interval between the cessation of the functions of

of one government, and the assumption of those functions by another.

Lord *Melville* felt it necessary to trouble the noble lord with another question, which was, whether any intimation had been sent to sir G. Barlow, that he only held the government until the arrival of a successor?

Lord *Minto* said, that intimation had been sent to sir G. Barlow of the vacation of the commission of government. The vacation of the commission of course applied to all the members of the council, but only *pro forma*, it not being the intention of government to change any of the members of the council. This, however, as the noble lord knew, rested with the court of directors: all he could say was, that it was not the intention of government to change any of the members of the council.

Lord *Melville* maintained, from what the noble lord had stated, that there was at present, virtually, no government-general existing in India. From what had been stated by the noble lord, added to the dispatches in the gazette, which he had read within an hour of his coming to the house, he could not help feeling considerable anxiety with respect to the situation of affairs in India. His lordship gave notice of a motion respecting the government-general of India for Friday, for which day the lords were ordered to be summoned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *July* 6.

OUDE CHARGE.

Lord *Temple* moved the order of the day, for a committee of the whole house on the Oude charge. On the question that the Speaker do now leave the chair,

Mr. *Paull* said, he did not mean to give any opposition to the motion, but rose to call the attention of the house to the very extraordinary mode of proceeding adopted by the noble lord. This was the first instance, in the annals of parliament, of any member of the house taking out of the hands of another member any proceeding of this description.

Lord *Temple* felt it necessary to justify himself from the charge made upon him by the hon. gent. He had never called on the house to come to any resolution on this subject, but when the hon. gent. seemed indisposed to bring the question to any decision. All he had done was with a view, when the charge had been brought forward, when the evidence in support of it had been produced, when that evidence was printed, to come to a speedy decision on that charge. All he asked on the part of his noble friend was, what the meanest, even the most guilty, individual of the community would be entitled to in a court of justice, namely, a speedy decision on the merits of his case. He took that opportunity of declaring, what he had often before stated, that it was not by any means his wish to take the business out of the hon. gent's hands. If the house should agree to his motion for going into the committee, and the hon. gent. should be disposed to make any motion on the subject, he should be very far from taking the business out of his hands.

Lord *Folkestone* said, that he could not have expected that any person would have proposed coming to an immediate decision on this subject, in the present state of the question of the house, and of the session. Obstructions had been thrown in the way of the hon. gent.; and when at last the papers were in the hands of the members, he would ask, whether the other business

business of the house had allowed them sufficient time to come to a decision upon them? Besides, the Oude charge was connected with others, and would derive support and illustration from the evidence in support of them. On this account, the whole discussion should be entered into at once, and the questions respecting lord Wellesley's conduct be decided at the same time. We had been told that the eyes of India were directed to this house, and he would ask, should a question, involving the interests and independence of so many Indian princes, be hastily decided in an empty house? Besides, from a cause which every man must concur in lamenting, a right hon. gent. was necessarily absent, and he thought it material to know the opinion of the leading men in his majesty's councils on the subject of the charge. He implored the house, therefore, to defer their decision at this late period of the session, and under the present circumstances of the case; and, as the only way of getting rid of the question, he moved, that the house do now adjourn.

Colonel *Wood* was surprized at the charge of precipitation made by the noble lord who spoke last. Never had any charge been brought forward in that house by any member who had met so much indulgence as the hon. member who had brought forward this charge. It appeared to him a most extraordinary proposition, after the house had been so long occupied with the question, to defer it to next session. He should now vote to come to some decision upon the Oude charge.

Dr. *Laurence* observed, that he could not sit silent when he heard it asserted, that the hon. member who had brought forward the charge had received every indulgence, while in truth he was goaded at one time, and thwarted at another, and it was now endeavoured to precipitate that decision which had hitherto been retarded. This was a question which concerned the guardianship of fifty millions of the natives of India, who had no other protectors but this house. It was not a question between an individual and marquis Wellesley; it respected the validity of acts and resolutions in which the fate of millions was concerned. Every dependant power in India was interested in the decision. No one particular charge could be fully comprehended without being accompanied with the evidence on which the others were founded. If a decision should be obtained under these circumstances, nothing would be gained by the noble marquis, because a motion might be made next session to rescind it. If no other member should move to that effect, he pledged himself to do it. He had taken a solemn oath to do impartial justice between all parties, and he should not fail to bring these great principles before the house, in order that the people of India might have the satisfaction of knowing that the question was disposed of after a full and fair discussion.

Mr. *Canning* would not enter into the merits of the charge, but confine himself strictly to the question before the house. He could not but notice the very extraordinary menace of the learned doctor, powerful when coming from any member, but still more powerful in his lips, and from his manner of expressing it. Any, the least considerable member of the house, possessed that power; but it would be for the house to determine whether it should re-

scind a solemn decision on such a ground. The learned doctor, however, had taken his tremendous oath, he did not know on what altar, and was determined to bring the subject forward; but it would be for the house to decide how far it would be desirable to adopt his course of proceeding.—Before they should come to a decision on the question for the Speaker leaving the chair, they ought to consider what was the situation of lord Wellesley. The charge had been impending over him during the whole of this session, and the business was brought forward at the chosen time and pleasure, as every accusation indeed must be, of the accuser. If the principle of the learned doctor were to be admitted, no decision could be had upon any part of complicated charges, embracing the whole policy of an extended administration, until the whole could be taken into consideration. So that the business might be continued year after year, session after session, parliament after parliament, and the time of trial or acquittal, would never arrive, whilst the accuser could produce any supplementary evidence or document to support his charge. If no decision was to take place, the noble marquis ought not to have been called on for his defence. The learned gentleman had kept back his doctrine too long. It was now too late to require to stay the proceeding till other evidence can be procured. The learned gent. might have thought that a peculiar species of knowledge was necessary to judge of Indian questions, and that he possessed that peculiar qualification; but by his cross-examination of major Ouseley, a gentleman much better informed on the subject, the learned gent. appeared wholly ignorant with regard to the intoxicating drugs of India, and their effects. He believed the learned gent. to be in no degree better acquainted with Indian justice. The noble lord on the other side had not fairly quoted the right hon. secretary, (Mr. Fox.) the cause of whose absence he personally lamented as much as any man. He had clearly understood that right hon. gent. to have said, that the duties of his office prevented him from paying that attention to the question he could wish, but that, in his opinion, it would be a great and crying hardship on lord Wellesley, if the present session were to elapse without a decision on the charge. The only circumstance that could induce him to consent to put off the decision for a reasonable time, would be a prospect held out of the advantage of the presence of that right hon. gent. on some early day. He thought the house bound in justice to the noble marquis, to take the first practical time of considering the charge. He could neither agree with the learned gent. nor the noble lord, that an accuser, however founded or unfounded his charge might be, should have the power of procrastinating the vexation of a great and approved servant of the public, by multiplying and subdividing his charges, so that the sole reward of a life spent in the service of the public would be an anxious, uncertain, and interminable state of responsibility.

Dr. *Laurence* explained. The altar on which he had taken his oath was, the altar of justice, an altar perhaps unknown to the hon. gentleman.

Mr. *R. Thornton* said, the noble earl (Temple) seemed to wish that some

some determination should be come to this night. He had charged the honourable gentleman, who had brought forward this business, with slowness, but he believed the noble lord himself could, with more propriety, be charged with precipitancy, when he wished to bring this matter to a determination at such a late period of the session. It was his opinion, that if the noble marquis was acquitted, under such circumstances, a stigma would remain for ever on his character.—He was ready to acknowledge, that it was extremely painful to the feelings of the noble person accused, but it was unavoidable, and should not be considered so great a hardship, as it was well known, that a noble lord, lately acquitted, had been obliged, during an entire session, to bear up against the charges preferred against him. The honourable gentleman then declared, that he would not deliver any opinion at present on the merits of the case. He disclaimed any knowledge of the honourable gentleman who brought forward the charge, except in his public capacity; perhaps he would not go so far as he would in criminating the noble marquis; but, at all events, he thought the subject was entitled to a deliberate consideration.

The *Master of the Rolls* supported the motion for an immediate decision. He considered the charge as now ripe for a decision, and therefore it was competent for the house to enter upon it, however late might be the period of the session. It was contrary to every principle of justice, that when the charge was before the house, and all the materials by which it was supported, the person accused should not be allowed to call for a decision. The question was, indeed, of importance, but it had already been six months before the house, and they were surely ill qualified for performing their most important functions, if they were not now prepared to decide upon it. By the habeas corpus act, the meanest individual could call for the speedy decision of the law, and the noble lord was equally entitled to demand the determination of the house. If it were the object of the honourable gentleman who had brought forward the charge to carry it beyond the present session, he thought it the duty of the house to disappoint that object.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* was against going into the committee, or urging the house to a hasty decision on the subject; and he vindicated the principles avowed by his hon. and learned friend near him, (Dr. Laurence) of which the speech of a right hon. gent. was a complete misepresentation from one end to the other. That the question was one of the most serious importance, every one must allow; but he could by no means agree to such a principle as that, because it was important it should therefore be decided in the present session. He wished to know where it was that the honourable and learned gentleman found such a doctrine? For his own part, he denied the conclusion, as wholly unwarranted by the practice of parliament. An opinion had been quoted as that of a right honourable friend of his, (Mr. Fox) to which he should certainly be at all times inclined to pay great deference, as if he had said, that the decision of the house on this charge ought to take place in the present session, at all events. But, if it were possible his right honourable friend could have expressed such an opinion, without adverting to

what might be the state of the house, and the due consideration of the evidence upon which it would have to decide, he must consider such an opinion as not delivered with his usual correctness. The honourable gentleman who brought forward this charge had been accused of procrastination, because he had not moved for all the papers at once, which he thought necessary to support his allegations, but, from the nature of a charge so complicated, how was this practicable? A member asks for a number of papers by general description, and, upon reading them, he finds other papers suggested to him, which he also thinks necessary. In the present case this had happened on the side of the defence, as well as of the accusation, and ought not to be imputed as matter of blame to the honourable member who brought forward the charge, any more than to those who resisted it. Another imputation made against the honourable gentleman was, that he contended no decision ought to take place upon the present charge, until the evidence upon all the other charges had been produced. Such arguments might be put into his mouth to answer the purposes of those who were opposed to him, but he (Mr. W.) never understood the hon. gent. to use such a pretence, though it was very possible some parts of the present case were so involved in the same circumstances of testimony on other charges as to be best considered with them. But it was said, the hon. member procrastinated; that the feelings of the noble marquis were involved; and that here the house must stop and come to a decision. He would say, No: he could not find that any unnecessary delay was fairly imputable to the hon. member. He was aware, as well as any man, that the feelings of the noble marquis, upon a carge so important, must be held in painful suspense, but, from the nature of the case, it was impossible it could be otherwise. It was impossible that every man charged with a crime could be brought to his trial the moment he was accused. The noble marquis might sustain in this case a mere *damnum sine injuria*, but it was a circumstance common to all cases of a similar nature, and could be no argument for pressing the house to a hasty and rash decision, in a case upon which the most cool and mature deliberation was peculiarly necessary.—The next point to which he would advert, was the proceeding of the noble lord in taking the management of the charge out of the hands of the member who brought it forward, and placing it in the hands of others, without any management at all; or, what was not better, in the hands of those who avowed themselves to be the friends and advocates of the noble marquis. But he begged to ask, was this the sort of proceeding to which the house would give its countenance, or upon which the friends of the noble marquis would wish to see his conduct vindicated? It had been said by a right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Canning) on behalf of the noble marquis, that the more high the station a man filled, the more power he possessed for acts of generosity and beneficence; and the longer he enjoyed that power, the more liable he became to charges of a malicious nature; but, surely, if ever there were cases in which the house should be more ready than in others to entertain impeachments, it was against

against persons who had filled places of high authority and power; who, while they had the means of doing acts of great generosity and beneficence, had also the power of doing many acts of injustice and oppression; and who should be made answerable for such abuses of their power, wherever the proofs could be made manifest. He must, however, say, that instead of any encouragement from the house, the honourable member who had brought forward this charge, had met with peculiar discountenance; and, notwithstanding the urgency with which the friends of the noble marquis pressed forward this decision, he would ask the house how far it was ripe for such a decision? How many gentlemen of those now present had taken time to read, and maturely deliberate upon the great body of evidence adduced in support of the charge? For his own part, he would acknowledge, that the variety of his own avocations had allowed him no such opportunity. How many members had left town, without reading any of the papers? And how far was it consistent with rational justice, to try such a case before a tribunal, reduced in its numbers, and incompetent, from its very imperfect knowledge of the evidence upon which it was called to decide, to pronounce a final judgment that night, upon a subject of so much importance? He could assure the friends of the noble marquis, that never was there any thing less calculated to give satisfaction to the public mind than a decision upon such principles; and those men who could delude themselves into a supposition, that such a decision could have any other than a bad effect, must judge very ill indeed of public opinion in this country.

Mr. *Paull* said, it was not his intention to have trespassed upon the attention of the house that night with a single word on the subject; but feeling it necessary to say something in answer to the charges of delay and procrastination, imputed to him by a right hon. and learned gent. (the Master of the Rolls) he rose to vindicate himself from an imputation so unfounded. His first motion for papers was on the 25th of June, 1805; and it was not until the 20th of May last, that any of the criminating documents were laid before the house. For the truth of this he appealed to the house; and he appealed also to the noble lord, lately at the head of the board of control, whether he had not been incessant in his applications to him to forward the production of papers in his department; and whether the noble lord had not told him, in March last, that it was a matter of question and doubt whether some of the papers, for which he had moved, and those the most important, would be produced at all? As soon as he could obtain the chief papers for which he had moved, in five days afterwards he had laid his first charge upon the table; but there were many other papers for which he had moved, which were not produced to this day—papers to prove the most exorbitant and extraordinary demands upon the nabob of Oude, to the amount of 300,000l. He moved for the accounts six different times; and all that he had yet been able to obtain, from all the diligence that could be used at the India-house, was a return respecting the 27th light dragoons, which he found to be a most false and exaggerated account. He had

had said to the house, that he would be ready to bring forward his charge on the 10th of June; but the noble lord had taken it out of his hands, and proposed to bring it forward on the 18th. This precluded him from moving a single step until the 18th, when he moved for the oral evidence, which was not concluded, with the examination of sir J. Craig, until two days since, and which was not until last night in the hands of members. Having, therefore, vindicated himself from the charge of delay and procrastination, he hoped the honourable and learned gentleman would retract what he had said. But, with respect to the subject itself, he conjured the house to consider deliberately, before they precipitated a decision upon a question of so much importance. If marquis Wellesley's reputation was the only question at stake, he should not wish to delay the decision of the house for a single moment. He disclaimed all personal enmity to the noble marquis, who had never done him an injury; he disclaimed all obligation to him, as never having received any favour at his hands, save an act of justice which it was his duty to render as chief governor of India. But it was not the reputation of the noble marquis, but the fate of India, that depended upon the decision of the house; and that ample and impartial justice should be done, was of the utmost importance to every British interest in that quarter of the globe; for it was of the first necessity for the British parliament to shew, whether they were the guardians of the rights and liberties of British subjects in India, or the protectors of lord Wellesley. For his own part, he had done his duty in bringing forward these charges, and the evidence to support them. India looked anxiously to the issue of this question, and he hoped would bless the day on which the enquiry was instituted. He hoped they would be enabled to ascertain, by the decision upon this question, whether the faith of treaties was to be maintained inviolate or not? to which faith they had witnessed the most honourable adherence under the administration of that ever-to-be-lamented nobleman, marquis Cornwallis; but he would call upon the house to look at the situation of India from the accursed day when marquis Wellesley first set foot there, until the hour of his departure, during which time it continued a perpetual scene of rapine, of oppression, of fraud, and cruelty, which goaded the whole country into a spirit of revolt. He had brought forward his charges against the noble marquis in the face of England. He sought nothing but impartial justice, and he hoped parliament, for its own sake, would decide with the maturest deliberation, and in a full house.

Mr. *Perceval* said, he understood the honourable member who brought forward this charge, to object that the house should be the judge of the fittest time to form its own decision upon the subject, and to say he would entirely withdraw himself from any interference in discussing the subject, unless he was to be the judge of the fitness of the time for the decision. In such a case, he (Mr. Perceval) was of opinion the honourable member would abandon the duty he had undertaken, and incur the blame of any erroneous decision to which the house might be led, without the light which he was enabled to throw

throw upon the subject. If the honourable member, however, would pledge himself to bring forward the investigation at any future day, during the present session of parliament, at any reasonable distance, when he should have his thoughts better arranged upon the subject, he, for one, should not object to adjourning the further proceedings to such a day; and, therefore, he requested to know the honourable member's determination.

Mr. *Paull* declared he had not the most distant wish for delay; and that, if the remaining papers were produced for which he had moved, respecting six British regiments in India, and which would furnish proofs of the most exorbitant and inconceivable extortion upon the nabob of Oude, he would be ready to go on with the charge next day, or in a week, just as the house should choose; but recollecting the delays and disappointments he had already experienced, he would not pledge himself to any particular day, until the papers were before the house.

Mr. *W. Smith* thought that, after what had fallen from the honourable gentleman, it would be a mockery of justice to proceed. The honourable gentleman, in his situation, could not fix any day. He regretted the delay; but as to the marquis Wellesley, it could not be too often repeated, that it was *damnum sine injuria.* He thought that the friends of marquis Wellesley could not desire to proceed in the present situation of the case.

Sir *A. Wellesley* declared, that nothing could be more opposite to the wishes and feelings of himself, or his noble relation, than that the house should decide upon this charge, without having before them all the testimony the honourable gentleman wished to adduce; but as he had reason to believe that the documents which he had mentioned as the cause of delay really were not in the India house, and had never been returned from India, he hoped, if the house should be satisfied of that fact, by those gentleman now present, who were officially competent to give information upon the subject, and that no such documents were to be expected, that the house would no longer defer its decision: more especially as it was the declared opinion of a right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Fox) that if a decision should not take place within the ordinary duration of the session, an address should be moved to his majesty, for prolonging the session for that purpose.

Mr. *R. Thornton* feeling himself thus called on, said he could not speak with accuracy, as to the precise documents moved for being at the India-house; but he rather believed some fresh documents would be found there, and that the house ought not to proceed to final decision until further search should be made.

Mr. *W. Pole* supported the argument of his honourable relation, and wished to have a clear answer from some of those gentlemen who had been in the India direction, as to the existence of such returns.

Mr. *Paull* was not desirous of the returns of the strength of those six regiments. He only wished for the accounts of the sums charged as paid to them; and was confident such returns must have been made to the directors.

Mr. *Grant* said, that though he was not now in office, he was fully

fully confident the accounts of pay must be in the India-house; but that the order for furnishing the returns of the strength of the regiments ought to have been directed to the war-office, where they would be found. He was for proceeding with the utmost deliberation upon a subject, whereon hung the fate of India. He thought the house could not, in so thin an attendance, comprising so many of the noble marquis's friends, and at so late a period of the session, come to a decision, consistently with the decorum which belonged to its deliberative justice; but that, if a decision was to be pressed upon the subject, there ought to be a call of the house, for which he, as one, should vote.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he could not conceive that the absence of papers, relating to the charge against the marquis Wellesley, of having fraudulently exacted an undue sum from the vizier of Oude, was sufficient to warrant delay; as both the fact and the intention would be necessary to be proved; and the latter had been completely disproved by the evidence of captain Salmon, the accountant-general, who had distinctly stated, that in drawing up the estimates of the expense of troops to be defrayed by the vizier, marquis Wellesley had instructed him to make them rather in favour of that prince than otherwise: so that as far as the instructions, which were all that rested with the marquis, went, the charge was proved to be groundless; and the papers, if forthcoming, and shewing that a fraudulent sum was really charged, would not criminate that nobleman, but be useless.

Dr. *Laurence* spoke to order, and thought, that after an order of that house had been six times made for their production, every member was interested in seeing that they were procured.

Lord *Castlereagh* expressed his surprise at the interruption, and thought that he was correct in shewing, from the oral evidence, which the house had had the advantage of, that the papers were not necessary, and did not contain any thing that could, by possibility, affect marquis Wellesley.

Mr. *Martin* (of Kinsale) thought that the papers might have great relevancy to the charge, as shaped by the honourable gentleman, (Mr. Paull) and that it was extremely wrong to force him to proceed, without what he himself thought sufficient to support his allegations.

Mr. *Burton* said, that after the evidence of the accountant-general, the charge made upon the nabob was, upon the whole, in his favour; all the evidence the honourable gentleman wished to collect from the papers, might be admitted by the friends of marquis Wellesley, without any prejudice to him.

Sir *A. Wellesley* said, he was perfectly willing, on the part of the noble marquis, to admit it: and, therefore, called upon the honourable gentleman then to proceed.

Mr. *Paull* said, when the accounts were produced, he should shew that a sum of 470,000l. was fraudulently charged upon the nabob, by colonel Scott; having been some years after called upon to make up accounts against him, upon the basis of those estimates prepared by captain Salmon, the colonel had been instructed to claim that excessive sum, unless the nabob would consent to cede his territory,

territory, in which case he was only to require the sum really due.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, the papers were highly necessary to be produced, and corroborated the statement, that an unjust demand of nine lacs of rupees had been made upon the nabob.

Sir *J. Newport* deprecated the bringing forward of supplementary charges, and thought that the house, if they tolerated it, would never be able to come to a decision. He was of opinion that they should then proceed.

The *Solicitor General* said, the question was not if the decision upon these charges were to be deferred until the next session, but if the house would proceed this day to determine on an accusation, in which the honourable gentleman (Mr. Paull) said he was not prepared to advance; so that the true enquiry was, if, in this stage of the business, the matter were to be taken out of his hands, in the absence of the information of which the house ought to be possessed in order to form its opinion? He could perfectly understand such an attempt, if this were a case of vexatious delay; but was this the complaint? The papers required were not obtained until the 20th of May; on the 25th of that month the charge was brought; on the 28th it was printed, and the evidence was only closed on Friday last; even at that moment the written testimony called for was not on the table, although the application was made for what was yet deficient as early as the 5th of June. Who could then seriously assert that there had been any unnecessary procrastination on the part of the honourable gentleman? But it was said, by the friends of the noble marquis, that from their knowledge of the documents sought, they would not at all conduce to support the charges. Were not others to obtain the same information, in order to satisfy their minds, and come to the conclusions to which such premises should lead? If, by the endeavour now made, the noble marquis should be acquitted, it would be such an acquittal as would afford him very little consolation; he was, it was to be presumed, an innocent man, and if he were so, justice to him required that this subject should be dismissed in a very different way; but it was not only justice to an individual that demanded it, it was justice to the collective body of that house, that required that no such precipitate decision should be formed; and the honour and character of the house were immediately concerned in the present proceeding.

Mr. *Hutchinson* thought the house would disgrace itself by acceding to the motion of the noble lord, (Temple) and that it would be an evasion of justice to decide before all the evidence was adduced.

Lord *Temple* said, that after what had passed, he should not persist in calling upon the house to resolve itself into a committee that night, but would propose to defer his motion till Friday, by which time the papers might be before the house, and he hoped the business would be proceeded in.—This produced a long and desultory conversation, which ended in withdrawing the question for adjournment, and agreeing that the committee on the Oude charge should stand for next Friday: but Mr. Paull would not pledge himself to bring the business forward this session, without a call of the

house,

house, in which he was warmly supported by Mr. Windham, and several other members.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

July 7.

Mr. *Paull* brought forward a supplementary charge against the marquis Wellesley, with respect to his treatment of the Zemindar of Sassnee, and some other Zemindars and Rajahs therein named. The title of the charge being read, and the question being put on the motion for its being printed,

Sir *A. Wellesley* stated, that he had no objection to the charge being printed, but he should take the opportunity to request the honourable gentleman would inform him, and the house, whether it was his intention to bring forward any motion in the course of the present session, upon the charge now before the house? He had conceived it necessary for him to attend regularly in expectation of such a motion, but as he had also professional duties to perform, he should be very glad to know, whether it was necessary for him to continue this constant attendance?

Mr. *Paull* said, it was his most anxious wish to come to a decision on the Oude charge, if possible, in the present session. There were still, however, very important accounts which he had moved for, and which were not furnished. He had called at the India-house on Saturday last, to facilitate them, but found that it would be near two months before they could be produced. He could not, therefore, in the present state of the session, and when the attendance was so small, give any pledge that he should make a motion this session; but if that was impossible, he should pledge himself to do so at the commencement of the next session. A charge of the most serious nature, and much connected with the present, had been expected to have been brought forward by a right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Sheridan) but he appeared to have abandoned it. The transactions in the Carnatic were so much connected with the administration of the noble marquis, that if that right honourable gentleman chose to abandon the charge of which he had given notice, he should feel it his duty to take it up, in order to throw light upon the general system of the administration of the noble marquis.

Mr. *W. Pole* thought it would not be proper for the friends of the noble marquis to press for any hasty decision of the house, after those circumstances had been stated. Their object was not to gain a premature decision, but to obtain the solemn decision of a full house, after a minute and deliberate examination of all the documents and evidence which the honourable member could bring forward to support his case. If they ever appeared to wish to press a speedy decision, it was merely when they supposed that the honourable gentleman had produced all his documents, and that the house had had sufficient time to consider them, and form their judgment upon them. It never was the intention of his noble friend (lord Temple) to take, in any degree, the management of the business from the hands of the honourable gentleman, nor did the friends of the noble marquis wish to press the decision at all sooner than was necessary for the examination of all the documents. They had conceived, however, that all the documents moved for had been before the

the house, except one military account, and in that case, they had offered, in order to save time, o admit every fact or inference which the honourable gentleman could draw from it. He did not object to this supplementary charge being printed, but wished to know whether the honourable gentleman had now moved for all the documents that he thought necessary?

Mr. *Sheridan* begged leave to trouble the house with a few words in consequence of his having been accused by the honourable gentleman, with having abandoned the subject of the Carnatic, and hinted that this had been done since he had come into administration. The fact was, and he thought the honourable gentleman might have known it well, that he had abandoned that subject when lord Powis was appointed, or understood to have been appointed, lord lieutenant of Ireland. But he had not abandoned his opinion respecting those transactions, and when the honourable gentleman brought the affair forward, they should have his support. But his charge was against lord Powis, and not against marquis Wellesley, and he must say that it was somewhat singular that the honourable gentleman, who must have known this at the beginning of the session, had not come forward with this charge when he had the materials prepared to his hands.

Mr. *Paull* pledged himself, that if the right honourable gentleman did not bring the business forward, he should do so, in the next session.—After some further explanations, the motion for printing the charge was agreed to.

[Debts of the Nabobs of Arcot.] Mr. Hobhouse moved, "That the bill for enabling the commissioners, acting in execution of an agreement, made between the East India company and the private creditors of the nabobs of the Carnatic, the better to carry the same into effect," be read a second time.

Mr. *Francis* immediately addressed himself to the house in a speech, which we are sorry we cannot state more in detail, for want of sufficient memoranda on such a multiplicity of topics and arguments, as his knowledge of the subject enabled him to bring forward; the general tenor of it was to the following effect: That he could not do perfect justice to the question without entering into many particulars, which, however necessary, were not likely to attract the attention of the house. Yet the subject was of great public importance, though the bill, now introduced, professed to be nothing more than a private bill for the purpose of giving effect and validity to a settlement of an account between parties, in which the public interest was not concerned. These parties were the supposed creditors of the late nabobs of the Carnatic on one side, and the directors of the East India company on the other; as if, when once *they* were agreed, the House of Commons had nothing to do but to ratify and enforce their agreement. On the 20th of May, when this debate was adjourned, it was formally asserted and maintained by lord Castlereagh, "that the directors had a full and unquestionable legal right to enter into those articles of agreement, which were now to be acknowledged; that all the effect of rejecting the present bill would be to deprive the commissioners of a useful and necessary power, viz.

to

examine on oath, but that it could not stop their proceedings, and that it would require an act of parliament to dissolve this commission, or even to stay its operation.—Mr. Francis then said,—"I can by no means accede to this opinion. I do not think the directors of the India company were competent to make this agreement; and, even if they were so, I still think it was their duty to have resorted to parliament in the first instance, and not to have come to any conclusion with the creditors, without a parliamentary sanction. All I desire is, that the house will look at the transaction, and weigh the consequences before they determine that the public have no interest in it, nor any right to be considered as a party concerned in the adjustment of it. If they have such an interest and such a right, then I say that it cannot be safely trusted to a private compromise between the company and the claimants, and that it can only be protected by the careful interposition of parliament. In this view, the amount of these claims is the first thing to be considered. I find them stated, first and last, at 9,289,250*l.* of which it appears that 3,658,432*l.* have been paid since the year 1784. The remaining demand of a capital debt of 5,630,838*l.* is now to be adjusted by these commissioners, and, as far as it can be established to their satisfaction, it must some way or other be satisfied out of the territorial revenue of the Carnatic; and yet it is contended that this is not a public question; and that it may legally be settled without the authority or even the knowledge of parliament! I advise his majesty's ministers to consider what they are doing. They know the situation of the India company. The present services and interest of debts abroad far exceed the revenues. If the funds in India are wasted or diverted to private purposes, the deficiency must be provided for out of other sources; that is, by this country; I know of no other. The enormous amount of these supposed claims would lead one to conclnde, that all the wealthy natives of Change-alley and Lombard-street had gone to India, for the benevolent purpose of lending their money to the princes of that country. I doubt it. I do not believe that a single shilling of real English money was ever lent to a nabob of the Carnatic. If any thing was lent to them, it was out of their own property. When you see what these credits are, and what they amount to, I think you will have but one question to ask, 'where did the creditors get the money?' By an act passed in 1784, and quoted in the preamble to the agreement, it was enacted, "that the court of directors should take into consideration the origin and justice of these demands, and, in concert with the nabob, establish a fund for the discharge of those debts, which should appear to be justly due," &c. By this clause, the investigation and the settlement are expressly committed to the court of directors. The trust was confined to them specially. They were delegates, and could not delegate. Against their opinion, however, and against their remonstrance, and without any investigation whatever, above three millions and a half sterling were paid by the direct interposition and authority of the board of control. Since that period, a new, or an old debt of five millions six hundred thousand pounds has started up; and this is the debt which is to be examined

mined and liquidated by the present commissioners. Now, I think, sir, that on the principle, and in the spirit of the act of 1784, the directors themselves were bound to perform this duty; or, if they were unequal to the task, which, considering the difficulty and their other avocations, might be true, they ought to have resorted to parliament, and stated the case. Instead of doing so, they have entered into a covenant with the creditors, and provided a fund for the liquidation of their debts, to be adjusted under the arbitration of commissioners. This agreement in itself was not supposed to want the sanction, and never would have come within the cognizance of this house, if the parties had not discovered that the object of their agreement could not be effectuated without the assistance of parliament. They come to us now, not for our sanction of the plan, but for powers to carry it into execution. That is, if they could have acted without the powers, we should never have heard a word of the agreement. A claim of five or six millions on the revenues of India ought not to be disposed of in this manner. But it seems the capital of this debt, or of the amount that may be proved, is to be gradually discharged by means of a reserved fund of about 140,000*l*. a year, on which sum the company are to pay interest at six per cent. as long as it remains in their hands. This seems to me nothing but an indirect and perplexed way of funding the debt. For as to their really having such a surplus, or any surplus, after defraying all charges, I hold it to be very doubtful, if not impossible. Let us look a little now to the nature of these debts, as far as it can be collected from the quality of the creditors. The noble lord, on the other side, (lord Castlereagh) has declared his belief, that a considerable portion of the whole is unquestionably fraudulent. An hon. director (Mr. Grant) has stated his conviction, that three-fourths of them are good for nothing; and that, if the remainder were admitted, it would be a large allowance. I am not at all disposed to canvass personal merits, or bring mere names into view; but where names are connected with station, and station alone will account for the demand, it cannot be avoided. The services of sir John Macpherson to the nabob (Wallajah) have been recited at large by the hon. member who opened this debate. (Mr. W. Keene) He was for a short time a member of the council and governor of Bengal. His claim, with the interest, amounts to 101,700*l*. The late James Macpherson, esq. had a claim for 29,500*l*. Mr. Holland, some time governor of Madras, has a claim for 55,000*l*. You have heard of this gentleman, and of the vain attempts which have been made to bring him to justice before the Indian judicature: 292,000*l*. stands in the name of Samuel Johnson, esq. who, I believe, was in council many years at Madras. If you wish to have an insight into these transactions, look at the printed evidence contained in the letters of Mr. Charles Darke,* which were presented to the house so long ago as the 9th of Feb.

* This gentleman appears to have been employed and trusted by the nabob, and finally, as he says, ruined in his service. His letters discover many curious anecdotes. In one of them, addressed to the nabob himself, he says (p. 153,) "I will not, for the present, mention the bribes given by your highness on account of the unhappy business of the arrest of lord Pigot; but the amount of them make

Feb. 1803. I will not go any farther into this invidious detail, but there is one of these pretended debts, so singular and suspicious, and apparently so connected with the influence of station, that I must state it; and with that I shall conclude. Laurence Sullivan, esq. during many years, was chairman of the court of directors, or high in the direction of the India company's affairs; but he never was in India. To this gentleman, or to his estate, the old nabob is said to be indebted, on a bond for 32,355*l*. The bond was granted in Feb. 1785, to John Stuart, in trust for Mr. Sullivan, and deposited with Mr. Fordyce; the claim was referred for examination to the committee at Madras, and in 1783, was reported by them to be just.* I do not believe that English money, lent to the nabobs, constitute any material part of these claims; but I do not deny that some of them, on account of payment due for services, or for goods furnished, may be well founded. The fact is, that the good debts are overwhelmed and strangled by the bad ones, which throw a general discredit over the whole. Among these I should be inclined to admit the principle on which a debt due to the late sir Paul Joddrell is founded, because it appears to be for services of several years, acknowledged but not paid. I mention this instance, because it has been much insisted on, and not that I know any think of the parties. The danger is, that, under cover of a few rights of this kind, many wrongs will be protected. Such is the general character of a pretended debt of 5,600,000*l*. for the liquidation of which the court of directors have covenanted with the creditors to provide a fund. Then comes the mode of adjustment, viz. under the arbitration of three commissioners. In the first instance, two hon. members of this house were appointed, by the court of directors, to whom personally there can be no possible objection. One of them (Mr. Ryder) has since resigned. The other, (Mr. Hobhouse) in point of character and talents, is perfectly qualified for this or any other place of trust. Still, sir, I should think that, when the connection of the India company with government through the medium of the board of control, is considered, the house would demur at this way of appointing members of parliament to offices of emolument, by which their seats are not vacated. The three commissioners may not agree in admitting a debt; and then the act of any two of them shall prevail and bind the parties. In cases of debt or damages before a court of justice we expect a jury of twelve to be unanimous; but this, it seems, is too much to be exacted from only three commissioners. Now, I should think that, in a transaction so suspicious as the present, the objection of one opinion out of three, ought to be sufficient to extinguish the claim, or at least to suspend it. The general evidence and security, on which these creditors profess to rely, are bonds voluntarily given by the nabobs of the Carnatic, and which they say ought to be made good out of the territorial revenue

a great part of your highness's new consolidated debt. In short, he lays open a scene of bribery, fraud, and extortion, which fully account for the enormous sum of nine millions sterling paid to, or still claimed by, these creditors.

* Vide Carnatic Papers, 2. 131.

revenue, because the nabobs were the sovereigns of the country, and had a right to mortgage it to their creditors. On the 14th of April, the hon. member who introduced the bill, declared that, "whatever might be the differences of opinion respecting the propriety of the company's seizing the revenues of the Carnatic, all must allow that they, who had them, ought to be answerable for the debts upon them, as long as those revenues were equal to the just demands upon them." But what is the evidence of a just demand?—The bonds of a nabob given to a supposed private creditor. In the year 1784, a principle of the same sort was set up and maintained; and, if it had prevailed, would soon have absorbed all the public revenue, and left nothing to pay the civil or military establishment. Mr. Burke's answer to it will satisfy any man, who knows any thing of the matter. "The gentlemen on the other side of the house, know as well as I do, that the nabob of Arcot, and his creditors, are not adversaries, but collusive parties, and that the whole transaction is under a false colour and false name. He is always ready to deliver up his territory and his subjects (even while they were his) to these pretended creditors." The directors tell us, that the private creditors of the nabobs could have no lien upon the territory, nor any claim on the company as possessors of the Carnatic; and that this was the opinion of the company's counsel. It is proper the house should know that these Indian princes have two treasuries, one private and peculiar, the other public, which, ever since they have fallen under British protection, they have carefully endeavoured to keep distinct. They never pay any thing out of their private purse, but in extreme necessity; but they care very little how they load the public revenue. Between a private loan and a public debt, they pocket all that they can borrow, and they pay nothing. By giving bonds, they get rid of importunity, or they gain friends, or they unite their creditors in a common cause with them; and, when the management of the territorial revenue is taken out of their hands, for these very abuses among the rest, these debts are brought forward as a just demand on that revenue. The chairman and deputy chairman of the court of directors, in their report of the 26th of Sept. 1804, observe, "that scarcely any other state ever furnished an example of the systematic extravagance of the nabob in coming under engagements, compared with his means of fulfilment." I say, it was his system, and not his extravagance. I believe, sir, I have said enough to shew that is a public question, and that a public interest is involved in it. If so, the house of commons is bound to keep a watchful eye over the whole transaction. If once you let it out of your sight, I do not say that you may not safely rely on the integrity of the present commissioners, but the trust may devolve to others, whom you know nothing of, and who may easily take care that you shall know nothing of their proceedings. As soon as these claims, or any material portion of them shall be established, or as soon as it is known in India that parliament has given its countenance to them by passing the present bill, you will hear of other debtors, and of other creditors of the same quality. There are claims against the rajah

of Tanjore, and the nabob of Oude, and perhaps many other Indian princes, which only wait for the decision of this day to come forward on the same ground, and to demand satisfaction on the same principle. If you think the case deserves investigation, it ought to be done by a parliamentary commission, which should be bound to report the result of its proceedings, from time to time, to the house of commons; and all their proceedings should be public as possible.

Mr. *Sullivan* explained the nature of the connection of his relation of the same name with the nabob of Arcot, as originating with colonel M'Lean, who died in the service of that Eastern prince.

Lord *H. Petty* was desirous that the bill should be read a second time, principally for two reasons; first, because the unjust claims would be more easily detected than at a later time; and next, because the just demands would be more easily ascertained. If the bill went into a committee, and no other person should suggest the amendments that appeared to him necessary, he pledged himself to bring them forward; they principally respected the mode of examination, the nomination of a parliamentary commissioner, and the periodical reports to be made on the progress of the business.

Mr. *Grant* considered the existing agreement between the India company and the creditors under discussion, perfectly legal and binding unless superseded by a superior power. With regard to the nature of the claims alluded to, his opinion was, that although they amounted to 5,600,000*l.* they would be, upon investigation, reduced to one-fourth of that sum. The clauses proposed by the noble lord, he did not think material.

Sir *A. Wellesley* approved of the authority given to commissioners under the bill to discharge these claims; and took the opportunity of signifying his approbation of the late treaty with Holkar, under the auspices of sir G. Barlow.

Mr. *R. Thornton* said, the directors highly approved of the treaty, and, he had no doubt, on Wednesday, a vote of approbation would be passed in compliment to the governor-general.

Dr. *Laurence* commented upon what he had no hesitation in terming the scandalous mode in which the debts to which the bill referred were originated; and particularly upon the claim of Mr. Sullivan, which, as it appeared from an explanation of this evening, arose out of the desire of this Mr. Sullivan to create an undue influence at the India house. It was an insult to the understanding of the people of England, or of the India company, to call on them to pay such a claim. What had they to do with it? And yet the hon. gent. who gave the explanation, seemed to feel quite satisfied of its equity. The agreement alluded to by the hon. director (Mr. Grant) was not, he was certain, at all such as that hon. ex-director described. In fact, it was not legally binding unless sanctioned by parliament.

Mr. *H. Martin* stated, that the public had a direct interest in the revenue of the East India company to the amount of 500,000*l.* annually. Neither the board of control, nor the court of directors, therefore, could have any legal authority to interfere with a measure which might naturally affect the interests of the public.

Mr.

Mr. *Hobhouse* in explanation declared, that the commissioners only desired more powers with a view to exclude all fraudulent claims which might be preferred, to enable them to hunt out iniquity through all its mazes, and to render ample justice to the legal and equitable creditor.—After some further conversation, the gallery was cleared for a division, but the bill was read a second time by the general assent of members present.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

July 8.

RECALL OF SIR G. BARLOW.

The order of the day having been read, for the lords to be summoned to attend this day,

Lord *Melville* rose and spoke as follows:—My lords, I regret much that the house is not in possession of those official documents which would enable us clearly to see our way in the discussion of the important subject to which I think it my duty now to call your lordships attention. For want of these we are obliged to grope in the dark, and take the prevailing rumours as the grounds of our arguments. I shall first, however, be obliged to give some kind of historical account of the transaction on which the discussion of this night will principally turn,—when lord Cornwallis had undertaken the government of India, and when in his zeal for the public service, he left the banks of the Ganges, and made a distant journey for the purpose of giving effect to the negotiations for peace, sir George Barlow, considering the delicate state of his lordship's health, and the danger he exposed himself to in his country's service, thought it proper to quit the seat of government, in order to assist his lordship in the negotiations; and in case of that event taking place, which has since happened, to receive his dying instructions, and to carry them into effect without delay. Sir G. Barlow had then for his instructions not only the system which lord Cornwallis actually pursued, but the orders of the court of directors, and the instructions given to general Lake on the 19th of September. The general principle of the negotiation with the native powers, as also the system of retrenching unnecessary expenditure, was begun by the marquis Cornwallis, and was afterwards pursued by his successor, sir G. Barlow. Such was the situation of India, as it was known in this country upon the 29th of January last, when his majesty's ministers, with great wisdom and propriety, considering that it was not proper to leave India without the full benefit of those powers of government which had been always confided to governors-general, recommended to the court of directors to give those powers to sir G. Barlow, in order that he might not be fettered either in conducting the negotiations, or in carrying on the government in India. With this recommendation, the court of directors readily and cheerfully complied. No appointment was ever less complained of, and no dispatch had since been received from India that did not convey the most sanguine expectation of success, from the measures pursued by the successor of marquis Cornwallis. The appointment, in consequence of the recommendation of his majesty's ministers, was made on the 25th of February, and upon the 8th of March the court of directors

tors received an intimation of the wish of his majesty's ministers, that a successor should be appointed to sir G. Barlow. The court of directors were very unwilling to comply. They foresaw, or they thought they foresaw, great difficulties and great objections to complying with this intimation. Nothing effectual was done from the 8th of March till the 12th of May, when a communication was made to the court of directors, suggesting the recal of sir G. Barlow, and recommending the appointment of a noble lord (Lauderdale) high in his majesty's councils. This recommendation did not accord with the ideas of the court of directors, and some more delay was occasioned by the correspondence and communications that took place on this subject. At length, at the latter end of the month of May, his majesty was advised to recall sir G. Barlow, by an instrument under his own sign manual. Since that time, it has not appeared that any governor-general has been appointed, or any step taken to fill up the vacancy in the government of India. In the course of the last day or two, there has been a rumour, that a noble lord (Minto) has been appointed; but this rumour is the only thing which the house is now possessed of, instead of that information to which it is entitled upon so important a subject. The intended recall of sir G. Barlow has been, however, notified to India in all the correspondence, both public and private, that has taken place with that country since the beginning of March; and it must occasion great uncertainty with respect to the system of goverment to be adopted for India, as well as great surprise in those who are best acquainted with the services, the talents, and the zeal of the honourable baronet. It will be now necessary to consider the act of parliament itself, under which his majesty was empowered to recall the governor-general appointed by the Company. It is by the act which passed in the year 1784, that his majesty obtained that prerogative, and it will not be foreign from the subject to call the attention of your lordships to the circumstances under which that act was passed. It will be recollected, that it was at that remarkable period when the whole country was convulsed with different opinions on the subject of the best mode of governing India. The different systems might be said to be contained in two bills; the one was commonly known by the name of Mr. Fox's bill, and the other by that of Mr. Pitt's bill. In the latter, however, to which parliament gave its sanction, the power of recalling a governor-general, or other officer, was given to his majesty, by an express clause in the bill. If the house will, however, recollect the circumstances of those times, and consider the mode in which those two bills were universally understood at that period, it will appear, that it was the general opinion at that time, that the real difference between the bills was a struggle for the patronage of India, whether it should be in the hands of the crown or the company. The opposers of the bill of 1783, (Mr. Fox's bill) contended, that giving the patronage of India to ministers, would overturn the independence of the lords and commons, and be subversive of the privileges and prerogatives of the crown. The privileges of 1784, (Mr. Pitt's bill) disclaimed this patronage, and went upon the supposition that the

patronage

bers the circumstances under which patronage of India might be more fairly and beneficially exercised by the East India company themselves. I do not now mean to argue which of those opinions were right or wrong. I merely mean to state, that the opinion of the legislature in the year 1784, when they agreed to Mr. Pitt's bill, was decidedly for leaving the Company the patronage of India. The clause, therefore, in that act, which first gave his majesty the power of recalling a governor-general, can never fairly be construed as directly militating against the whole spirit of the act. The most decided sense of the country was then in favor of the spirit of that act; and with this generally prevailing sentiment, the legislature concurred: it therefore nevercould have been theintention of the legislature, that a bill passed in this spirit, should contain a clause which was to be at complete variance with the whole object of the bill, and should enable his majesty's ministers, by exercising at pleasure this power of recall, to gain the entire patronage of India. The meaning of the clause is obvious. It only was intended to give the crown the power of negativing any improper appointment, which partiality might ever induce the court of directors to make. The court of directors were also checked in that respect by the court of proprietors, and there was a most remarkable instance then recent, of the court of proprietors having refused to acquiesce in the recall of Mr. Hastings when the court of directors had proposed it. It therefore was necessary, that, in cases of that nature, the government should have the power of recall. I therefore think myself now warranted to appeal to the recollection of every noble lord who remembers the act of 1784 was passed, whether I have not stated fairly the intentions of the legislature at the time of its passing. I know that as to the merits of the two different bills, there must be a great variety of opinions, and every person must be subject to some particular bias. The noble lord (Minto) may, probably, be more attached to the principles of the bill of 1783, or or Mr. Fox's bill, as it is usually called. On the other hand, I may appeal to another noble lord (Grenville) whose opinion I may bring forward as a balance in point of authority, and whose bias I must suppose to be in favour of the bill of 1784, from the part he took upon that occasion. He must know the spirit in which that bill was passed, and whether it would not be contrary to the spirit and meaning of that bill, that any clause of it should be construed as giving the patronage of India to his majesty's ministers, whenever they should be pleased to insist upon this power of recalling, at their pleasure, those who had been appointed by the company. It would be contrary to the spirit, and to the obvious meaning of the law, if the power of recall should be exercised merely for the purpose of enforcing the appointment of the person whom his majesty's ministers wished to be the governor-general of India. The power that the crown possessed would be grossly abused, if it were applied to any other purpose than what was intended by the law, to the negativing of an appointment made in favour of an improper person. If this be the only fair, rational, and true construction of the act under which India has been governed for the last twenty-two years, then it is incumbent on his majesty's ministers to shew some

cause, why they advised his majesty to recall the person whom they had originally recommended to be appointed as governor-general. For the whole period of twenty-two years, since this act was passed, there was no instance of his majesty's ministers having exercised this power, and they should be aware that the most pernicious consequences might result from an indiscreet exercise of it. The situation of India now was delicate in the extreme. The negotiations which were pending with the native powers, and the retrenchments which were to be carried on, required a government armed with the usual powers and confidence. If then, at such a time, this power of recall was exercised altogether without reason, and apparently with no other view than patronage, it was enough to irritate the court of directors. If, then, the court of directors were irritated by such conduct, (and it was known, that whim and ill-humour had often influence on the determination of public bodies;) if they supposed that this power of recall was exercised capriciously and wantonly, they could find from the words of the law sufficient means of resisting any appointment that his majesty's ministers might wish to make. I have already stated to your lordships the situation in which India was placed at the death of marquis Cornwallis, and at the time sir G. Barlow succeeded to the government; and also that the first act of his majesty's ministers, upon that occasion, was to recommend to the court of directors the extending the power of sir G. Barlow. On this recommendation there was great joy in Leadenhall-street; for never was there an individual in the service of the company, whose conduct had received more marked approbation than that of sir G. Barlow, nor did the records of the company shew a greater number of testimonies of approbation of the conduct of any individual that ever was in their service. The former administration had concurred with the company in their opinion of his merits; for when marquis Wellesley was about to depart from India in 1802, sir G. Barlow was the person whom they had named as his successor. When, however, lord Cornwallis was recommended to supersede sir G. Barlow, the court of directors gave no opposition, and he himself readily gave way to the appointment of the noble marquis. Sir G. Barlow received marquis Cornwallis with open arms, because he knew that his appointment was made merely on public grounds, and for the public good; but when it should appear that an appointment was made from other motives, it cannot be expected that it would be acquiesced in so cheerfully. Sir G. Barlow most readily joined in all the plans introduced by marquis Cornwallis, both for securing the tranquillity of India, and for the retrenchments that were to be made in the expenditure. In speaking on that subject, I beg that I may not be considered as giving any opinion on the conduct of a noble marquis, (Wellesley,) which is now the subject of conversation. If, upon the appoint- of sir G. Barlow, there was much joy and exultation, that joy was quite suppressed, when, in ten short days after that appointment, government intimated their wish to have him recalled. If this were done capriciously, and without sufficient reason, ministers were much

much to blame; but if it were done for the purpose of seizing the patronage of India, it was worse—it was a direct violation of the spirit and meaning of the act of parliament. I have heard it, however, surmised, that in the original recommendation of sir George Barlow, the government never deceived the court of directors; but they told them at that time, that the appointment was merely temporary, and liable to be changed. This appointment, however, which lasted but ten days, would not enable him to do any good, while the suddenness of his recall must be felt by him as a mortification and disgrace. It would have been a very different thing to have left him in a subordinate situation, from what it was to appoint him governor-general, and recall him after he had been only ten days appointed. It certainly appeared like some disgrace, or as if, in the course of ten days, ministers had found out something in his conduct that rendered him unworthy of their confidence. The reason would not be confined to the cabinets of Downing-street or of Leadenhall-street, but it would be reported through the metropolis, and the report would reach to India, that sir G. Barlow, in whom they had been accustomed to repose great confidence, was found unworthy to retain the government of India. I should therefore now wish, that the correspondence on the subject between the directors and the board of control should be laid before the house. It cannot be said to be a secret: not only the twenty-four directors, but their children, their wives, their daughters, and their servants, must all of them be acquainted with the nature of this correspondence. As I have no official document to go on, and am obliged to rest upon reports, I must state, that it is also reported, that the principal reason for recalling sir G. Barlow is, that it is the system of the present administration that none but men of rank in this country should ever be appointed to the situation of governor-general in India. I do not know how this doctrine will be relished by the gentlemen in India, who have spent the greater part of their lives in the service of the company in that country, but I think it never can be taken as a general rule of conduct. If the governor-general should die in India, it must necessarily follow, that he should be succeeded in the government by the senior of the supreme council. This person must of course exercise the office of governor-general until time should elapse sufficient to transmit the news of such decease to this country, and until a successor should be actually appointed. It therefore appears, that, on the death of a governor-general, it happens of necessity that the senior of the supreme council will have that situation for a year. It will, however, be necessary, that the company's servants in India may know to what extent his majesty's ministers think that confidence may be reposed in them. It would be right that they should know what situations they might aspire to, and what situations they should ever be debarred from. It should be told them at once, that the whole career that was open to them was this, that from writers they might get to be factors, and from that to be junior merchants, senior merchants, and collectors of the salt duties; and arrive to all the lucrative situations of the country; but that they must not

not, in any case, hope to attain to the honours of governor-general, which some, who passed their lives in the service of the company, in the burning climate of India, might hope to aspire to. I myself, my lords, have often heard the private opinions of the directors of the East-India company, upon the subject of appointing none but men of great family and high rank to the government of India. They have always thought that a person of this description, who was really distinguished for talents, and the qualities desired, would be of all men the most proper, as he would arrive at India free from those partialities in favour of particular servants of the company, which might interfere with the right administration of the country. It would, however, appear very strange in the ears of lord Teignmouth, sir Charles Oakley, and many other servants of the company, who had held the highest situations in India, to tell them, that, by the modern system, it was discovered that persons of their description ought not to have been placed in the highest situations, and that, if they had been in India in modern times, they could have no pretensions to such distinction. This would be, indeed, strange music to their ears. Upon all these grounds I conceive I am warranted in stating that, prima facie, it is a most extraordinary thing that ministers should have conceived themselves warranted in exercising the power of recall, which a clause in the act of parliament vested in his majesty. I should wish to learn from the noble secretary, (lord Grenville,) whether the instrument, under the sign manual, for recalling sir G. Barlow, was ever sent to India? I apprehend that, from the repeal of the commission, there is now no existing government in India, and I cannot conceive in what manner the court of directors are to proceed to fill up the vacancies in the supreme council in India. If the instrument of recall has remained for two months in the pocket of the noble secretary, how are the court of directors to make out their warrant? It must also be considered in what situation the temporary government that subsists in India is placed. Although the treaties may be concluded, the negotiations and the consequences of them may not yet be at an end. There were probably yet remaining, many things which were most important in the execution. By the treaties which lord Cornwallis was on the point of negotiating, the river Jumnah was to be the western boundary of the British possessions in India. Lord Cornwallis had sent to general Lake instructions to fix that river as the boundary of that part of the conquered countries which the company meant to retain. There was, however, a most extensive district of the conquered countries respecting which the treaty, which was lately published, was entirely silent. Whatever might be the disposition of them, Holkar and Scindiah had no right to complain; but as marquis Cornwallis had renounced the occupation of them, it would be a matter of the most serious moment how they were to be disposed of. They must be reserved for some one of the native princes; but, until it was ascertained to which of these they were to be given, India could never be considered in a settled state of tranquillity. Under these circumstances, I declare most solemnly, that if the person appointed

pointed to the government of India were my brother, or my nearest and dearest friend, I should deprecate his appointment at the present time. The court of directors did not insist upon the appointment of sir G. Barlow, in any other light than as a temporary measure, in consideration of the circumstances of the present time. If, therefore, the person who should be appointed would consent to delay for six months the gratification of his ambition, I make no doubt that he would meet with no opposition from the court of directors. If he should, however, go out now, and raise his rank upon the unmerited disgrace of sir G. Barlow, he must feel that he goes out with the disrespect and ill-will of the court of directors, and he must consider how he is likely to be received in India. He must consider what effect the doctrine will produce there, that none but men of rank and title can ever hope to attain the highest offices in India. I can venture to foretel that, with the degradation of sir G. Barlow, a servant who has their hearts and their confidence, all the servants of the company in India will feel themselves degraded. I repeat again, that if my brother, or my nearest friend, were going to India under these circumstances, I should endeavour to dissuade him. I should tell him, that even the support of the board of control would not balance the disgust with which his appointment would be received by the court of directors, and the servants of the company in general. I should therefore most sincerely recommend to whoever may be appointed, to defer for six months the gratification of what may be a very laudable ambition. At the expiration of that time I have very little doubt that he may go to India with the perfect acquiescence of the court of directors, and the good wishes of their servants in India. I have nothing more to add at present, and shall conclude with moving, 1st, for copies of all letters and dispatches from the governor-general of India to the court of directors, respecting the finances of the company, and the retrenchments proposed to be made; and when that motion is disposed of I shall move for copies of the correspondence between the board of control and the court of directors, their chairman, and deputy chairman, respecting the recall of sir G. Barlow from his situation as governor-general."—Upon the first resolution being put,

Lord *Grenville* rose and remarked, that in the whole course of the noble lord's speech, not a single word had been said which at all alluded to the resolution which was then proposed to the house. For the other resolution no ground had been stated, but the suggestion of the person who brought forward the motion, that the affairs of India were in a deranged and delicate situation. If the affairs of India were in this unsettled state that had been described, it would certainly not add much to the means of tranquillizing them, to bring forward discussions of this nature in parliament. As to the resolution that was then submitted to the house, not a single word had been said in support of it. He did not, however, mean to rest upon a captious objection, but would come at once to the consideration of the second resolution, respecting the recall of sir G. Barlow, which was, in fact, the point upon which the discussion must turn. Upon this subject the noble viscount had not, in his opi-

nion, laid any plausible grounds for the production of the correspondence for which he moved. It was not enough to say, that such correspondence must be known by this man's child, or that man's servant; the real question was, whether that correspondence was of a nature that was proper to lay before parliament. It was not until near the conclusion of the speech of the noble lord, that he heard him say something about restoring tranquillity in India, retrenching unnecessary expenditure, and savings in the finances; and therefore he should direct the principal part of his answer to what he conceived to be the most serious part of the speech,—that which relates to the recall of sir G. Barlow. Without discussing the reasons which induced his majesty's ministers to recommend the recall of sir G. Barlow, he must state, that he was much surprised at the only remedy which the noble lord proposed for what he complained of, and which was merely that sir G. Barlow should be continued six months longer. What could be the reason for this recommendation? when, in the course of the six months, he should do what the noble lord said it was impossible for him to do; when he should have remained so much longer under those difficulties, which (as was stated) must completely weigh him down, then the noble lord himself would be ready to acquiesce in his recall. The noble lord had insinuated that there was some intemperance in the letters from his majesty's ministers upon this subject. This was a charge, however, which he must utterly deny. He did not know on what grounds the noble viscount could presume to impute, that the object of his majesty's ministers, in advising the recall of sir G. Barlow, was merely dictated by the wish to extend their patronage. If there was any fixed principle which his majesty's ministers felt should for ever govern their conduct, with respect to India, it was this: that between his majesty's ministers and the court of directors there should be a spirit of mutual conciliation and co-operation, that each should endeavour to understand the other, and that they should act together for one common object,—the good of the countries which were committed to their government. Nothing could so much tend to break this harmony, as to bring forward, for parliamentary discussion, the various correspondence which passed between them. The noble viscount had supposed a case of the court of directors and board of control acting at cross purposes, and only impeding one another. This was certainly a possible case, but it was by no means a probable one. As for those mutual checks and controls, the history and the analogy of the constitution of this country proved that they might subsist without at all impeding public business. The constitution of the country was altogether a system of checks and balances, and yet it was found that those mutual checks contributed materially to the benefit of the empire; and, from the same analogy, he would infer, that it might also be beneficial to the system of the government of India. This was, perhaps, the first time in the history of parliament, that ministers were called upon to assign a reason why they advised the recall of one individual, or the appointment of another. It was strictly parliamentary when the general conduct of ministers

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was such as parliament disapproved of, to address his majesty for their removal; but it was quite unusual to call upon ministers for their reasons for every separate appointment which they had advised. During the 22 years which had elapsed since the passing of the act, the noble lord certainly could adduce no precedent of a similar correspondence being laid before parliament. If the house would call to their recollection all that had passed during those 22 years, they might be surprised that the charge of grasping at Indian patronage should have come from that noble lord. For his own part, he always wished that those who were accused should be tried by the law itself, and not by any fanciful interpretations and constructions that could be put upon it by other people. In this instance he stood upon the law, and called upon their lordships to look at the law as it now stood. If the law in stating one thing meant another, the country would have a right to complain of that legislature that could enact such laws. Those whose business it was to carry the laws into execution might also complain of the legislature for leading them into error by fraudulent prevarication. The law, however, (as he contended) must be construed by the plain meaning, and the expressions that were found in it. The noble lord himself must admit, that the law gave a power of recall, and he could hardly deny that wherever there was a right, there was also a duty. If, at a future time, ministers should be arraigned before that house for a neglect of their duty, it would be a very weak defence to say, that the reason they neglected their duty was because they had taken the noble lord's construction of a very plain law, and had misunderstood the obvious meaning of it. He had been appealed to personally, as to his recollection of the intention of the legislature in passing the act; he should therefore declare most solemnly, that it was as clearly in his recollection as if the transaction was but of yesterday, that it was certainly intended that his majesty's ministers should have the power of recall at their own discretion. He recollected even the arguments which were urged in the discussion of the bill of 1784, and he recollected that those who opposed it took precisely the same grounds that the noble lord now rested upon, and said, that the power of recall might virtually give ministers the patronage of India. It was answered then, as it might be answered now, that it never could be contended, that because the crown has the power of negativing an act of parliament, that therefore it could direct the legislature; and by a parity of reasoning, although it might, with respect to India, have the power of negativing an appointment, it did not follow that the whole of the appointments must necessarily fall under the control of his majesty's ministers. If the noble viscount could shew that this power had been exercised merely for the purpose of procuring the appointment of a person whom they wished to appoint, it would certainly be a violation of the law. The noble lord must, however, recollect, that from the passing the act in 1784, to the year 1801, there had not been a single governor-general appointed either to Bengal or Madras, that had not been recommended by himself to the directors. If therefore the same system of recommendation should

should have been continued from the year 1801 to the present time, it would appear that the noble lord should be the last to shew any surprise upon the subject. The noble lord had undertaken to prophesy, that whatever might be the exalted character of the person whom his majesty's ministers should think proper to recommend, however disposed the directors might be to acquiesce in his choice, still the servants of the company would be so disgusted as to make his situation painful and disagreeable. His majesty's ministers had recommended two noblemen of the highest rank and talents for the government. (lords Lauderdale and Minto.) He hoped the circumstances of their rank and talents would not be urged as an objection to either of them; but when he heard the noble viscount talk of the prejudice of sending men of rank to India in the situation of governors-general, he could not forbear asking, if the affairs of India did not go on well when lords Cornwallis, Wellesley, Powis, sir A. Hamilton, and many other persons of consequence, none of whom were servants of the company, were employed in the government? He believed there had been many persons of distinguished merit in India, who had not been recommended by the noble viscount, and who could not claim the honour or the recommendation of being his personal relation. If the correspondence that was now moved for should be granted, it would destroy all the confidence and harmony which ought to subsist between the board of control and the court of directors. The late administration had appointed sir G. Barlow as successor of marquis Wellesley, and almost immediately superseded him for marquis Cornwallis, who was a man of that high rank that the noble viscount now appeared to think ought not to be employed. Lord Cornwallis, however, although he possessed every other quality, wanted the essential qualities of youth and health. It was generally supposed, in London, that he never could bear the voyage to India, or that if he did arrive there, he would survive it but a very short time. Although that was the prevailing opinion, yet the ministers, at that time, were so remiss upon the subject, that they made no provision for the event which had happened, and what might have been expected to happen. It was from this criminal neglect in the preceding administration that his majesty's present ministers were informed, only 24 hours after kissing his majesty's hand on their appointment, that marquis Cornwallis was dead, and that, by neglect of their predecessors, no governor-general existed in India. It could not be expected of the present administration that, in the first twenty-four hours after they were in office, they could find a proper successor for lord Cornwallis, and obtain the assent of the court of directors Neither could it be expected, that, in the first twenty-four hours, they were to be perfectly acquainted with the talents of sir G. Barlow, or his fitness for the situation of governor-general. Their first idea was, to give him the full powers of governor-general, in order to complete the negotiations he had then in hand. They therefore recommended it to the court of directors to give him the necessary powers, but they never thought of this appointment as being any thing more than a mere temporary appointment.

pointment. It appeared, however, that what the noble lord called ten days, or ten little days, was, in fact, a period of near three months. He certainly had no personal prejudice against sir G. Barlow: that honourable baronet had anxiously and zealously co-operated in the measures of lord Wellesley, whose government was, in his opinion, the most splendid and glorious administration which India ever knew. He had such a high opinion of the splendid abilities, the unshaken integrity, and the ardour of mind in the public service which was always manifested by lord Wellesley, that it would be to him a great recommendation of sir G. Barlow, to say, that he co-operated zealously in the measures and in the system of marquis Wellesley, whose conduct he so much admired. As his conduct was now under discussion, he did not wish to add more upon the subject. The court of directors had formed one opinion, he had formed another diametrically opposite. He should not dispute with them the exercise of their judgment, and he hoped no one would refuse him the exercise of his own: time would shew whose opinion on this subject was the ju test.—As to the production of the correspondence moved for, he trusted the house would see that it was highly improper. Although, to follow the analogy of the British constitution, the lords and the commons were a mutual check to each other, yet it was found that they always drew well for the public interest. He trusted that it would be the same way between the board of control and the board of directors. If the private reasons and personal objections which made ministers refuse the appointment of any individual were to be made a matter of public discussion, no persons would be found to take the situation of ministers. There might be many reasons why, without any crime being imputable to an individual, ministers might suppose him unfit to be trusted with the interests of millions. If, however, in every individual case, ministers were obliged to tell each individual, to his face, the personal objections they had to him, or if (which would come to the same thing) their correspondence upon this subject was to be laid before parliament, the situation of ministers would be intolerable to any one who possessed the common feelings of a man. On these grounds he must object to the production of the correspondence moved for.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, that if any public inconvenience were stated as likely to result from the production of the correspondence moved for, that would be a sufficient reason for negativing the production. If, on the contrary, no public inconvenience were stated, and any advantage to the public were likely to result from the production, he did not think those motives of private feeling entitled to so much weight. He agreed that the person who brought forward any motion for papers, was obliged to make out a *prima facie* case, at least, to support his motion. Such a case appeared to him to have been made out in the present instance. There was upon the face of the transaction some ground of blame, unless ministers could shew that they had good reason for advising the recall of sir G. Barlow. As to the act of parliament, he did not see that there could be much difference of opinion.

nion. There was no doubt that the act gave ministers the power of recalling a governor-general, and the only question was, whether they had not made a wanton and capricious use of their power? He was perfectly ready to admit, that by the bill there was a discretionary power vested in the government. The question was not as to the right, but whether it has been soundly or unsoundly exercised. It would be proper to enquire a little into the state of India. Upon the decease of marquis Cornwallis, the government devolved upon sir G. Barlow. He had frequent communications with that noble lord previous to his departure for India, and, considering his advanced time of life, he never knew a man more likely to live, or against whose decease it was so little necessary to take more than ordinary precaution. Such was the opinion of the friends who had last seen him at Portsmouth. His astonishment was of course great when he heard of his decease, and considering all the circumstances of the case, it was his opinion, that no person could be more proper to succeed him than sir G. Barlow. He would not, at the same time, say that it might not be right, in the first instance, to send out a person of rank in preference to a company's servant. Sir G. Barlow being a company's servant was neither for nor against his appointment; but he would maintain, that if inflexible integrity, if the greatest capacity for, and attention to, business, if the utmost devotion to the interests of the company deserved that preference, no one could be better entitled to it than that gentleman; and, what perhaps would be of no little weight, he had the entire confidence of the noble person he succeeded. It was for these reasons that he thought it would be wiser in government to appoint sir G. Barlow, but still he would not blame them for exercising that right. What was the situation of sir G. Barlow? Engaged as he was in critical negotiations, invested with great authority, and afterwards recalled, what impressions might not the public receive from such an act? One of two things should have been done.—Either sir G. Barlow should not have been appointed, or he should have been continued. He did not suppose that an appointment likely to be attended with such important consequences had been made upon private grounds, but he wished that the noble baron had condescended to explain the public reasons for it. It had been said there had been no instance of such a motion as the present, but had there been an instance of such a proceeding as that which gave rise to it? His lordship concluded, with expressing his opinion, that, under all the circumstances of the case, no person should have been appointed to supersede sir G. Barlow in the government of India.

Lord *Minto* admitted, that if the papers moved for were matters of course, no objection ought to be made to the production of them. But as that was not the case, and no distinct ground had been made out, their lordships, he was convinced, would not agree to the motion. The powers of the governor and council were in as full force at present as ever in India. The principle of the noble lord's opposite, that, because a successor was to be appointed to sir G. Barlow, a cessation of government, and anarchy would ensue in India, went

went too far. It would equally apply to all changes of the government of India. No such effect could happen where there was no change of sovereign, but a transfer of power from one individual to another, both subject to the same sovereign, and governed by the same laws. A governor-general may die or resign, without notice to his superiors, and yet no such consequences would be apprehended. The supposition was a fallacy. As to the warrant, it undoubtedly had not been sent out, yet he was ready to meet the responsibility for having detained it. The act gave a power to retain the warrant in such cases, till the most convenient time for sending it out, with a view to the public interests; as no ground whatever had been laid for the motion, he should oppose it.

Lord *Eldon* was of opinion, that the communication of the warrant of recal to the governor-general was sufficient to supersede his powers, and looked upon that clause in the act which required the publication of the warrant in the Calcutta gazette as unnecessary. He contended, however, that, according to the true intent and construction of the act, the warrant ought not to have been detained in this country, after a convenient time for transmitting it to India, when executed by his majesty. He thought, therefore, that the appointment in this instance ought not to pass without injury.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* contended, that if ever the principal, that no servant of the company should be appointed governor-general, had been acted upon, it was by the noble viscount himself (lord Melville.) That noble lord might not have promulgated that doctrine; but all his recommendations, whilst he presided over the affairs of India, proved that to be his impression. In the appointment of marquis Wellesley, the noble viscount had done well for the public service, whoever might be in injured by it. The noble viscount would not in that instance suffer a servant of the company to hold the government even for a few months, but sent a commission to the commander-in-chief to take the office upon him till the arrival of marquis Wellesley. The same course had been pursued by sending a commission to general Harris to take provisionally the government of Madras, when he had been superseded. If the noble viscount had not promulgated this trine, these acts were strong indications of it. He should not have said a word on the subject, but that he wished the poison of the noble lord's speech to be accompanied with the antidote.

Lord *Melville*, in justification of his conduct in the several instances alluded to, stated the motives by which he had been actuated. He had never laid it down as a rule, that the servants of the company were not proper persons to be appointed to the government-general. Neither had he asserted that they ought exclusively to be appointed to that high office. His conduct shewed that neither had been his rule of action. Whoever should be appointed, ought to be a person of character and of abilities to fill the important office. He had argued with a view to a rumour which had gone abroad, that the objection to sir G. Barlow was, his having been a servant to the company. He should say, however, that the suspicions he had entertained on the subject had not been weakened by any thing

he

he had heard in that debate. If the papers should be granted, and they should confirm those suspicions, he intended to found upon them an ulterior proceeding.

Lord *Ellenborough* could not sit silent when he heard an objection started which he did not expect to be repeated. The warrant could have no effect till communicated to the party; and he agreed with the learned lord (Eldon,) that the clause for the publication at Calcutta was nugatory. That the communication gave legal effect to the warrant, would appear in the instance of the judges in the event of the demise of the crown. He might, on such an event, be in the discharge of his duty in an extreme part of the country, and if his commission could be vacated without communication, any exercise of his power after such demise, in ordering a man convicted of a capital offence for execution, would be murder at common law. It was the duty of the persons who advised his majesty to issue the warrant, to communicate it to the court of directors in eight days, in order that they might fill up that appointment. But it was not their duty, nor had it even been intended that they should send out the warrant as rapidly as possible. The case of the appointment of a lord-lieutenant of Ireland was an illustration of this principle. In the instance of the intended recal of one lord-lieutenant, his successor was to be the bearer of the warrant, which he after kept with him many months in this country, until it suited his convenience to proceed to his government. If his noble friend had kept the warrant back longer than was necessary for the convenience of public business, he would allow it to be censurable, but he contended that the contrary was the case.

Lord *Redesdale* contended, that there was an essential difference between the warrant of recal of a lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and of a governor-general. The former was to have effect only upon the arrival of the new lord-lieutenant in Ireland, whereas the latter was to have an immediate effect. It was an improvident discretion therefore, on the part of his majesty's ministers, to retain the warrant in trust, and he maintained that it had been kept only with a view to constrain the court of directors to choose another governor-general and council.

The *Lord Chancellor* expressed his surprise at the violent strain that had been adopted. The former objection was, that an interregnum existed, the present objection lay against the means that had been resorted to prevent that interregnum. The construction put upon the statute by the noble lords who supported the motion, instead of tending to the security of our distant government, seemed only to perplex men's minds, and was founded on a quibble. The king had unquestionably the power of recalling a governor-general; but the appointment was vested, for good purposes, in the great corporation. The warrant of recal was to be communicated to the court of directors in eight days, and here was an interregnum without any objection being made to it. The directors had two months to appoint another, a space of interregnum to which no objection was made; and yet the government in that case must be contemplating the event of the appointment of a successor. It was most desirable that the governor going out should carry with him

him the order for the recal of the former one. He had attended to the noble viscount throughout, and thought that he nibbled at the prerogative given to his majesty by the act. In judging of the meaning of the act, it ought to be collected from its obvious import, and not by substituting legal conundrums and quibbles for the fair construction of the act. To understand the act, the noble and learned lord should consider the spirit of it; to look at the time when his majesty got the prerogative, and at the time when he had it not; to regard the resolution of the house of commons upon which it was founded. It was rather too late to read such lectures in that house. His majesty's advisers were undoubtedly responsible for the exercise of this prerogative, as well as every other. But it did not follow, because they thought fit to advise his majesty to remove any officer, suppose to take the seals from him, that they ought to lay the grounds upon which they acted before that house, or that the house could call for them. Many things had been stated in the course of the night of a dangerous tendency. In drawing the character of sir G. Barlow, the noble lord had stated, that he yielded to marquis Cornwallis, but that he might not be so well disposed in the present instance. This went the length of establishing the principle, that the governors of distant provinces might raise a rebellion, if they should not approve of their successors. The distant possessions were the mortal part of every power; and in these times, when so many thrones, and states, and powers, had passed away, it was dangerous to countenance such doctrines.

Lord *Eldon* observed in reply, that there would have been no difficulty in framing the warrant so as to avoid the inconvenience of an interregnum. If an illegal assumption of power was to be denominated from the woolsack a conundrum or quibble, he should feel it incumbent on himself to bring that principle to some specific form before the house.—The question being put, the motions made by the noble viscount were rejected without a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
July 8th.

INDIA BUDGET.

On the motion of lord Morpeth, it was ordered, that the several accounts and papers, which have been presented to the house in this session of parliament, relating to the revenues of the East-India company, be referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole house. The house having accordingly resolved itself into the said committee, Mr. Hobhouse in the chair,

Lord *Morpeth* rose, in consequence of the notice he had given, to submit to the consideration of the house, a statement of the financial affairs of the East-India company, a subject at all times of high importance to this country, but never more so at any period than at the present moment. In all the wide-extended affairs of government, there was not one which more peculiarly called for the vigilant superintendance and scrutiny of parliament, than the system of finance, upon which so materially depended the permanent prosperity of any government; and, though the statement he should this day have the honour to submit to the committee, would not be of a nature so very flattering as had been made of late

years, by some of his predecessors in the department he had the honour to fill, yet of having devoted the short period, since he had filled his present situation, in endeavouring, with the utmost assiduity, to make himself acquainted with the real state of the company's affairs, both at home and in India, with respect to their debts, their revenues, and commerce, as well as the various charges upon their government and trade, in all its departments, he should lay before the committee the most clear and candid statement he was enabled to make; leaving it for the committee to decide upon the tenour of that statement, and the motions he should have the honour of founding thereon. He felt it unnecessary to trespass longer upon the attention of the committee, and should now proceed to the proposed detail, referring to the documents on the table in support of the several points of his statement. The noble lord then proceeded to a detail of the several items to which he alluded; of which items the following is a comprehensive and accurate view:

BENGAL.

	£.
REVENUES NO. 1.	
Excluding the Revenues of the Ceded Provinces in Oude on account of their intermixture with the Arrears of Subsidy in some of the years, and the variation in the mode of statement in the last year, and, taking the Company's fixed ancient Revenues alone, the average in the three years in this statement amounts to.	6,166,591
Which exceeds the average on the three years one year back.	337,622
No. 3. Estimated for 1803-4	8,064,981
Actual Amount...............	8,060,993
Less than Estimate	3,988
CHARGES, No. 3.—Estimated for 1803-4..................	5,066,940
Actual Amount.............	5,434,291
More than Estimate...	367,351
Add deficiency of Revenue to excess of Charge, the Net Revenue is less than estimated, by..............	371,339
And the Net Revenue for 1803-4 is.....................	2,626,702

ESTIMATES for 1804-5.

REVENUES, No. 1............	8,167,792
CHARGES, No. 2..............	5,956,208
Net Revenue..........	2,211,584
REVENUES estimated more than actual, 1803-4.....	106,799
CHARGES estimated more than ditto..	521,917
Net Revenue, estimated for 1804-5, less than preceding year....................	415,118

MADRAS.

REVENUES.—Excluding the Revenues of Arcot, and of the Provinces ceded by the Nizam on account of the early years, being in part subsidy, and in part Revenue Collections, the average receipts on the years 1801-2 to 1803-4, as by No. 4, is...........	2,965,199
Being less than the average of the three years 1800-1 to 1802-3, in the sum of	49,102
REVENUES, No. 6.—Estimated for 1803-4	4,888,895
Actual amount.	4,653,401
Less than Estimate...	235,494
CHARGES, No. 6.—Estimated for 1803-4	5,018,155
Actual amount.......	6,136,845
More than Estimate	1,118,688
Add deficiency of Revenue to excess of Charge, the	

£.

Net Charge is more than estimated, by........ 1,354,182

And the Net Charge for 1803-4 is.. 1,483,444

ESTIMATES, 1804-5.

Revenues, No. 4............. 4,659,326
Charges, No. 5. 5,420,029

Net Charge...... 760,703

Revenues estimated more than actual of 1803-4. 5,925
Charges estimated less than ditto.......................... 716,816

Net Charge estimated for 1804-5, less than preceding year.................... 722,741

BOMBAY.

Revenues, No. 7.—An adjustment of these Revenues, as of those of the other Presidencies, should have been made on account of the addition to the two last years, by Treaty and Conquest. As the Amount is not specified, the average must be stated on the gross receipts on the years 1801-2 to 1803-4, it amounted to 408,062

Which exceeds the average 1800-1 to 1802-3, excluding a small receipt from the Ceded Countries..... 99,020

Revenues, No. 9.—Estimated for 1803-4............ 518,575
Actual amount........ 558,650

More than Estimate 40,075

Charges, No. 9.—Estimated for 1803-4.............. 1,478,881
Actual amount.. 1,642,978

More than Estimate 164,097

Deduct excess of Revenue from excess of Charge, the Net Charge is more than estimated, by......... 124,022

And the Net Charge of the year 1803-4 is 1,084,328

£.

ESTIMATES, 1804-5.

Revenues, No. 7. 731,391
Charges, No. 8............... 1,873,933

Net Charge.. 1,142,542

Revenues estimated more than actual, 1803-4......... 172,741
Charges estimated more than ditto.................. 230,255

Net Charge estimated for 1804-5, more than preceding year.................... 58,214

BENCOOLEN and other SETTLEMENTS.

No. 10, A.—Revenues of Fort Marlbro' in the year 1802-3......................... 13,985
Charges of ditto.............. 122,132

Net Charge. 108,147

Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlbro'.

Penang, &c. estimated for 1803-4.................... 212,628
No. 18.—Actual Amount... 304,056

More than estimated 91,428

No. 11.—Supplies estimated for 1804-5................. 287,680

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Year 1803-4 collectively,

REVENUES.

Bengal by No. 3, 8,060,993
Madras 6, 4,653,401
Bombay 9, 558,650

Total Revenues 13,273,044

CHARGES.

Bengal, by No. 3, 5,434,291
Madras.......... 6, 6,136,845
Bombay... ....9, 1,642,978
Total Charges. 13,214,114

Net Revenue of the 3 Presidencies.. 58,930
Deducted from supplies to Bencoolen, &c. by No. 18 304,056

Leaves a Net Charge of 245,126
Add Interest, &c. paid on the Debts at Bengal, by No. 18, 957,727

		£.
Madras,......... 19,	334,179	
Bombay......... 20,	*242,852	
Total Interest...........		1,534,758
The Total amounting to... is the sum in which the Charges and Interest exceeded the produce of the Territorial Revenues.		1,779,884
From which deduct the Amount of the Sales of Imports, by No, 15		655,481
The Remainder...... Shews the Amount in which, in the year 1803-4, the Resources from Revenue and Sales of Imports were insufficient to defray the Charges, and the Interest on the Debts.		1,124,403
Amount advanced for the purchase of Investments, Payment of Commercial Charges, and in aid of China—At		
Bengal, by No. 18,	1,380,855	
Madras......... 19,	706,771	
Bombay 20,	193,844	
Fort Marlbro' 22,	39,014	
Total Advances for Investments.........................		2,320,484
Cargoes consigned to Europe, in 1803-4, with Charges by No. 22...		1,674,645

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the ESTIMATES for the Year 1804-5, collectively.

REVENUES.		
Bengal, by No. 1,	8,167,792	
Madras........ 4,	4,659,326	
Bombay.........7,	731,391	
Total Revenues		13,558,509
CHARGES.		
Bengal, by No. 2,	5,956,208	
Madras..........5,	5,420,029	
Bombay........ 8,	8,173,933	
Total Charges		13,250,170
Net Revenue of the three Presidencies..............		308,339

		£.
Deduct Supplies to Bencoolen, &c. by No. 11..		287,680
Remainder............		20,659
Deducted from Interest on Debts, by No. 16.........†		1,754,843
The Sum then remaining is the Amount in which the charges and Interest are estimated to exceed the Revenues.		1,734,184
Deduct Amount estimated to be received on the Sales of Imports, by No. 15.........		602,993
The Remainder... .. is the Amount in which the Charges of Government and Interest on the Debts are estimated to exceed the resources expected to be derived from the territorial Revenues, and the Sales of Imports, in the year 1804-5.		1,131,191

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated to April, 1803 ..	21,881,571	
Deduct in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund.	2,012,348	
Net Amount of Debts, on the 30th April, 1803.....		19,869,223
Amount on 30th April, 1804, by No. 16, of present Account	25,336,263	
Deduct Sinking Fund as above,	2,800,056	
Net amount of debts on 30th April, 1804.................		22,536,207
Increase.........................		2,666,984

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount in April 1803.....		18,712,933
Deduct in the hands of the		

* This Sum includes 140,436l. paid the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund for Interest on the Securities in their Hands.

† Includes 166,454l. payable to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund.

		£.
commissioners of the Sinking Fund	1,686,917	
Net Amount of Debts bearing interest on 30th April, 1803		17,026,016
Amount on 30th April, 1804, by No. 16	21,276,466	
Deduct Sinking Fund, as above	2,244,532	
Net Amount of Debts, bearing Interest on 30th April, 1804		19,031,934
Increase of debt bearing interest		2,005,918
Amount of Interest payable on debt owing in April 1803	1,574,011	
Deduct Interest on Securities in the hands of the commissioners of the Sinking Fund	126,360	
Net Amount of Interest payable on debt owing 30th April, 1803		1,447,651
Amount payable on debt, in April 1804, by No. 16	1,754,843	
Deduct Sinking Fund as above	166,454	
Net Amount of Interest, payable on debt, owing 30th April 1804		1,588,389
Increase of Interest payable		140,738

ASSETS IN INDIA.

		£.
Consisting of Cash, Goods, Stores, &c. in April 1803	14,630,971	
Deduct Balance and Securities in hands of commissioners of the Sinking Fund	2,012,348	
Net Amount of Assets on the 30th April, 1803		12,618,623
Consisting as above, on 30th April, 1804, by No. 21	17,252,399	
Deduct Sinking Fund, as above.	2,800,056	
Net Amount of Assets, on 30th April, 1804		14,452 343
Increase of Assets		1,833,720
Deducting Increase of assets from increase of debts, the state of the company's affairs, in this view, is worse in April 1804, than in April 1803, in the sum of		833,264

HOME ACCOUNTS.

No. 25—Aggregate Amount of Sales in 1804-5		8,044,392
Less than the year preceding		380,876
The sales of the company's goods were less by		69,991
The Sales of the Private-Trade Goods were more by	229,115	
Making the Net difference, as above	380,876	
The sales of the company's goods were estimated at		6,868,700
The actual Amount was		5,267,578
Being less than estimated		1,601,122
The Receipts on the Sales of the company's goods were estimated at		6,598,496
They actually amounted to		5,730,133
Being less than estimated		168,363
The charges and Profit on Private Trade were estimated to amount to		150,000
The actual Amount was		90,536

£.

Being less than estimated ... 59,464

GENERAL RESULT.

From the disappointment in the Produce of the Sales, with a large payment in Bonds by the purchasers, and from a greater Expenditure on Account of India and China than first intended, the Deficit would have appeared in the Cash Balance of this Year to a considerable Amount; but the sum borrowed from Government, a Loan from the Bank, and an Issue of Company's Bonds, have so operated, that the Balance of Cash estimated to remain in favour of the company on the 1st of March, 1805, to the Amount of.................. 157,634
was found, by the actual Accounts of the year, to be............................ 12,020

which was less than estimated, by the sum of...... 145,614

HOME ACCOUNTS.

ESTIMATE, 1805—6.

No. 23—Sale of the Company's Goods estimated to amount to.................... 6,301,414

GENERAL RESULT.

Notwithstanding the Receipts from the Sales are estimated much higher than the actual of the last Year, and the Expectation is stated of a Payment by Government of a million, the various Demands upon the Treasury are so great for Freight and Demurrage, the Repayment to government of 500,000*l*. borrowed in the last Year, and on other Accounts, that the Balance on the 1st March, 1806, is estimated to be against the company in the Sum of.............. 62,836

DEBTS AT HOME.

On the 1st March, 1804......	4,788,865
No. 23, on the 1st March 1805........................	6,012,196
	£.
Increase..................	1,223,331

ASSESTS AT HOME.

On the 1st March, 1804.	19,168,736
No. 23, on the 1st March, 1805	20,412,659
Increase...............	1,273,923

Deducting the Increase of debt from the Increase of Assets, the Home Concern exhibits, in this view, an Improvement in the Year amounting to......... 50,592

CHINA and ST. HELENA.

Balance at China, on 31st January, 1803, against............	260,000	
Balance at China, on 29th January, 1804, in favour, No. 24...............	182,390	
Increase at China	443,290	
Balance at St. Helena on 30th Sept. 1802, in favour............	105,194	
Balance at St. Helena on 3th Sept. 1803, in favour, No. 24.	105,382	
Increase at St. Helena...........	188	
Total Increase at China and St. Helena....................		443,478

GENERAL COMPARISON of DEBTS and ASSETS.

Increase of Debts in India,		2,666,984
Increase of Debts at Home,		1,223,331
Total Increase of Debts		3,890,315
Increase of Assets in India...	1,833,720	
Increase of Assets at Home...	1,273,923	
	3,107,643	
Add—Net Increase of Balance at China and St. Helena,	443,478	

		£.
Total Increase of Assets......		3,551,121
Deducted from the increase of debt, will shew a deterioration to have taken place on the whole concern in this view, during the Years 1803-4 Abroad, and 1804-5 at Home, to the Amount of..............		339,194
Add Amount received in India, and included in the Quick Stock there, dated April 30, 1804, which formed part of the Cargoes afloat Outwards, in the Assets at Home,	583,299	
Goods in the Export Warehouses in India, on the 30th April, 1804, arrived in England, and included in Assets at Home...	43,619	
		626,918
The Amount of the deterioration will then be......		966,112

The Assets at Home exhibit an Increase in Value during the Year, in the sum of 442,192l. from the insertion of the Amount of the claims of the company on the public, it having been calculated before it was under the Consideration of parliament. As this branch of the concern is under Examination, upon Principles recommended by a Committee of the House of Commons, which will lessen its Amount, a further considerable Adjustment will hereafter be requisite.

ABSTRACT of ADDITIONAL ACCOUNTS.—

BUDGET, 1805.—General View of Estimates, 1805-6.

		£.
Revenues of Bengal,	3,763,220	
Madras.............	4,774,296	
Bombay......	742,017	
Total Revenues		14,279,533
Charges of Bengal	7,415,370	
Madras.............	5,650,182	
Bombay.............	1,580,292	
Total Charges		14,645,844
Net Charge of the three presidencies.................		366,311
Add—Supplies to Bencoolen, Prince of Wales Island, &c.....................		266,800
Total Surplus Charge...		633,111
Add further—Interest on the Debts......	1,823,040	
Interest payable to the Commissioners of Sinking Fund, on Securities redeemed............	195,788	
Total Interest............		2,018,828
Total Excess of Charge beyond the Produce of the Revenues, as estimated for the Year 1805-6...... exclusive of Commercial Charges not added to the Invoices, amounting to 199,806l.		2,651,939

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount of Debt, 30th April, 1804, by No. 16......	25,336,263	
Deduct in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund............	2,800,056	
Net Amount of Debts on 30th April, 1804......		22,536,207
Amount as to Bengal, January 1805, and Madras and Bombay, 30th April, 1805......... ...	28,197,499	
Deduct Sinking Fund as above	3,151,065	
Net Amount of Debts in 1805...		25,046,436

		£.
Increase		2,510,227
DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.		
Amount in April 1804, by No. 16	21,276,466	
Deduct, in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund	2,245,532	
Net Amount of Debts bearing Interest on 30th April, 1804		19,051,934
Amount on 30th April, 1805, generally	24,221,706	
Deduct Sinking Fund, as above	2,616,739	
Net Amount of Debts bearing Interest on 30th April, 1805		21,604,967
Increase		2,573,033
Amount of Interest payable on the Debt owing on 30th April, 1804, by No. 16	1,754,843	
Deduct Interest on Securities in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund	166,454	
Net Amount of Interest payable on debt owing on 30th April, 1804		1,588,389
Amount payable on Debt in April 1805	2,017,358	
Deduct Sinking Fund, as above	195,788	
Net Amount of Interest payable on Debt owing on 30th April, 1805		1,821,576
Increase of Interest payable		233,181

His lordship, on the whole, did not think he went too far, when he said, that, in his opinion, the deficiency or excess of charge could not be taken at less than three millions. The debts, bearing interest in India, he was aware, there might be danger of having called in, though the directors had the power of protracting the payment for some time. Should this be the case, some extraordinary means might be necessary to be resorted to, but of this there was no immediate appearance. It might be expected that he should be able to give some account of the measures proposed to be adopted for reducing the expenditure in India. It was well known, that government had lately been pretty much employed in devising measures of reform in the public expenditure, but it was deemed more expedient to wait till it was seen how far any schemes of the kind were practicable, before they should be gone into as to India. It would be the duty of the commissioners, for Indian affairs, to call the attention of parliament to this subject, at as early a period as possible. It was not his intention to trouble the committee on the subject of the treaties with Scindea or Holkar, no did he think himself even called on to give any opinion on that subject. He knew it was the opinion of others, that these treaties were honourable to the British character, and calculated to preserve pacific dispositions in India. On the whole, though he admitted that the financial department in India did not wear the most cheerful aspect, and although he would be the last person in the world to raise sanguine hopes, which were not likely to be realised, still he thought it would be wrong

wrong to give any sanction to unmanly despondency. Our resources in the East were great, and, by proper management and economy, might still be brought to answer our highest expectations. He did not speak of that economy which would teach us to withhold a reward from merit, or to retrench in the becoming grandeur of the executive government —economy which only tended to defeat the objects which it had in view—but that economy which would teach us to act on principles of moderation, justice, and equity. His lordship concluded by moving his first resolution, shewing the revenues of the provinces in Oude in 1803-4. On the question being put,

Mr. *Johnstone* expressed the high satisfaction which he felt at the fair and candid manner in which the noble lord had made his statement. He heartily concurred with the noble lord in the importance of the subject, of which, notwithstanding the house had uniformly treated it with so much indifference, the attendance that night furnished an additional proof. He could not, however, help thinking that the noble lord was himself somewhat to blame, in having so long delayed bringing forward the subject, the papers necessary to make the statements having been in this country for nearly twelve months; and it having been promised, in the month of February last, that the attention of the house should be speedily called to them. In looking at the accounts, which were as full and distinct as could well be expected, he could not help remarking, that though the period to which they applied was a period of war, a great part of the increase was for civil charges. He thought, without withholding any due reward from meritorious services to the company, the expenses in the civil establishment might be greatly reduced. He hoped, with the noble lord, that we should always observe moderation and good faith in our conduct with the neighbouring states; but what concern that could have in diminishing our expenses, he could not conceive. The noble lord had guarded the house against any apprehension they might otherwise have entertained, that the splendour of the executive government in India should be diminished. What did this mean; he could understand such an observation, if applied to the monarchies of Europe; but he contended that all our acquirements, all our wealth, and all our character in India, were obtained without the least idea of maintaining any of the splendour alluded to by the noble lord. He considered, and he believed that it was generally considered, that the conduct of sir George Barlow, in the conclusion of the treaties, and in the economical regulations which he had instituted, was highly meritorious; and it surely would have been becoming in his majesty's ministers to have allowed him to carry into effect the arrangements which he had commenced. He detailed the circumstances attending the original appointment of sir G. Barlow to the governor-generalship of India, with his subsequent recal; and contended, that the act on which his majesty's ministers had proceeded, was intended to apply only to extreme cases, of which this was not one. For twenty-two years, it had never been deemed adviseable to exercise the prerogative which the act established. The first ap-

pointment of sir G. Barlow, on the part of his majesty's ministers, was a deliberate action. Refusing him whom the first minister of the crown (Mr. Fox) had formerly described as the man best calculated to be entrusted with the government of India, (Mr. Francis,) they appointed, sir G. Barlow. Notwithstanding that his measures even anticipated the hopes and expectations of his employers, he was, in twelve days afterwards, superseded without the shadow of a cause. He had heard it stated, that this removal took place because sir G. Barlow was a servant of the company. However he might feel the propriety of placing a man of rank and consequence at the head of the government in India, in preference to one who might be better acquainted with the details of business; yet he thought that this principle might be pushed too far. If ever there was a case in which it ought to have been departed from, it was that on which he was speaking. He had also been told, that sir G. Barlow was recalled, because he did not possess the personal confidence of ministers. Two noble lords, however, under whose administration the British interests in India had flourished, in the highest degree; he meant lord Macartney, and lord Cornwallis, did not, he believed, enjoy much of the personal confidence of the administrations which existed in England during the period of their government. Another whimsical reason for this recall which when he coupled it with some other extraordinary statements, on different subjects, almost made him conclude, that the brain of the right hon. gent. who had used it, was full of paradoxes; sir G. Barlow was a most zealous supporter of the government in India, which that right hon. gent. approved; but he thought fit to remove him, lest the court of directors, who disapproved of that government, might, on that account, hereafter dislike sir G. Barlow, although they had hitherto approved of all his acts. The statement of the accounts, by the noble lord, presented a gloomy picture: he hoped, that by care and attention, on the part of our government, it might yet assume a more lively aspect.

Lord *Henry Petty* replied to the observations of the honourable gentleman, who had not, he presumed to say, read the act of 1784 with attention, or he would have seen that the interpretation which he and others attempted to put upon it was unfounded. For, in the same clause in which the power of recalling a governor was vested in the directors, it was also vested in his majesty and council; but this seemed to have been overlooked by the honourable member, who condemned the exercise of a power which was necessary to maintain the pre-eminence of the present state. That honourable member would have a dependent state, governed without being subject to control, and yet his brain was unwilling to admit paradoxes. It was asserted by the honourable member, that this power of recall was quite new and extraordinary; and that it never had been exercised before, since 1784; but it seemed to be forgotten, that the same power had been before exercised by the directors. Yet it excited no complaint. But when his majesty ventured to use his undoubted prerogative, some gentlemen appeared to be anxious to raise a clamour against it, and, truly,

because

because ministers thought proper to appoint a man of their own choice. But was any think more natural than that the administration of the sovereign's government should choose a governor for any of the dependencies in whom they could confide? Were they not, by the statute of 1784, armed with that power? and did not their duty call upon them for the exercise of it? They were as responsible for the government of India, as for that of Ireland; and it would be as just to interfere with their appointment of a viceroy for the one, as with that of a governor for the other. The governor, whose appointment had just taken place for India, would, he was persuaded, afford general satisfaction; and this persuasion rested upon the belief that that noble lord would carry out with him to India, those principles of moderation, economy, and a strict adherence to treaties, which the house had heard so distinctly laid down by his noble friend who opened the debate, and which formed the firmest basis of every good government. Under the administration of such principles, the noble lord, no doubt, however lamentable the deficiency, at present, might be; however much the hopes of the country, excited by the promises of the noble lord on the opposite bench, (Castlereagh) had been disappointed; might still be able to restore the resources of India, and place its affairs on a regular, solid, and durable footing.

Lord *Castlereagh* maintained, that the tendency of the revenues of India was to augment in the manner and proportion which he had described to the house, and that his predictions were falsified by events upon which it was impossible for any man to calculate, namely, by wars which he had not in his contemplation when he made the statement, to which the noble lord, on the treasury bench, referred. The noble lord vindicated the grounds upon which the late war in India was commenced, the manner in which it was conducted by marquis Wellesley, and also the terms upon which it was concluded by sir G. Barlow. The removal of this deserving individual from the government of India, the noble lord condemned in the most unqualified terms. That sir G. Barlow's character was the subject of universal praise, was quite notorious, but he could adduce a testimony to his merits, of the very highest order; for he could state that it was the express wish of lord Cornwallis, before he went to India, that when he should have completed the object of his mission, sir G. Barlow should be appointed to succeed him in the government. What could be the object of ministers in discharging sir G. Barlow, so soon after his appointment, he felt impossible, upon any rational ground, to estimate. As to the debt of the India company in India, his wish was, that it should travel home, and he was sure that their circumstances and credit here would be quite sufficient soon to discharge it.

Mr. *Francis*, after paying some compliments to the noble lord (Morpeth), for the fairness and perspicuity with which he had stated the result of the several accounts now before the house, addressed himself to the chairman, to the following effect:—That he had intended to confine himself to a few observations on the accounts, to which the noble lord had referred; but that many extraneous

topics

topics having been introduced into the debate, particularly by the noble lord who spoke last (lord Castlereagh), he found himself obliged to take notice of some of those topics. A great deal has been said, without any direct relation to the India budget, on the impropriety of the revocation of sir G. Barlow. In the measure itself I have no concern, and, as I do not know the reasons on which it was adopted, I shall neither censure nor defend it. But I am sure that the arguments which I have heard this night against it, are not all conclusive. Nothing can be more clear and explicit than the power vested in his majesty, by the act of 1793, to revoke any appointment of a governor-general made by the court of directors. The act was proposed and introduced by lord Melville. The power gives the right, and the exercise of the right is trusted to the discretion of the king's minisrers. Undoubtedly, it is not to be exercised capriciously, or upon ordinary occasions. It is reserved for particular cases and circumstances, on the exigency of which the crown, by the advice of a responsible council, is to judge. Does the noble lord mean to contend that parliament has given a power, which it was intended should never be exercised? But against whom or what can it be resorted to at any time? The answer is, against an act of the court of directors. It can apply to nothing else. At the same time, I am ready to admit, that a wanton or interested application of the power, though according to law, would be just as abusive and criminal as an assumption of it against law. When you admit the trust, you must prove the abuse of it. The services of sir G. Barlow are extolled, and the confidence which the court of directors repose in his attachment to the true interests of the India company, is particularly insisted on. They consider him as a servant of their own in contradistinction to persons recommended by government. This is a new language, sir, considering the quarter it comes from. I have heard him spoken of in very different terms, by persons very high in the direction of the company's affairs; and even with expressions of indignation, at the uniform support he gave to every measure of lord Wellesley, without exception; and particularly for never attempting to check him in the exercise of independent authority, not warranted by law. Look at their own dispatches on this subject, published by themselves. Sir G. Barlow is not mentioned by name, but he is charged by direct implication. They say, "he is certainly guilty of a dereliction of his duty, and must inevitably incur the displeasure of the court of directors." In another dispatch, they say that, "by suffering measures not regularly and legally instituted, to be carried into execution, he became partner in the illegality." They say that the council (that is, sir G. Barlow) "had no right to abandon their part of the government." On the justice of these censures I offer no opinion. The court of directors were his judges, and they have pronounced upon his conduct. But it seems, the readiness with which he adopted the pacific system of lord Cornwallis, and the expedition with which he has concluded a pacification with Holkar and Scindia, is a great merit, and intitles him to be continued in the government.

ment.—Holkar, very lately, was considered as a mere robber, and to be treated accordingly.—He is now reinstated in his former territories, and Scindia has obtained possession of the country of our ally the rajah of Gohud, and of the royal fortress of Gwalior, without any right that I know of, to either of them. He might perhaps have claimed Gwalior under sir Arthur Wellesley's treaty of December 1803. But, if his claim was good then, why was he kept out of the Fort till now? I would have preserved the peace with these people; but, having twice made the war, I should have thought it the best policy not to have brought the Mahrattas back into Hindûstan, much less to have given them such a strong hold as Gwalior, in the centre of that country. A concession of that kind gives you no security for the continuance of peace; especially if it was made hastily and without sufficient deliberation. I do not mean to say that the terms of these treaties may not be justified by necessity; that is, by the state of the finances of the Bengal government.—If so, it is to be lamented that sir G. Barlow's situation did not allow him time and means to measure his steps with less precipitation. The Mahratta chiefs have very good intelligence, and know as well as we do, whether our concessions to them are voluntary or not. As to confidence in our justice or good faith, it is in vain to talk of it. My noble friend, who is now appointed to the government of Bengal, will, I am sure, do every thing that can be done, consistently with prudence and safety, to satisfy the princes of India, and to establish the peace of that country on a solid foundation. I confide in his principles, and I think that every thing may be trusted to his sound discretion.—I come now, sir, to the accounts on the table, which properly belong to, and constitute the business of the day. The first thing to be observed, is, that the statements from India come no lower than the 30th April 1804; consequently leave us very much in the dark about the actual state of the finances there. We might, and ought to have had them to April 1805, at least. The Indian debt, as it stood above two years ago, was twenty-five millions sterling; and I think it may fairly be reckoned at thirty millions, more or less, at the present moment. The noble lord on the other side (lord Castlereagh) says he shall be happy to hear that this debt, or the greater part of it, is on its travels to England. In that hope, I believe, his lordship is very likely to be gratified. Above seventeen millions and a half are payable in England, at the option of the holders of the securities.—How this demand, when it arrives, is to be received and provided for, is a question which I am not able to resolve, and therefore I shall leave it to his lordship to settle it, as well as he can, with the court of directors. The company's situation offers no probability of their being able to meet such a demand, otherwise than by loans in England, or by extending their capital to an equal amount. Now, by an estimate of profit and loss on their sales here, for the year ending in March 1805, I see that their payments exceed their receipts by the sum of 418,540*l.* Here, then, is a deficiency to be made good, upon the amount of domestic charges, and if it be a perpetual deficiency, enlarging their capital, without a proportionate exten-

sion of trade, is only running into a debt which does not furnish the means even of paying its own interest. I have so often objected, in vain, to the form and construction of the account of their stock per computation, that I shall not trouble the house with any farther remarks on that subject. In my mind, they only deceive themselves when they make out an apparent balance in their favour, by totally omitting their capital on one side, and by taking credit on the other for unproductive articles, which, I could easily shew, amount to some millions.—The evidence on the table, though it falls short by two years of the actual state of the company's affairs, is sufficient to shew whether I have been right or wrong in the opinions which I have maintained on this subject, for many years past. The last Indian injustice that can be done me now, would be to confound the prediction with the cause, and to charge me with the event, because I foretold it. On this night, my noble friend has stated the whole case fairly. He has told us the truth, and I have done nothing but tread in his steps, and follow his example.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* rose, and spoke, in substance, as follows:—Before I proceed to consider the financial state of India, which is more properly the subject for discussion this night, I shall advert to the political subjects which have been referred to by other gentlemen.

The honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Francis) has asked, what right Sindeah had to the fortress of Gwalior, and the territory of Gohud, which have been ceded to him by the late treaty concluded by sir George Barlow? The honourable gentleman must recollect that, subsequently to the treaty of peace concluded by Mr. Hastings with Mahdajee Scindeah, (the predecessor of Dowlut Rao Scindeah,) that chieftain attacked the Ranah of Gohud, and deprived him of all his territories. The family of Scindeah had remained in possession of those territories, and of the fortress of Gwalior, from that time, until the war which commenced in 1803; when the fort of Gwalior was taken, and the country of Gohud fell into the possession of one of the detachments under the orders of the commander in chief, lord Lake.

Under the ninth article of the treaty of peace which I was the instrument of concluding with Dowlut Rao Scindeah, at the end of the year 1803, the territory of Gohud, and the fortress of Gwalior, were to remain in the possession, and at the disposal of the British government. This will be obvious to any man who reads that article, or the conferences in the negotiations of the treaty, which are published; and indeed the operation of the ninth article upon this territory, was acknowledged by Scindeah's ministers. The Governor-general, lord Wellesley, however, having adverted to the situation in which Scindeah was placed by the treaty of peace in relation to other powers in India, and particularly in relation to his rival, Holkar, had deemed it proper to take into consideration the expediency of restoring to Scindeah the territory of Gohud and the fort of Gwalior. I was of opinion, that Gohud and Gwalior ought to be restored to that chief; and I believe that the instructions to the Resident with Scindeah upon this subject, have been laid before the House of Commons. The

The reason for which the cession was not made until the conclusion of the late treaty by sir George Barlow, is referable to the sate of Scindeah's councils from the middle of the year 1804, until a late period in 1805.

The cession was a *matter of favour* from the British government to Scindeah, and was to be so considered. The committee will observe, that *it is so considered* by sir George Barlow. But Scindeah's councils were so badly composed, and their conduct was so suspicious, from the period before mentioned, that no concession could be made to Scindeah, without incurring the risk of having it attributed to motives, which never ought to influence the conduct of the British government in India. For this reason the cession was not made by lord Wellesley.

The honourable Gentleman seems to think the fortress of Gwalior important, as a defence of the company's territories in that quarter. The fortress of Gwalior would defend and cover nothing, excepting itself: the company's territories are not to be defended by fortresses, but my armies in the field. Fortresses are useful as points of support, and as magazines to these armies; and in this point of view Gwalior would be useful, if the object of the company was, or was likely to be, the invasion of Scindeah's territories in Malwah. But it is of no use with a view to the defence of the company's territories, unless garrisoned by a large body of troops, which body of troops would be more profitably employed in the field.

Upon the whole, the committee will observe, that I consider Sir George Barlow's treaty with Scindeah to have been consistent with the spirit of that which I was the instrument of concluding at the close of the year 1803; and that the late Governor-general, lord Wellesley, intended to have carried into execution that part of its stipulation which refers to Gwalior and Gohud.

Upon a former night I explained to the house, that I did not consider it to be a treaty of peace, as, in point of fact, *we had never been at war* with Scindeah since 1803. It is a treaty to amend and explain some articles of the former treaty of peace; and I conceive that every article of it deserves approbation.

In respect to the treaty with Holkar, I do not conceive that there can be any objection to it. The honourable gentleman, (Mr. Francis) has asked, whether sir George Barlow was not obliged to conclude that treaty by the financial distresses of the government. Approving, generally, of the treaty, and not knowing the instructions from home, under which sir George Barlow acted, I do not conceive it necessary to look for the cause of his concluding that treaty, in any necessity arising from the state of the finances. The honourable gentleman knows well, that when war has been carried on for three years in India, it is not very easy to procure money on loan; and I certainly do not mean to extenuate the financial difficulties and distresses which existed in the year 1805, as represented by the noble lord, (lord Morpeth) and by the papers on the table. These difficulties certainly existed; but in possession of such a revenue as is enjoyed by the British government in India, at the present moment,

ment, and in command of such large resources, I do not conceive that any temporary embarrassment, or difficulties of a pecuniary nature, could exist to such a degree, as to induce sir George Barlow to conclude a treaty of which he himself did not approve, and of which he should not think that his superiors in England would approve.

I have already said, that I was not disposed to dispute the financial statements made by the noble lord, (Morpeth) as exhibited in the papers upon the table; but it must be recollected, that these statements *refer to a period of most extensive warfare,* which was carried on *in all parts* of India at the same time, and for which the preparations and exertions made were on a scale superior to any ever made upon any former occasion. There was not an officer in command of any detachment, who could prove, to the satisfaction of government, that any addition to the means already in his power would increase his capability of performing service, who did not immediately receive orders to make the increase which he required; and it will be found, that the service performed was proportionate to the expense incurred. With this recollection in our minds, it will not appear that a surplus charge, amounting, upon an average, to about two millions sterling, is very large for such a period, and for such exertions.

The subjects which require explanation in the state of the finances of India, are—the deficiency of the revenues, in comparison with the charges (including the interest of the debts,)—and the great magnitude of the debts. My wish is, to shew, first, the real situation in which the finances of India will be in time of peace; second, the real state of the Indian debt in April 1805, (at the close of lord Wellesley's government,) and in April 1806; and, thirdly, to compare the debt with the assets, and shew in what manner it has been incurred.

It appears by the account, No. 2, presented on the 3d of June, 1806, page 94, that the revenues of India, for the year 1805-6 were

estimated at - -	£14,279,533
The charges at -	14,645,844
The interest of the debt at - -	1,823,040
The commercial charges not added to the invoices, at -	199,806
The supplies to Prince of Wales's island, Bencoolen, and St. Helena -	266,800
Making a total of charge of -	16,935,490
And leaving a deficiency to be provided for by loan, of -	2,655,957

It must be observed, however, of this estimate, *first,* that the revenues are not stated to be so high as they really are; and, *secondly,* that the charges are *for a period of war,* in which it must be acknowledged, that they would be higher than in a period of peace. If this be the fact, it cannot be supposed to be a very unsatisfactory state of affairs, that the charges of a great empire, such as the British empire in India undoubtedly is, should exceed the revenues and resources by two millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling in one year, in a period of *very extensive warfare* This will be

be observed more forcibly, if the financial state of Great Britain, or of any other country in Europe, is adverted to.

But the duration of war ought not to be calculated upon; intelligence of peace has already been received, and the finances in India must be viewed in reference to the state of affairs which must exist in consequence of the restoration of tranquillity.

In endeavouring to form an opinion of the financial state of India, in a period of peace, it is necessary to ascertain what will be the revenues in peace, and what the charges.

In the year 1802-3, the company were in possession of all the territories which they possess at present, excepting the territories acquired by the treaties with the Guickwar, and by the treaties of Bassien, and of peace concluded with the Mahrattas, in December, 1803. The produce of that year will form the fairest datum from which an estimate may be formed of the probable future resources. An average of any number of years cannot be taken; because, in 1801, the provinces in Oude were not in the company's possession; because, in 1803-4, there existed a drought in all parts of India, which affected particularly the produce and revenues of the ceded provinces in Oude, and in some degree those of the provinces ceded by the Nizam on the Toombudra and Kistna rivers, and those in the Carnatic;—and, because in 1804-5, the revenues of the ceded provinces in Oude must have been affected by the incursion of Holkar's armies.

The amount of the revenues in 1802-3 will afford an estimate of what they will be in future in time of peace; although there is reason to believe, that they will *considerably exceed* that amount.

The revenues in India in the year 1802-3, as appears by the accounts before parliament, were -	£13,464,537

To this sum, in forming an estimate of the future probable resource of the government in India, must be added the new subsidies, and the revenues of the territories gained by the company since the year 1802-3, of which I will read an estimate:

ESTIMATE

ESTIMATE of the late ACQUISITIONS in
Taking the REVENUES

REVENUE.	Gross Revenue.	Net Revenue.	In Sonât Rupees.
IN THE DOAB.			
Etawa	13,91,818		
Furruckabad	6,30,084		
Seharunpore	3,42,351		
Ditto under Moradabad	5,99,015		
Ditto under the Resident at Delhi	5,50,273		
	35,13,541		
Deduct Tasseeldary, and other Allowances, Pensions, Mofussil Charges,--and Balances irrecoverable, estimated altogether at 20 per Cent.	7,02,708	28,10,833	
Sumroo Begum's Jagheer		10,00,000	
WEST OF THE JUMNA.			
Agra, exclusive of the Pergunnahs Dholepore, &c. at first reserved to Scindeah, and now ceded to the Company	10,64,255		
Districts settled by the Resident at Delhi	4,25,594		
Syer of Delhi, &c.	1,83,689		
Districts unsettled, suppose	4,25,000		
	20,98,538		
Deduct 20 per Cent. as above	4,19,707		
		16,78,831	
In Hindûstan, Rupees of sorts		54,89,664	52,70,076
CUTTACK	13,51,405		
Deduct 20 per Cent. as above	2,70,281		
Arcot Rupees		10,80,124	10,37,879
BROACH	10,00,000		
Deduct 20 per Cent. as above	2,00,000		
Estimated equal to Sonat Rupees		8,00,000	8,00,000
Total of Revenue of Rupees of sorts		73,70,788	
Ditto in Sonat Rupees			71,07,955
Sicca Rupees			66,81,478
Or, Pounds Sterling			8,35,184

INDIA from CONQUEST and SUBSIDY, at the lowest Scale possible.

SUBSIDIES.		Gross Revenue.	Net Revenue	In Sonat Rupees.
FROM THE GUICKWAR.				
Free Gift.			2,00,300	
Subsidy.		60,000	6,97,275	
Syer Revenue in the Attaveesy.		66,000	1,26,009	
———in Guzerat.				10,23,275
FROM THE PEISHWAH.				
Bundlecund Gross Revenue.		15,72,974		
Deduct 20 per cent. as above.	3,14,595			
Stipend to Shumsheer Bahadur.	4,00,000	7,14,595		
In Rupees of sorts.		8,58,379		
In Sonant Rupees.			8,24,047	
Subsidy in the Attaveesy.		6,50,300		
Ditto in Guzerat.		1,72,300		
Syer Revenue in the Attaveesy.		1,10,000		
Ditto Guzerat.		8,000		
In Rupees supposed equal to Sonats.			9,40,000	17,64,047
ADDITIONAL SUBSIDY.				
From the Rajah of Travencore.				3,48,000
Total Subsidies Sonat Rupees.				31,35,322
Or Sicca Rupees.				29,47,203
Or, Pounds Sterling.				368,400
Total Revenue, Pounds Sterling.				1,203,584

ABSTRACT.

ACQUISITIONS.	Sonat Rupees.	Sicca Rupees.	Pounds Sterling.	Total. £. Sterling
In Revenue.	71,07,955	66,81,478	835,184	1,203,584
In Subsidies.	31,35,322	92,4,7293	368,400	

This

This will make the future revenue of British India amount to 14,668,119*l*.

In the commencement of the year 1802-3, a revision was made of all the establishments under the governments of India, with reference to a state of peace.

It does not appear, however, that the establishments of European troops in particular, were reduced to a lower scale than that on which they ought to be left at all times, and on which they exist at present. Neither does it appear to be necessary to increase the number of European troops, beyond the number which were in India in the year 1802-3, in consequence of the additional territory acquired since that year.

The native military establishments were fixed upon a scale, in the year 1802-3, calculated for the existence of peace in India; and the continuance of the war in Europe, under the circumstance in which the enemy stands in respect to his marine, does not appear to render necessary any addition to these establishments.

The actual charges of the year 1802-3, were higher than the amount at which they were estimated and fixed, with a view to peace. In October, 1802, Holkar gained the victory at Poonah over the troops of the Peishwah, and Scindeah, in consequence of which the government of Fort St. George immediately thought it necessary to assemble the troops, acting under that presidency, which afterwards marched to Poonah early in 1803. The army, at Bombay, was likewise placed on the war establishment; part of it in the field; and both armies were considerably augmented.

My noble friend (lord Castlereagh) has calculated the extraordinary expenses, in the last six months of 1802-3, at 500,000*l*. above the charges of the peace establishment; and in forming an estimate of the future charges of India, in a period of peace, upon the actual charges of the year 1802-3, it is proper to strike off 500,000*l*. of that amount. With this sum substracted from them, the actual charges of the year 1802-3, together with those rendered necessary on account of the treaties of peace and subsidy, and by the acquisitions gained since that period, may be deemed fair data, on which an estimate may be formed of the probable future charges of British India in time of peace.

The actual civil charges in 1802-3 were - - -	£4,599,372
The actual military charges were - -	6,360,614
From which subtract - - -	500,000
Remains - - -	5,860,614
Supplies for Bencoolen, &c. - -	* 196,848
Making a total of charge in 1802-3 -	£10,656,834

To this must be added the additional civil charges to be incurred in consequence of the late acquisitions, of which I shall also read an estimate.

* These charges are greater by 19,662*l*. than those stated by lord Castlereagh, in his speech of the 19th of July, 1804.

ESTIMATE of the Annual Increased Civil and Military Charges incurred in India since the Year 1802-3.

PENSIONS AND JAGHEERS.

	Rups. of Sorts	Sonant Rups.
Scindeah and his Family	7,00,000	
Royal Family at Delhi, including the expense of irregular corps	17,00,000	
Begum Sumroo	10,00,000	
Total in Rupees of Sorts	34,00,000	*or* 32,64,000

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS.

Salary and establishments of seven judges and magistrates	3,92,000	
Ditto of six collectors	2,23,200	
Residency at Delhi	1,44,000	
Civil charges, at Bombay	40,800	
		8,00,000
Total of civil charges, &c. in St. Rs	40,64,000	
Ditto in Sicca Rupees	38,20,160	
Total of Ditto in Pounds Sterling	477,520	

MILITARY CHARGES.

In Bengal.

Two regiments of Native Cavalry, at 20,000 Rupees per month	40,000	
Seven Ditto of Native Infantry, at 30,000 each per month	210,000	
Horse artillery	2,000	
Extra cattle to the Increase	10,000	
Off-reckonings	17,000	
Wear and tear of two regiments of cavalry	5,000	
Military stores, contingencies, buildings, &c. not fixed in the amount	25,000	
Per month	3,09,000	
Per ann		37,08,000
Add Military Charges in 1802-3		1,81,91,821
		218,99,821
Estimate of 1806-7		2,25,00,000
Excess		6,00,179

	Rups. of Sorts.	Sont. Rups.
Fort St. George.		
One regiment of native cavalry, including off-reckonings	22,100	
Four regiments of native infantry, at 29,000 each	116,000	
Off reckonings	6,400	
Military stores, and other charges	15,000	
Wear and tear of horses for one regt.	2,500	
Per month	1,62,000	
Per ann.		19,44,000
Bombay.		
One regiment of infantry	29,000	
Off reckonings, &c.	1,600	
Per month	30,600	
Per ann.		3,67,200
Total increase of the military charges, in Sonant rupees		60,19,200
Ditto, in Sicca rupees		56,40,000
Ditto, in pounds sterling		l.705,000

ABSTRACT.

	Sonant Rupees.	Sicca Rupees.	Pounds Sterling.	Total £. Sterling.
Civil charges, pensions, &c.	40,64,000	38,20,160	477,520	1,182,520
Military ditto	60,19,200	56,40,000	705,000	

The

The increase of the military establishment, required in India, and which I have now estimated beyond those of 1802-3, are *two* regiments of native cavalry, and *seven* regiments of native infantry, in Bengal; *one* regiment of native cavalry, and *four* regiments of native infantry on the establishment of Fort St. George; and *one* regiment of native infantry on the establishment of Bombay.

In the general distribution of the armies in India, which was made subsequently to the treaties of peace, concluded at the end of the year 1803, it was settled, that the army of Bengal should supply the troops required for the subsidiary force to serve with Scindeah, (being *six* battalions) and the subsidiary force to serve with the Ranah of Gohud, (being *three* battalions) as well as troops for the company's territories under the presidency of Bengal, including the acquisitions in Bundlecund, those made from Scindeah in the Doab and in Hindûstan, and the province of Cuttack.

By the same distribution, the government of Fort St. George was to supply, as it had formerly done, the troops to serve with the Nizam; and all those required for the southern parts of the Peninsula, including the garrisons and provinces on the coast of Malabar, (with the exception of Goa) and *one* regiment of cavalry for the Peishwah;—and the government of Bombay was to supply *six* battalions for the subsidiary force to serve with the Peishwah, *three* battalions to serve with Guickwar, a garrison for Bombay, a garrison for Goa, and troops to occupy the territories ceded by the Peishwah and the Guickwar in Guzerat, and in the neighbourhood of Surat.

The establishments in the year 1802-3 having been formed on the lowest scale, compatible with tranquillity and security, and with a view to external peace, it stands to reason, that they could not supply the additional troops required from them, without some additions. The establishment of Bengal required *an addition* of *six* battalions to serve with Scindeah, and *three* to serve with the Ranah of Gohud. The smallest number that could be required for the protection to be given to the cities of Delhi and Agra, to the persons of the king, and to the territories in the Doab, in Hindustan, and in Cuttack, is *two* regiments of native cavalry, and *five* battalions of native infantry; which numbers complete the augmentation (viz *fourteen* battalions) made to the Bengal army since 1802-3.

By the late arrangements made in India with Scindeah, it appears that the subsidiary troops for that chieftain, and for the Ranah of Gohud, will not be required for those services; and if it had *been intended to make a more favourable statement of the finances* in India, than their situation warrants, it would have been possible to strike off from the estimate of increased military charges, (amounting, as I have already shewn, to upwards of 60 lacks of Rupees,) the expense of *four* regiments of native infantry, at least: but it is apprehended, that the service of a portion of these troops will be required in Bundlecund for some time; and, at all events, that the number of *two* regiments of native cavalry, and *five* battalions of native infantry, is scarcely sufficient to perform the additional services which will be required from the Bengal army, in consequence

sequence of the additions made to the territories under the Bengal government, by the treaties of peace concluded at the end of the year 1803.

In consequence of the distribution made in the year 1804, the duties of the provinces, on the coast of Malabar, which, in 1802-3, had been performed by the army of Bombay, fell to the lot of the army of Fort St. George. These duties had always required *eight* battalions; and when, in consequence of the distribution which I have already noticed, it had become necessary to remove the Bombay troops from those provinces to the Northward, an augmentation of the army of Fort St. George, to the amount of *four* regiments, became necessary. The regiment of cavalry to be supplied to the Peishwah, also required that a regiment should be added to the establishment of Fort St. George.

The duties which fell upon the Bombay army by the distribution of 1804, required for the subsidiary force with the Peishwah *six* battalions, for the subsidiary force with the Guickwar *three* battalions, and garrisons for Bombay, Goa, Broach, Surat, and troops to occupy the territories of Guzerat and in the neighbourhood of Surat, ceded by the Peishwash, and the Guickwar, and conquered from Scindeah; the detailed number for each of which services, it is not necessary to mention.

It will be observed from this statement, that the additional services required from the armies of Fort St. George and Bombay, in the year 1804, and at the present moment, beyond those required in the year 1802-3, exclusive of the garrison for Goa, are *one* regiment of cavalry, and six battalions for the Peishwah, *three* battalions for the Guickwar, and troops for the conquered and ceded territories in Guzerat. Accordingly, the addition made to the military establishments, the expenses of which are included in the estimate of 60 lacks, are *one* regiment of cavalry, and *four* regiments of native infantry, for Fort St. George, and *one* regiment for Bombay; making in the whole *ten* battalions.

No reductions of these establishments can, in my judgment, be made with safety.

The total of charges, therefore, for a future peace establishment, including the charge of 1802-3, and adding the civil and military charges occasioned by treaties of subsidy, and by the consequences of the Mahratta war, will stand thus:

Charges of 1802-3 -	£10,656,834
Additional civil charges, rendered necessary by treaties of subsidy, peace, &c. - - - -	477,520
Additional military charges - - - -	705,000
Total future charges -	11,839,354
The revenues, as before stated, will be - - -	14,668,119
Leaving a surplus revenue of -	£2,828,765

From this sum must be deducted the interest of the debt, as stated in the account, No. 2, page 93, 1,823,040, to which sum must be added the interest on the sum to be borrowed to supply the deficiency in the year 1805-6, viz. 2,655,957*l.* being, at 10 per cent. 256,595*l.* making the total interest of

of the debt, in 1806, 2,088,635*l.* and the actual surplus, after providing for every demand, will be 740,130*l.* In calculating this surplus, no credit is taken for any augmentation of revenue beyond 1802-3; although it is certain that some branches, such as salt and opium, must be, and have been already augmented; the revenues of the provinces gained by the peace, will also produce more than they have been estimated at.

The actual debt in India, in April, 1805, was, according to the account No. 1, page 90, 28,197,498*l* including arrears of establishments, debts not bearing interest, and demands upon the company of every description.

To this debt must be added the deficiency of resource, as stated in page 93, for the year 1805-6, being 2,655,957*l.* and the total gross debt, on the 30th of April, 1806, will be 30,873,455*l.* From this sum ought to be substracted 3,151,064*l.* (being the amount in possession of the commissioners for the redemption of the debt, on the 30th of April, 1805) and the balance will give 27,722,391*l.* for the *net debt* of India, on the 30th April, 1806; of which sum, the amount, bearing interest, appears to be 24,250,824*l.*

When this debt, however large, is compared with the assets in India, and with the value of the forts, houses, warehouses, &c. in India, (valued in No. 23, page 78, at 9,994,208*l.* all necessary for carrying on government, which have cost money, and would cost money to the company's successors, whoever they might be, supposing the transfer of territory ever to take place) and when to these sums are added the amount of the company's claims upon government for money expended in India, on account of the public, it may fairly be stated, that the *actual value* of the property of the East India company in India, *exceeds* the amount of their debts.

I am aware of an error in this statement, as in this view of the debts and assets, the amount in the possession of the commissioners of the sinking fund ought to be substracted from the amount of the quick stock, on the 30th of April, 1804. But there is an error also in the assets. The quick stock is estimated only to April, 1804, and is stated in page 72, to amount to 17,252,399*l.* But in the calculation of these assets, there is an omission of 12,48,600 pagodas in the cash at Fort St. George. It appears by the paper, No. 19, page 63, that the balance remaining in the different departments at Fort St. George, on the 30th of April, 1804, was 57,19,605 pagodas; whereas credit is given in the account of the assets to the same period, for only 44,71,005 pagodas. The difference between these sums ought to be credited to the assets in April, 1804, viz. 12,48,600, or 500,000*l.**

The additional sum in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund, on the 30th April, 1805, ought likewise to be added to the assets calculated to that period. The sum stated in page 48 to be in the hands of the commissioners for the reduction of the debt on April, 30,

* There is also a small sum of money omitted in the cash at Bombay; but this is not taken into the account.

30, 1804, is - Ct. Rs.	2,80,00,563
On April 30, 1805, it is - - Ct. Rs.	3,15,10,648
Difference to be added to the assets calculated up to April, 1805 - -	35,10,085

In estimating the assets to April, 1806, it is proper to add to them the sum which will be in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund in April, 1806, viz.

Interest upon the sum of 3,15,10648 current rupees, for one year, from April, 1805, to April, 1806, at eight per cent. is about -	25,00,000

To the assets then, as they stood in April, 1804, viz. - -	*l.* 17,252,399
Must be added the sum at Madras, omitted - - -	500,000
The additional sum stated to be in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund, in April, 1805 - -	351,008
The interest upon 31,510,648 rupees, or *l.* 3,151,064, for one year to April, 1806 - - -	250,000
And the total of the assets in April, 1806, will be - -	*l.* 18,353,407

This view of the debt and assets of different descriptions, however, is taken only as a general one, and not by any means to be relied upon. Measures undoubtedly ought to be taken to reduce the amount of the debt; but if, from circumstances, those means should be impracticable, this general statement will serve to shew, that in case of the transfer of territory, upon the conclusion of the charter, there is value in India to the amount of the debt.

But it may be contended, that this statement is no justification of the amount of the debt, which, from 1793, when it was 7,362,190*l.* has increased to be, in April, 1806, 27,722,391*l.* of which sum 16,699,745*l.* have been incurred since 1798, under the administration of the late Governor General, Marquis Wellesley.

In order to understand the mode in which this debt has been incurred, it is necessary to advert to the state of the company's affairs in the year 1798.

The revenues at that time were - -	*l.* 8,059,880
The charges, including the supplies to Bencoolen, &c. - -	765,654
The interest of the debt was - - - -	*l.* 603,926
Leaving a deficiency of resource or a surplus net charge, of - - - - - -	194,700
The debt in 1798 was - - - -	11,039,645
The assets in India were - - - - -	9,922,903

This state of the resources in India had been occasioned by a laudable desire to increase the investment as much as was possible, which will be seen by a review of what had passed between the years 1793 and 1798.

In April, 1793, the revenues of India were - - - - -	*l.* 8,294,399
The charges, including Bencoolen, &c.	

were

were - - - -	6,155,968
The interest of the debt was - - -	526,205
The debt was - -	7,362,190
The assets were - -	8,834,538
The surplus revenue, after providing for all charges, exclusive of receipts for sales, &c. was -	1,612,226

In the course of the five years between 1793 and 1798, the following events occurred to increase the charges in India: there was war in Europe; an expedition was fitted out against Mauritius; and another against Manilla; Pondicherry and Cochin were taken; and maritime expeditions were sent against Ceylon, Malacca, and the eastern islands.

It was necessary to keep up large establishments in the conquests made; and salaries were paid to the civil and military servants of our enemies who became our prisoners.

During the same period of time, the company's military establishments in India were new-modelled, and this occasioned an increase of expense. The civil and judicial establishments in Bengal were fixed on the just scale on which they exist at this day; which at that time occasioned an increase of annual expense to a very considerable amount. Accordingly, it appears, that the actual charges of the civil and military establishments in 1798, exceeded the actual charges of the civil and military establishment in the year 1793, in the amount of 1,372,209*l.* and the supplies to Bencoolen, &c. of 1798, exceeded those of 1793 in the amount of 102,477*l.* But the efficient cause of the state in which the finances were found, in the year 1798, was the continuance to send home investment at the high rate at which it had been fixed in the year 1793, notwithstanding that the charges of India had necessarily increased, and the revenues had decreased to the amount of 234,519*l.*

By reference to the accounts, it will be found, that in the five years between 1793 and 1798, the cost and charges of investments sent home to Europe were 9,892,794*l.*

Supplies to China -	339,444
Amount advanced in India to the king's and company's ships during the same period, was - -	551,952
Making a total disbursed on account of London, of -	*l.* 10,784,190
The amount of supplies received from Europe, in the same period, for bills drawn, stores, merchandize, export sales, and bullion, was - - -	*l.* 3,744,425
Leaving a balance of *against* London.	7,039,765

It appears, by what is above stated, that the charges in India, between 1793 and 1798, had increased considerably; but there was upon the five years a surplus of receipt of revenue beyond the charges, amounting to 4,181,559*l.* which being deducted from the balance before stated, *against* London, leaves the sum of *l.* 2,858,206, which must have been borrowed in India at high interest, for the purchase of investment.

It will be found, that the debt incurred in the five years, from 1793 to 1798, was 3,665,455*l.*

The increase of the assets in those five years was - -	1,088,365

Those

Those in 1793 being	8,834,538
Those in 1798 being	9,922,903
And the actual increase of the debt in comparison with the assets, was -	*l.* 2,557,090

In a minute, which lord Wellesley recorded in June, 1798, he reviewed the state of the finances in India, and pointed out the real cause of the increase of debt, in the following words:

"From that paper it appears, that, allowing for a supply in the course of the year 1798-9 to Fort St. George, of 75,00,000 Sicca rupees, or 937,500*l.* and to Bombay of 25,00,000, or 312,500*l.* the deficiency for which provision must be made, in order to meet the expected demands at the three presidencies respectively, will be in - - - Bengal,.. 1,28,68,360
Madras,.. 43,45,351
Bombay,.. 41,67,611
The total deficiency therefore at the presidencies together, will amount to Sicca rupees 2,13,81,321, or 2,672,655*l.*

"The immediate causes of the estimated deficiency, will appear obvious from the annexed accounts.

"By account (No. 2) the sums appropriated in India to the purposes of investments and commercial charges, in the years 1796-7 and 1797-8, amounted to 4,96,15,165 current rupees; having been, in
1796-7, - - - 2,30,70,125
and in 1797-8 - 2,65,45,040
and exceeding the amount of bills drawn upon the court of directors from India, within the same period, by the sum of 3,83,39,263 current rupees; the bills drawn on the court of directors having been,
in 1796-7 - - - 79,88,699
and in 1797-8 - - 32,87,203

And by account (No. 3) it appears, that the proposed investment, for 1798, from all our India possessions, including the supply promised to Canton, amounts to 2,40,88,000 current rupees.

"But the accounts Nos. 4, 5, and 6, shew, that the total sum applicable to the purchase of investment from the revenues in India, and produce of sales of imports, from Europe, was, in 1796-7, 81,43,858
in 1797-8 - - - 96,44,550
and is estimated to be,
in 1798-9, - - 78,20,133

"This annual demand for the purpose of investment, upon a scale *so far exceeding the annual means of* the three presidencies, is the *principal cause* of the present deficiency.

"The comparative view which I have taken of our expenses and receipts, in examining the causes of our actual distress, sufficiently proves, that many of those causes are of an absolute permanent nature, and that most of them must be expected to continue for a considerable time; that the investment, at once the most powerful cause of our temporary distress, the main spring of the industry and opulence of the people committed to our charge, and the active principle of the commercial interests of the Company, is more likely to be increased than to be diminished in any future year; and, consequently, that the embarrassments of our finances *must be progressive*, if some means be not devised for aiding the resources of this presidency, which must now be considered as the general treasury and bank of our Indian empire, furnishing supplies for the services of all our other possessions in India, as well as a large and increasing proportion of the

the capital, employed in the trade to Europe and to China.

"The mode of supplying this assistance, which I would recommend, has already been suggested by the accountant-general, and seems to unite several advantages with relation to the interests both of India and Great Britain: it is comprised in the following propositions:

"That it be respectfully recommended to the honorable the court of directors, to take the earliest occasion of sending out supplies to India to the amount of eighty-five lacs of rupees, or 1,062,500*l.* in addition to their usual consignments, by an increase of their annual export of British manufactures and produce, to Bengal and Bombay, to the full extent of the indents from Bengal and Bombay respectively; and by an annual supply of silver bullion to Bengal, to the amount of *fifty* lacs, or 625,000*l.* The supply of bullion to be provided in part, by a proportionate reduction in their usual consignment to China.

"The increase of the export of British manufacture and produce to Bengal and Bombay, will, probably, afford considerable relief to the finances of this government; as, by reference to the account of sales of imports from England, it appears, that the average profit upon the imports from England, sold in Bengal in 1796-7, has been above twenty per cent. and at Bombay thirty-five per cent. and that the demand is increasing. This measure would, at the same time, obviously become highly beneficial to the interests of Great Britain.

"The export of silver to Bengal would be more advantageous to the company than the payment of bills, at the present high rate of exchange; a rate which will probably continue for a considerable period of time. Such a stock of silver would be a relief both to public and private credit, and would invigorate all the financial operations of this government. From this resource supplies might easily be furnished to Canton, through the medium of the trade in opium.

"If the sale of British manufactures in Bengal, and at Bombay, should equal the general expectation, an additional supply of near a crore of rupees (1,250,000*l.*) would accrue to this presidency from the combined result of the two proposed measures. This supply would be nearly equal to the probable amount of the permanent deficiency of our resources.

"Nothing would be more just than to appropriate a proportion of the profits arising from the sale amount of the investment in Europe to the augmentation of the funds necessary for the purchase of investment in India. *Unless some such plan be adopted,* or *some other means devised of furnishing aid* to the resources of Bengal from England, it is evident, that a reduction in the amount of the Indian investment will soon become inevitable; for it cannot be denied, that a very large proportion of the capital, which has passed into Europe, through the medium of Indian commerce, for these last two years, and is about to pass in the present year, has been, and must be created by *loans* of money *raised in* India, *under every circumstance of disadvantage.* The *increase* of the investment, therefore, during the period described, must be viewed as representing, *not the surplus revenue, but the increased debt,* of

of India. The circulating capital of India, which is known to be very inconsiderable, in proportion to the productive and commercial powers of the country, cannot supply so large a drain for any long period of time, even in the event of peace; but if the war in Europe *should continue, the difficulty of raising money* for the public service, *by loans to be negotiated in India,* must become nearly insurmountable."

At *that early period of time,* the governor-general earnestly urged the company to provide for the provision of investment, by increasing the amount of the supplies sent from Europe.

They were still continued, however, upon a scale much too low for the amount of the investment, notwithstanding the efforts which were undoubtedly made by the noble lord who, at that time, presided at the board of control, and by my noble friend, (lord Castlereagh) and by the court of directors, to send out larger sums.

By a reference to the papers before the house of commons, it will be found, that the total amount of the sums laid out in investment, from April, 1798, to April, 1804,

was - - -	*l.* 9,619,348
Supplies to China -	1,761,263
Of advances to the king's and to the company's chartered ships in the same period - - -	448,931
Making a total advanced in India, up to 1804 - -	11,829,542

In making up the account of the sums advanced in India, on account of the home concern, the following must be added;

Advances for Ceylon -	1,182,472
Making a total advanced for the home concern, up to April, 1804 -	*l.* 13,012,014

The total actual amount of the supplies received in India by the sale of goods, in bullion and stores, and for bills drawn on the directors, in the same period, appears to be, - - - - - 9,864,086
The balance is - - 3,147,725
for which London is *indebted* to India.

It may be said, that the company had a right to expect aid from the territorial resources of India; that the revenues have increased since April, 1798; and that the financial distresses which existed at that period were very soon removed.

The events which have occurred since April, 1798, must be recollected. The first of these, in point of time, was the war against Tippoo Sultaun; at the same time that a large army was put into the field on the frontiers of Oude, to oppose Zemaun Shah. The army of Fort St. George did not return to its quarters till the month of December, 1799; and in the month of May, 1800, the army of Fort St. George was assembled again, and put down the rebellion of Doondeah Waug. Before this service was completed, an expedition was fitted out against Egypt; and, in a very few months after the troops had returned from Egypt, the armies of Fort St. George and Bombay were assembled and increased, in consequence of the disturbances in the Mahratta empire.

Besides all this, the pay of the King's and Company's troops, serving under Fort St. George, was increased; and the civil and judicial establishments, under that government,

vernment, were placed on a more just scale than they had been before.

During these great and extensive military operations, a variety of others were necessarily carried on in different parts of the Peninsula, each of which had a tendency to increase the military charges.

According to this statement, it appears, that a *very considerable proportion of the debt* in India had been incurred at different times by the *purchase of investment*. If the account between the revenues of India and the Company had been kept in the form of a merchant's account, or in the manner in which the East India Company keep their account against the public, the interest upon each sum borrowed for the commerce of the Company, would have been carried to account against them from the moment at which such sum was borrowed.

In this view of the case, the interest at 10 per cent. upon 2,858,206*l.* being the amount laid out in India *beyond* supplies from England, and surplus revenue previous to 1798,

would be annually....	£285,820
And for eight years to 1806,..........	2,126,560
The interest upon the sums borrowed since 1798, each for their respective number of years to 1806, ...	633,005
Making a total of....	£2,759,555

It is evident that all these sums have been charges upon the revenues, and of course have contributed *to swell the amount of the existing debt.*

There is also in the amount of the debts incurred during Lord Wellesley's government, as before stated, a sum of 1,200,000*l.* on the revenues of the Carnatic, with interest; which debt was incurred in a former period, *previously* to Lord Wellesley's arrival. The mode in which this debt was incurred is as follows: — The registered Creditors, under the act of 1784, had a right to certain portions of the annual payments made to the Company by the Nabob, under the treaty concluded with that prince by Sir Archibald Campbell.

In the year 1791, Lord Cornwallis assumed the Nabob's countries, and applied all the revenues to defray the civil and military charges of the Company. The Creditors applied for payment to the Company, and the decision was not passed upon the subject, till after the year 1798, when the principal which had been due in 1791, with interest calculated to that period, which was added to the Company's bonded debt of Fort St. George.

There is another view, which may be taken of the debt of 27,722,391*l.* which is supposed to be due in India, on the 30th April, 1806; 16,669,745*l.* of which have been incurred since the 30th of April, 1798.

	£
The assets in India, in April, 1798, were ..	9,922,903
In April, 1806, supposing them the same as in April, 1804, they were	17,252,392
Increase of assets in that period is	7,229,493
Subtract the increase of assets from the amount of the increased debt since 1798, and the remainder will be	9,440,252
which is the *net increase of debt*	

Set

Set off against the net increase of debt the sum of .... £3,147,725 being the sum applied to investment, to supplies to China, and to his Majesty's, and to the company's chartered ships, *beyond* the amount of the exports and supplies from Europe, and the result will be, that *the debt incurred in India,* on account of civil and military establishments, *and services of all descriptions,* including the Egyptian expedition, is 6,292,527*l.** in *eight* years, from April, 1798, to April, 1806.

This view is liable to the same exception as the former, on account of the errors in the accounts of the assets; but the error is not of very great magnitude. In this account of debt, supposed to have been incurred on account of political expenses, is included the amount of supplies to Bencoolen and St. Helena, which, in the six years from 1798 to 1804 only, amount to 1,096,736*l.*

Upon a review of the accounts which have been laid before parliament, at different times, it appears, that large sums have been expended in India, for services chargeable to His Majesty's government; the Egyptian expedition was carried on at the expense of the Company; and expenses have been incurred in India on account of expeditions against the Danish settlements, and of their capture; for all of which expenses, the Company have a claim upon the public.

But as these expenses have been *incurred* in India, and *have been a charge upon* its revenues, the amount allowed for them, and paid, or to be paid to the company, ought fairly to be *set off against the amount* of the debt, as well as the sums advanced to his Majesty's ships, and for the Government of Ceylon already noticed.

There are other sums also which *now constitute a part of the debt* in India, the *value of which* the Company have received in England.

The total charge of the Molucca Islands, during the time they were in the possession of the British Government, ought to be carried *against* the home concern in the analysis of the debt in India; as nearly the whole of the produce of the Moluccas was sent home, and sold for the benefit of the East India Company.

After this view of the debt, it is to be hoped that its amount, considering all the circumstances which have contributed to raise it, will not prove, that the company's affairs have been managed in an improvident manner: and that the public will see, in the general situation of the company's finances, ample means of reducing this debt to any amount that may be deemed advisable.

If the mode proposed of drawing a proportion of the debt to England be adopted, and the saving of

		£ Sterling.
* Increase of Debt as above, for services in India,..................		6,292,527
Deduct Egyptian Expedition,................................	902,861	
Carnatic debt, with interest, as stated in Lord Castlereagh's printed Budget,..............................	1,800,000	
		2,702,861
Remains for the *net debt* incurred on account of Indian Expenses, during *eight years*,..................................		3,589,666

of interest, which will be the result of this operation, be added to the annual interest calculated to amount to 250,000*l.* upon the principal now in the hands of the commissioners for the redemption of the debt, this revenue alone will make an impression upon the debt, which must soon reduce it to the level to which every body wishes to see it reduced.

Notwithstanding the large amount of the debt, and the embarrassments occasioned in India, at different times, by the great demands for the various services which were in progress, the company's credit was improving from the moment of lord Wellesley's arrival in India, to the moment of his departure.

On the first of June, 1798, the 12 per cent. paper in Bengal bore a *discount* of $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.; on the 29th of July, 1805, the 12 per cents. *were all paid off*, and the 10 per cent. paper bore a *premium* of 4 per cent. In June, 1798, the 8 per cent. paper was at a *discount* of from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in the beginning of 1805, the 8 per cent. *were at par*, and would have continued so, if it had been possible to send out specie from England at an early period in the season. In July, 1805, they were at a *discount* of from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; in June, 1798, the 6 per cent. paper was at 21 per cent. discount; in 1805, the 6 per cents. bore a discount of only $8\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

This improving state of the credit is to be attributed to the public confidence gained by the regularity and *publicity* of all the financial operations of the government, by the measure of establishing funds at Fort St.George, and in Bengal, for the redemption of debt; and by the judicious measures adopted for the improvement of the revenue.

The amount in possession of the commissioners for the redemption of the debt, on the 30th of April, 1805, as appears in page 90 of the printed accounts, is 3,151,064*l.* which sum, at eight per cent. interest, will give nearly 250,000*l.* per annum for the reduction of the debt.

The improvements effected in the revenue during lord Wellesley's government also deserve notice. Exclusive of the increase of revenue, by territorial acquisitions, and by subsidies, it appears, that every branch of the revenue of 1798, under the Bengal government, which, in the five preceding years had *decreased* to the amount of 234,519*l.* was *improved*, under lord Wellesley's government, as follows:

	1798	1803-4	Increase.
	S. Rupees.	*S. Rupees.*	*S. Rup.*
Mint duties....................	64540	68042	3502
Post Office....................	140398	248127	147729
Stamp duties....................	92416	547137	454721
Licenses for sale of spirituous liquors	47531	138209	90678
Fees and fines..................	6606	96049	89443
Provincial Police...............	427928	456217	29289
Land revenue....................	29825983	31805421	1979438
Salt............................	10302783	15374223	5071440

Opium

Opium..........	2084184	3989200	1905016
Customs....	1251469	3228365	2023396

Increase of the old Revenues of Bengal during Lord Wellesley's government..........	Sicca Rupees 10794652 Pound Sterl. 1,349,331

The *total increase of revenues* during lord Wellesley's administration, in different parts of India, is - - -	£ 6,608,239
The revenues having been, in 1798, -	8,059,880
And those estimated by me for the future - - -	£14,668,119

The general commerce of the country is improved equally with the revenue. It appears, by the public documents before the House of Commons, that the commerce of India is now able to supply the China market so effectually, as nearly to preclude the necessity of sending bullion to China; and large sums in specie are now imported into India from that country.

After the view which I have taken of the general situation of the affairs of the East-India company in India, I hope that it will be found, that their debt, although large, and certainly pressing in a very great degree upon their prosperity, and upon the attention of those who have the management of their affairs, is not of a magnitude to create any danger; that it appears, that there are means of reducing it, at no very great distance of time, to a moderate amount, and that, under the auspices of the noble lord, (Morpeth) by a just attention to the system of economy which he has recommended, and by reverting to the system and scale of establishments fixed in 1802-3, with such augmentations as the change of affairs has rendered necessary, and as I have already described, the revenues of that great empire will be found to afford ample means of restoring the finances.

Mr. *Witshed Keene* said, he greatly preferred the situation of India at present, to what it was in 1798, and had such confidence in the benefit that would result from the territorial acquisitions made by Marquis Wellesley, inasmuch as they had left no footing for Buonaparte, that he would invest all his property, had he ten times what he possessed, in India stock.

After some observations from Mr. Grant and Mr. Princep, the Chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Tuesday next.

July 11.

[DEBTS OF THE NABOBS OF ARCOT.] Mr. *Hobhouse* moved the order of the day for the third reading of the Nabobs of Arcot's bill.

Mr. *Ryder* rose to move, by way of amendment, that the words "appointing the commissioners to report to the house the grounds of their decision on every claim that was brought before them," be erased. He contended, that this clause made the house a court of appeal, and would prevent the decisions of the commissioners from being final. Besides, they might, sometimes, find themselves

selves obliged to decide in opposition to the evidence that was laid before them; and when this evidence was submitted to the house, it would not furnish them with the grounds of the commissioner's decision. He conceived the commissioners to be the ultimate resort in this case, since they were a sort of arbitrators between the East-India company and the creditors of the nabobs.

Lord *H. Petty* stated the origin of the clause now objected to; which had been proposed as an addition to another, which he had introduced, for the purpose of obobliging commissioners to report their decisions to the house from time to time. However, he saw no material objection to the amendnow proposed; but he should wish to hear the opinions of his legal friends on the subject.

Mr. *Windham* supported the clause as it now stood; and observed, that it did not bind the house to investigate the grounds on which the commissioners decided in any instance; but merely went to enable parliament to review their proceedings whenever it might judge proper.

Mr. *Perceval* considered the motion to be liable to many objections. The commissioners stood exactly in the light of arbitrators between the creditors and the East-India company, under a decree of parliament. That house might disagree with the judgment of the commissioners, whether the motives for their decision should be right or wrong. The claims for such a sum as five or six millions must be very numerous; and it would be extremely inconvenient for that house to examine the whole of the evidence in all the cases. It might, indeed, be right for them to make such a report as would shew, that they did not sleep upon their duty; but, by calling for the grounds of their decisions, he was afraid the house would make itself a party to them.

Mr. *Francis* said, that a bill which was to dispose of 5,600,000*l.* so far from being a private one, was of the greatest public interest. For himself, he would take no part in it at all; as he did not think the parliament should be a party to any such agreements.—He would oppose it *in toto*; and would not consent that the House of Commons should give its sanction to claims of which a highly respectable gentleman, late chairman of the court of directors, (Mr. Grant) had declared, in his seat, three-fourths to be false demands; and that it would be extraordinary, if even the other fourth should be established.

The *Attorney-General* said, the clause alluded to did not proceed from any distrust of the commissioners; but was thought to be one which must be desirable even to themselves. Though the parties were the creditors, and the East-India company the debtors; yet it was a public measure; for, if it was of a private nature, why come to parliament at all? He thought, also, that the different debts might be classed, and the grounds of the decision laid before the house, without repeating the whole of the evidence.

Mr. *Rose* thought, that if the commissioners were, as he believed them to be, fit and competent persons to enquire, the decision must be safer in their hands, than in those of that assembly. He disapproved of the whole of the clause, as the house could possibly examine, itself,

itself, and decide upon all of the cases; and should not, therefore, give its sanction to the validity of any of the debts.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that every word he had heard, convinced him that this was an unfit commission. It was, in reality, the public money by which the debts were to be liquidated; for how was the public to be paid by the East-India company, if their revenues were swallowed up by the payment of these debts? Who were the fit persons for deciding on these debts? Were they not commissioners so constituted as that their decision should be final? Was it not monstrous, that commissioners should be appointed, whose decisions should be subject to appeal? This house was the most unfit place for reviewing them; and why not, at once, appoint parliamentary commissioners, whose decisions should be final? What was known already, with regard to India debts, in 1784, justified him in making a supposition, that some collusion might take place between the creditors and the company, by which the public might be defrauded.

Lord *Castlereagh* was, also, for leaving the whole in the hands of the commissioners. The house should not give any additional validity to the claims, nor make itself a court of appeal. If it did, the consequence would be, to have the table of the house covered with a mass of useless papers.

Mr. *Sheridan* again observed, that if the house directed the commissioners to report the grounds on which they decided, it must be either for the purpose of revising them, or to gratify an idle curiosity.

Mr. *Grant* said, there could be no uncertainty in the business of the commissioners; who were all men of high character and honour, and were bound to decide upon oath. This agreement was not of a novel nature, as it was conformable to the practice observed in the whole of the East-India government. — After a few more observations, Mr. Ryder consented to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. *Johnstone* moved, as an amendment, that none of commissioners, hereafter to be appointed for investigating these claims, should be members of that house; but, that this exemption should not extend to those who had been already appointed, which, after some observations, was withdrawn, and the bill read a third time and passed.

July 15.

[INDIA BUDGET.] Lord *Morpeth* moved the order of the day, for resuming the adjourned debate on the East-India budget. The house having resolved itself into a committee,

Mr. *Grant* said, that after the clear and satisfactory exposition given by the noble lord (Morpeth) of the present state of the company's affairs, it was not his intention to have entered into much observation upon them; but, as the hon. general (Wellesley) had, on the first night of the debate, brought forward a variety of statements, which, in fact, amounted to another exposé of those affairs, having for its object a justification, or rather, commendation, of the financial management of lord Wellesley, it became his duty to submit to the house the views he entertained of the principal subjects treated of in the hon. general's speech. But first, it would be

be necessary for him to advert to some remark which had fallen, on the preceding night, from another hon. gent. (Mr. Francis.) That hon. gent. had said, that the company's sales were now acknowledged to be productive of loss. Mr. Grant denied, that any such acknowledgment was made by those connected with the company, or that the statements on the table would support the hon. gentleman's allegations in respect to loss on the sales. The amount of profit on sales ending 1st March, 1805, Mr. Grant observed, was, by the printed account on the table,

No. 25, - - -		£1,172,779
And the charges of all kinds were, per said account - - -		1,591,319
Leaving an apparent deficiency of - -		£ 418,540
But among these charges were several articles which did not belong to the commerce, and were entirely of a territorial nature, such as political charges on account of the territory	£267,249	
Military ditto -	112,234	
St. Helena charges are stated at - - 76,013*l.* But the average of three years is only - 13,000*l.*	88,013	
The total of those is - -		£ 392,496
Leaving a deficit of only -		£ 25,924

And this might fairly be placed, also, to the political charges, because the settlement of St. Helena answered political purposes, as well as commercial, and a part of its charge ought justly to go to the former head. It would be unfair, however, to judge of the result of the company's commerce by the last year; because the imports from India, in that year, were most uncommonly small, the receipts from thence having been less than the estimate in the Indian accounts of 1804-5, in the sum of 41,78,282 rupees; and the sales also were, from the unsettled state of Europe, much more unfavourable than usual, as would appear from reverting to the accounts of former years.

In nine years, from 1795 to 1803, the average of profits was - - - -	£1,397,971
In five years, from 1799 to 1803, it was - - -	1,677,517
In two years, in 1804 and 1805 - - - - - -	1,185,307
Difference short, in the average of the two last years, per annum -	£ 492,210

The hon. gent. said, he should have occasion, in the sequel, to notice some other things, advanced by the hon. gent. (Mr. Francis); but, in the mean time, would address himself to the statement of accounts between India and Europe, which the hon. general had delivered in his speech, on the former night. By that statement, the hon. general made the commerce with Europe to be indebted to the territorial revenue, from April 1798, to April 1804, in the sum

of - - - -	£3,578,590
And, from April 1793, to April 1798, in - - -	2,216,032
Both	£5,794,622
To which, if the interest on these sums were added, it would be - -	2,407,839
Making a total of - -	£8,202,461

He

He did not question, that the hon. general was satisfied as to the accuracy of the statement he thus brought forward; but it would be found to be extremely erroneous. In an account drawn up with great care at the India House, which he (Mr. Grant) had occasion, in a former session, to produce to the house, and which he now held in his hand, the debits and credits between Britain, on the one hand, and India and China, on the other, from the year 1788-9 to 1802-3, forming a period of 15 years, stood thus:

Total amount of supplies of goods, stores, and bullion, to India and China - - - -		£43,353,837
Ditto, of payments in England, on account of India and China - - - -		5,085,690
		£48,439,527
Ditto of receipts from India and China in goods and bills	46,973,820*l.*	
Ditto, of receipts in England, on account of India -	1,599,586*l.*	
		48,573,406
Balance in favour of India -		£ 133,879

In this account, every thing received from India and China, in any way, was credited; every thing supplied to them was debited.—Goods lost outward-bound were not charged to India and China; but goods lost homeward-bound, were placed to the credit of India and China. India had also credit for the commercial charges paid there, which were not included in its invoices; and for loss on the sales of exports thither. The exchange was, as usual, at 2*s.* per current rupee, 2*s.* 3*d.* the Bombay rupee, and 6*s.* 8*d.* the pagoda. The bills drawn by India and China were debited; the sums received from government in England, for the expenses of military expeditions from India, were credited. —Again, by a new account, which he had caused to be made up between India and China, on the one hand, and England, on the other, for 10 years, from 1793-4 to 1802-3.

The total amount of supplies to India and China were - - - -		£29,531,583
The total amount of political payments in England, on account of the territory in India, was -		3,743,028
Both		£33,274,611
Total amount of receipts from those countries	33,903,574	
Ditto in England, on the account of India - -	1,599,586	
Both		35,503,160
Excess of receipts from India and China, in this period - - -		£ 228,549

The causes of this difference of Result, in the last period of 10 years, appeared to be these:

In the first period, from 1788-9 to 1792-3, the imports from India and China were proportionably less - - - -	£ 752,008
Payment to government at home, more - - - -	500,000
Difference of political charges, more - - - -	842,661
	£2,094,669
Difference apparent per first account of fifteen years - - - -	133,879
Total -	£ 222,548

as above, — the hon. gent. said, he had also caused a third account to be made out, shewing the state of

of Accounts between the same countries for 7 years, from 1798-9 to 1804-5 inclusive; which comprehended nearly the whole time of lord Wellesley's government; and this account stood thus:—

Total supplies to India and China - - - -		£25,782,632
Political charges paid in England - - - -		2,833,227
Both		£28,615,859
Total imports	23,286,507*l*.	
Payments received in England -	4,762,767*l*.	
		28,079,274
Balance made against India -		£ 536,585
To which may be added the balance that appears against India in 1805-6, when the exports to it were very large, and the receipts from it unusually small - - - -		1,690,100
Total against India and China, in eight years, up to Sept. 1, 1805 -		£ 2,226,685

There was still another way of reviewing this account:—

The balance as above, in a period of 15 years, from 1788-9 to 1802-3, was in favour of India -	£ 133,879
In the two following years, 1803-4 and 1804-5, the balance was against India - - -	642,840
Apparent balance against India and China in 17 years - - - - -	£ 508,961

Although these accounts, comprehending a great variety of transactions for a considerable length of time, were not to be contended for as absolutely perfect; yet the hon. gent. said they were, as far as he knew, just; and he must conclude them to be, in fact, substantially so; and, he did not question, far more accurate than those with which the hon. general had been furnished; though he did not doubt they, also, had been made up without any intentional error.

These statements, produced by the honourable general, made the balance against the commerce, from April 1793, to April 1804 - - -	£5,794,622
To which add the balance by Mr. Grant's statements in favour of it, as above - - - - - -	508,961
And the whole difference would be - - - -	£6,303,583

It must, therefore, be highly presumable, that there were some great omissions, in the hon. general's accounts, to the credit of England; probably, the bills drawn on England. [General Wellesley dissented from this observation; and it appeared in the debate, on a following night, that the political charges paid in England, on account of the territory, were not credited in the general's statements, and made the principal cause of difference.] On the whole, therefore, there was no evidence, that the commerce owed any thing to the territory, or that any part of the increase of the India debt was to be charged to the commerce. The hon. gent. next adverted to the Account entitled "Stock per Computation;" on which Mr. Francis had made some animadversions. This account shews the whole state and result of the company's affairs, at home and abroad. In this account, the capital stock, subscribed by the members of the company, and owing to them, was not included, because an order of the house had directed it to be omitted; but this would make no difference in any one's judgment; and

and there was a fair reason why it should be omitted, because, when a partnership laid an account of its debits and credits before those to whom it was indebted, it never included the debts owing to the partners, or, in other words, their capital; the question being, only what the partnership owed to others, and what it had to satisfy them. By this account of stock, the company appear, contrary to all unfavourable insinuations, to be solvent; 1st, as to all the demands upon them from creditors, exclusive of their own body, and, 2dly, as to their own stockholders, thus:

The balance of the Stock per Computation, in favour of the company, over and above all claims upon them, except by the stockholders for stock, is - - - - -	*l.*6,181,267
The value of the stock, at the rates at which it is subscribed, is - - -	7,780,000
And this account exhibits, that to pay up the stock holders a sum would be wanting of - - - - -	1,598,733
But, to answer this apparent balance, there are fortifications, buildings, and a variety of articles, comprised under the head of dead stock, which stands in the company's books, (deducting 400,000*l.* awarded for that head in the time of queen Anne) at - - - - - - -	9,559,400
Balance in favour	7,960,667
From which, admit deductions made by government at home, from the company's claims on it - - - - - - - -	2,460,000
There will still remain	*l.*5,500,667

which, undoubedly, must be regarded as a great and valuable mass of property; for which it must be admitted, that the company would, in all reason, have to receive a very large sum, if, for the sake of argument, it were now supposed, that the territory were to be transferred from them to government. But, besides all this, the company possess an immense territory; which, by retrenchments, will immediately produce an available surplus, that must, progressively, improve the state of the company's affairs, by reducing the debt, and the interest on it.—The honourable gentleman next proceeded to take a view of the company's Indian debt. The honourable general had computed this debt to be, at the end of April 1806, something more than twenty-seven millions sterling, and of this sum he estimated about sixteen millions to have been incurred during the administration of lord Wellesley. Mr. Grant observed that, according to the budget accounts, the debt had been,

On the 30th of April, 1804 - - - - - -	*l.*22,536,207
On the 30th of April, 1805 - - - - - -	25,715,760
And on the 30th of April, 1806, by computation,	28,500,000

after deducting the amount of the sinking fund. But, as it had been found, after the close of all our wars in India, that there were large arrears due for military expenses, over and above the sums previously reckoned upon in estimates, so he could not help apprehending, that, in the complicated military operations lately carried on, upon a scale large beyond all former example, the same thing would be experienced in a considerable degree; and he, therefore, thought it fair to allow, at least, a million and a half for arrears

arrears of military charges not yet brought to account. This sum would make the debt, on the 30th of April, 1806, after deducting the amount of the sinking fund, thirty millions sterling. On the accumulation of this debt, he observed that, in 1793, it had stood at

	l. 8,074,865
In 1798, when lord Wellesley's government commenced, at - -	11,033,645
And in 1806, including the arrears above-mentioned for expences in 1805.	30,000,000
So that the accumulation of the debt, during lord Wellesley's government, would be about 19 millions, instead of 16 millions. besides a sum paid off from 1799 to 1805, by bills on England of - - - -	2,532,195

making, altogether, the increase of the debt, in the eight years of his lordship's administration, about 21½ millions sterling. How this vast sum had been expended, was a question that required particular investigation, before it could be accurately answered. It was a question of very serious import. Clear it was, that the honourable general's method of accounting for it was not satisfactory, because he had supposed a considerable part to have been incurred by borrowing money in India to supply investments to Europe; which supposition was shewn to be groundless by the statements Mr. Grant had exhibited. Doubtless, a very large proportion of the debt had been occasioned by the expenses of the military expeditions undertaken in India, at the desire of the king's government, by the wars we had carried on there since the year 1798, and by the larger balances which the extended scale of our affairs had placed in the various offices and departments of the different precidencies. The increasing interest on the debt would, alone, account for the absorption of a large sum of the resources of government.

In 7 years, from 1791-2 to 1797-8, there had been paid, for interest, on the Indian debt	*l.* 3,688,000
In 7 years, from 1789 to 1804-5, the amount of payments for interest is	9,000,000
Making an increase for the payment of interest in the last 7 years, of -	5,440,000

With regard to the debts termed optional, they were understood to be a class of debts contracted since the year 1800, and amounted,

For Bengal, to -	*l.* 5,022,000
For Madras - -	1,000,000
Both making - -	*l.* 6,022,000

The characteristic of these debts was, that the interest, as well as the principal, was payable in England, at the option of the lenders, and both principal and interest at rates of exchange, which rendered it probable that payment of them might be demanded in England. All the other debts were, in a certain sense, optional, the principal being also tranferable to England, but at a rate of exchange which made it improbable that the holders would avail themselves of that option. Undoubtedly, the contingency of being liable to be called on in England, for the payment of only six millions, though any such demand could only come in the course of some years, and so not without affording time for preparation, was a very serious contingency, which ought to be looked at with the other considerations belonging to this subject, unquestionably most alarming of

of the Indian debt.—The great question which now called for attention, was the liquidation of this enormous debt. It was of a magnitude which left all former example far behind; and unless means were taken to reduce it, the interest alone must overwhelm the affairs of the company. A plan for this purpose was necessary, and immediately necessary. It should be the first object of consideration; and of any such plan the first principle must be a retrenchment of our expenditure. We had heard much from the honourable general and others of the increase of our Indian revenues, but in vain are our revenues increased, if the increase of our expenses keeps pace with them. The true question is not what is the amount of our revenues, but what is the amount of our surplus; and unhappily it will be found, that as our revenues have increased of late years, our surplus has diminished, as will appear from the following particulars:

Revenue.	Interest.	Charges.	Net Rev.
In the years 1793-4.			
l.8294399	l.526005	l.6115146	l.1612226
In the years 1802-3.			
13464537	1457377	10940324	869988
In the years 1803-4.			[Deficit.
13273044	15[illegible]4758	13518170	1779884

And this last year, in which, instead of a surplus, there was so large a deficit, included only a part of the expense of the first war with the Mahratta chiefs, Dowlut Row Scindia and the Berar rajah. It was obvious, therefore, that there was a necessity for an available surplus, and in a degree commensurate to the occasion. Without this, all plans for the reduction of our debt must be chimerical. No ingenuity of plan could relieve that man whose expenses were greater than his income. This was not the time to enter into a discussion of the means of reducing the debt, but it was clear that an economical spirit was essential; and this being pre-supposed, of which indeed the recent proceedings of the Bengal government give fair promises, he thought that the reduction was practicable, perhaps even without resorting to an increase of the company's capital; though he did not conceive the objection of an honourable gentleman (Mr. Francis) to this measure to be sufficient; because, if money could be employed to advantage, as it was clear it could in the present case, it was immaterial whether the advantage was to be in the way of commerce or gain by interest. There were, however, other objections to increasing the capital at present; for, during war, it must be raised on terms comparatively unfavourable, and the public might object to the increase of the capital on such terms, for the purpose of paying off Indian debt.—As the honourable general had inlarged on the improved state of the company's credit in India during the administration of lord Wellesley, the honourable gentleman said, he felt it necessary to make some remarks on that subject: and, first, with respect to the sinking fund established in Bengal. That fund, although it had indeed brought up a considerable sum of the debt, had in fact given no extraordinary aid to the reduction of it; for it differed essentially in its principle from the sinking fund established in England, which, with every new provision for the payment of interest on loans, laid an additional tax on the subject

ject to form a fund for the reduction of the principal; here was an addition to the income of the state. But the Bengal sinking fund was formed by no such addition of income. It had only a part of an income existing before, appropriated to this particular object of buying up company's paper, and an equal reduction might have been effected by the same sum in directly paying off debts, without any establishment of a sinking fund, the establishment of which, as all the available surplus of the Bengal revenue was pledged to the public to be primarily applied to pay off debt, seemed to trench on the faith of government in respect to that pledge, and if it were true, as he had heard, that the advances to the sinking fund were even anticipated by loans from the treasury, this was certainly a direct violation of the pledge that had been given. On the other hand, it was to be admitted, that the purchases of company's paper, by the sinking fund, served to keep up the credit of that paper. It was true, also, that the new optional loans, being given on far better terms to the lenders, than the earlier loans, did contribute to give an increased value to one description, at least, of company's paper; but it was because the thing was really better; but there were several weighty objections to these loans: they frustrated the old remittance plan, for liquidating the company's debt; they might be productive of very serious embarrassments to the company's finances at home; and, above all, they were a dangerous instrument in the hands of any government, by enabling it to undertake schemes of conquest and ambition unsuitable to the intrinsic powers of our Indian government, and our true line of policy.—As to the merit that had been ascribed to lord Wellesley, for the reduction which had taken place in his time, in the rates of discount on the company's paper, it would be found, on investigation, to result from causes distinct from increased confidence in the government, or increased prosperity in the public affairs. The sinking fund, as already observed, otherwise a measure liable to objection, had raised the value of the paper. The new paper issued, being of a better description than the old, was not only at a lower discount itself, but served to diminish the discount on the rest.—The property of the community in India was much increased; for, as the government became poor, the subjects became rich; and, therefore, more money was brought into market to purchase paper, which enhanced its value. Great part of the nine millions sterling, paid for interest on the debt, in the last seven years, had, doubtless, gone for the purchase of new paper;—and, as the old loans, on which the discount had been highest, drew, in the course of time, nearer to the turn of payment, they, of course, became more valuable; whilst new paper, bearing the same disadvantageous conditions, was not again issued; all which will account for an improvement in the rates of discount, without ascribing it to the merit of government, or the confidence reposed in it; though it may be also true, that the eclat of victories and conquest might have raised sanguine expectations of future prosperity, to those who look no farther.—As to the general influence of the late wars in India, on the affairs of the company, he would not take this occasion of going into a digression

on

on a subject deserving of direct and serious discussion; but he thought it right, just to observe, that those wars had enormously increased the expenses and the debt of the company, without adding any security necessary to us; without even adding, permanently, much to our revenues; and at the expense of our reputation, for justice and moderation, in the eyes of India.—Before concluding, he wished to say a few words on the treaties lately concluded by sir Geo. Barlow, which had been censured by an honourable gentleman, (Mr. Francis) as precipitate. Mr. Grant said, they were conducted according to the general principles established by the legislature, and the orders of the company; according to the positive instructions lord Cornwallis had carried out, and the opinions and commenced measures of that ever-to-be-lamented nobleman; that they were also to be justified by financial propriety; for if, as an honourable general had said, there was no financial necessity for them, (which he, Mr. Grant, did not admit,) there was at least, great financial expediency; there was no just object for carrying on the war; every thing was against it; and, therefore, the sooner it was terminated, consistently with our credit, which these treaties have preserved, the better.—As to the severe censures which the same honourable gentleman (Mr. Francis) states the court to have passed on sir George Barlow, they were confined to an expression of the court's great surprize, that the members of the board should have submitted to a virtual exclusion from their official functions, by the assumptions of the governor-general; but as to the sudden change in the conduct of sir G. Barlow, with regard to the policy he had acquiesced in under lord Wellesley's government, it was not to be ascribed to a mean compliance, but to his sense of duty on learning, what he had not distinctly understood before—the positive determination of the authorities at home to change the system of foreign policy which lord Wellesley had followed. Sir G. Barlow had conducted himself in the late negotiations consequent of the views entertained at home, with great vigour and ability; his general merits were acknowledged, even by administration; and he was in high esteem with the company, although they had not, on account of his acquiescence in the measures of lord Wellesley, at first nominated him provisional successor to lord Cornwallis; and, indeed, although they had been strangely censured for sending out that nobleman in a dying state, Mr. Grant solemnly declared, that he had no idea of his being in ill health when he went out; otherwise, neither he, nor any one who loved that most amiable man, would have contributed to his going out. But, in fact, sir G. Barlow, by standing next to lord Cornwallis, had all the benefit, and so had the service, of a provisional appointment, saving only the exercise of the extraordinary powers of governor-general at the presidency, which was not likely to be of any importance. — As to the question that had lately been very warmly agitated concerning the removal of sir G. Barlow, and the appointment of a successor to him, Mr. G. said, he should, for different reasons, then abstain from entering into it. It had already taken a determinate shape. The

body with which he was connected, had followed a line concerning it, in forbearing to bring it before that house, which he should acquiesce in; and he himself, who had, in the earlier proceedings, been, as chairman, a party concerned, had, he understood, been misrepresented in some things, though he did not know by whom, nor exactly in what terms; but he had endeavoured to bring what had been whispered into light; to bring it into a tangible shape, in order to its refutation; of which he was most confident; for, he solemnly declared that, in the whole of the transaction alluded to, as far as he was concerned, he had acted uprightly and conscientiously, as his friend, (Mr. Smith) the deputy chairman, than whom a more honourable man did not exist, had also done; and they were most anxious for an opportunity of vindicating themselves; and should be obliged to any gentlemen in that house, or out of it, to aid them, in bringing any thing alleged against their conduct into light.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* rose in reply to the hon. gent. (Mr. Grant,) and observed, that he knew not how far the speeches and statement of the honourable ex-chairman had tended to dispel the gloomy apprehensions which must have arisen from the result of the candid and perspicuous detail of the noble lord (Morpeth) on a former night. He knew not how far he might venture to calculate upon the impression he should endeavour to make on the committee, by the totally different view he should take of the magnitude, and the causes of the company's present distress. But he felt it his duty, first to apprise the committee of the nature and extent of the responsibility imposed upon the house and the country, by the act of the 33d of his present majesty. No man, after reading that act, could entertain any other idea than that of direct partnership.—By the 111th clause of that act, disposing of the profits of the company, it appeared that, "during the continuance of the exclusive trade, the net proceeds of the company's sales of goods at home, with the duties and allowances arising from the private trade, and *all other profits* of the said company, in Great Britain, shall be applied and disposed of (after other preferences) in the payment of a sum not exceeding 500,000*l.* per annum into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, to be applied as parliament shall direct." Here, after quoting these words of the act, the honourable member proceeded to observe, that, however equal this partnership might be in responsibility, the profits had been by no means equally divided; for whilst the proprietors had been receiving 10 and a half per cent. on their nominal capital, the country had been disappointed of every half-yearly payment but two of its stipulated proportion; and, at the same time, an enormous debt had been accumulating by the company, and an enormous expense constantly incurred by the state in the protection of their commerce and dominions.—It had been admitted by the hon. gent. who spoke last, that a responsibility for the India company of seventeen millions hung over England at a time the most critical in her own financial affairs; a demand, infinitely beyond the company's faculty of answering. The house and the country would, therefore, soon be called upon to make it good.

good. A fresh minute investigation was, therefore, now become absolutely necessary, and this, at a time when the government ought to be wholly occupied in its own more immediate defence and support. The noble lord, it was true, had declared it to be the duty and intention of the commissioners for India affairs to call the attention of parliament to this subject at an early period of the next session. In the mean time, the honourable member conceived he was doing his duty to his country, however irksome and ungracious the task might prove, to dissect this anomalous mixture of imperial commerce, from the mass of debts, payments, and assets, comprehended in the budget statement, annually laid before the house. For, if it should appear, that any thing like his estimates of its amount was drawn from a capital wholly borrowed at interest, it would be utterly impossible to reject the conclusion he had so frequently pressed upon the house, that the trade had been a losing one to an immense amount; and this fact would do away all the arguments of the honourable ex-chairman, which he had again adduced from an irrelevant statement of the interchange of property between India and Europe. The hon. gent. had endeavoured to prove, by this statement, taking three different views of the subject, that the company's trade was not indebted to the territories, or to the India debt. He should, however, now beg leave to distinguish what they had always been studiously endeavouring to confound; and to separate the trading capital from the resources of dominion, and, as far as the documents before the house would allow him, the capital required by the India trade, from that of China.—The honorable Alderman then proceeded to read an extract from the budgets of 1804 and 1805, reciting, as he proceeded, the points of reference in each. The advances for trade in the three Presidencies, and Fort Marlborough, in 1802-3, were, he observed, upwards of two millions. While these cargoes were coming home, others were collecting at the presidencies, which employed 2,300,000*l.* more.

The Cash Balances abroad on the 30th of April, 1804, were nearly - -	£ 600,000
So that taking these Sums, as they stood, of - - -	2,100,000
	2,300,000
	600,000
	£5,000,000
The India imports employed an active capital of five millions.	
At this period there were at home, of goods sold and not paid for - - -	£1,150,000
Goods in England, unsold, partly China, and partly India, produce, 6,440,000*l.* of which he should charge the India trade with one half -	3,220,000
This made India commerce amount to upwards of nine millions.	
With regard to the exports, the amount of the cargoes from England, not arrived at their destination, at the date of the quickstock account, was - - - - -	- 3,580,000
Exports paid for, exclusive of Bullion -	- 1,200,000
Silver exported and remaining - -	- 820,000
Impress and war allowances on ships out -	- 450,000
Which gave, according to stock, by computation, in the whole - - -	£6,050,000

Half of which belonged to India: the whole India concern, therefore, absorbed twelve millions.—The China cargoes, homeward bound, he should estimate at three millions; those provided abroad were no where stated, but on an estimate of 1803 and 1804, he should assume three millions, making together six millions; if, to this, he added three millions, being the moiety deducted from the India account before-mentioned, of 6,050,000*l.* it made the sum of nine millions, which, added to the twelve millions, already mentioned, formed a mass of 21 millions sterling, of active capital, absolutely employed in the joint commerce of India and China. The honourable ex-chairman had next stated, as part of the dormant capital, the value of East-India house, ware-houses, &c. - - £992,200
Dead stock purchased 100 years since, and still remaining in the company's accounts - - £400,000
The total of these items, which, however, were not all that might be charged to the trade, the committee would perceive, was upwards of twenty-one millions: he was aware that some of the items might probably be subject to dispute; he would, nevertheless, take what had been repeatedly acknowledged, and, he rather thought, by the noble lord near him (lord Castlereagh,) that the commerce of the East-India company required four capitals, or about four-and-twenty millions sterling. For although India goods were paid for before manufactured, he believed many of the English goods exported, were bought upon credit, and the bills drawn from India and China; the latter particularly supplied the capital to a very considerable extent. — The alderman then proceeded to complain of the very small portion of the manufactures of this country, which this immense capital enabled the company to export to India, and the inconsiderable British tonnage employed in this trade. The number of tons, he stated to be, not more than 20,000 out, and the same home; and the merchandize for the last eleven years, by referring to the papers on the table, five millions; or, on an average, below 500,000*l.* per annum:—Was this small and contemptible proportion of the national exports our natural share of the trade to British India, to acquire and defend which, the mother country had made such sacrifices; and was now in danger of being soon called on to make a sacrifice of seventeen millions more? Was this a consideration sufficient to justify the exclusion of the rest of his majesty's subjects from a free intercourse with the immense and populous regions, within the limits of the company's charter, extending from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn; while neutral flags could range at large throughout the Pacific and India oceans, and derive encouragement and support to their rising and rival commerce and navigation, from a free and unlimited access to every one of the company's establishments, whither they carried and sold, unmolested, not only the produce of their own, but the manufactures of this country, and brought away, in return, the productions of India, to meet us in every market of Europe and America? Not that he disapproved of their admission into the ports of

of India; the silver they carried there, had afforded considerable relief to the circulation. All he had ever claimed, was, a right in British subjects, to a fair competition with foreigners in that part of the trade, which the company had neither faculty, nor inclination to carry on.—It next became necessary to enquire into the fact, he had asserted on a former evening, with regard to the means which the company possessed of carrying on this limited commerce, from funds of their own; a commerce which must, from its very nature, prove ruinous, from the expensive manner in which the merchandize was conveyed in ships larger than necessary; expensively fitted up, and constructed on principles, which diminished their capacity for stowage of merchandize, on the plea of enabling them the better to act as ships of war. —Four-and-twenty millions he had assumed as the capital required to carry on this commerce. This capital he looked for, in vain, in the account of stock by computation, where, instead of finding any capital, he repeated, and with regret, the balance, if fairly taken, was considerably against the company. In this account, exclusive of the company's capital, a balance was assumed of - - 6,181,267
The company's capital actually cost - - 7,780,000

So that the balance - £1,598,733

was the amount which, upon their own statement, the company were minus.—The honorable ex-chairman had argued at considerable length against this mode of stating the account, and wished to compare the joint stock of a great public and chartered company, with the capital of a private partnership or individual trader; but was there any analogy between them? The one was a public and joint stock, in which the subjects, at large, held transferable shares, always at market, and fluctuating in value, according to the price of money, and the estimation or credit of the company. In the instance before the committee, this company enjoyed privileges, guaranteed by parliament, and possessed territories, producing a princely revenue; their stock, therefore, partook of the nature of the public securities of this country, pledged for the national debt, and was as much a public claim, as the Indian debt, or the bond debt of upwards of two millions at home. It came, by no means, under the description of the capital of tradesmen, which must always be applied to the payment of debts, before they can be deemed insolvent; and is, therefore, properly excluded, when a statement of their affairs is laid before their creditors. In this view of the subject, he would therefore ask, where he was to find the twenty-four millions required for trade, where else but in the general assets of the stock account, in which a debt of thirty millions, mostly at India interest, made so prominent a figure. The interest of that debt was a charge upon the whole concern of revenue and commerce; and to exclude a proportion of that interest from the charges of the trade, was, he contended, contrary to the common sense and reason of mankind, whilst the admission of it totally abolished all the profit so vauntingly assumed upon the commerce at large.—Here he would ask the hon. ex-deputy chairman behind him, (Mr. G. Smith) who was, be-

besides, a banker of the first eminence, his candid opinion of the stock, by computation, taken without the capital, according to the honorable ex-chairman's statement; and which, therefore, might be considered as the exposition of the affairs of one of his customers in embarrassed circumstances, and calling on his banker for assistance: it was only considering millions as thousands, and the analogy would be complete. Before the honorable banker advanced any considerable sum, such as 17 millions, he meant 17 thousands, he was perfectly sure the honorable banker would sit down, and minutely scrutinize the items on the credit side of this account. All the debts, he would know, must be answered, and probably to an amount beyond the statement; but he would naturally enquire what was the nature of the assets to answer them.—Here the honorable member discussed several of the items of the stock account up to March 1805. The first was a sum of 1,207,560*l.* alleged to be due from government to the company; this, he contended, was not the case; it was a part of the national debt, consisting of consols, and standing in the name of the company, for which they had taken credit at par, valuing them at sixty: this item was overcharged in the sum of 483,024*l.* Another debt of government for stores and supplies, which stood at 4,460,192*l.* had been, by a special commission, curtailed in the sum of 2,089,392*l.* Another item, which must come against the general assets, was a charge upon the Carnatic estate of 5,630,838*l.* under investigation, it was true, but substantiated abroad under the register of the late nabob's creditors; and, as he believed, still running at interest. To avoid much cavil on this item, he would strike off whatever should appear reasonable to any member of the committee; he would, therefore, call it only four millions.—Here he must thank the noble lord (Morpeth) for his candour in producing a prospective estimate of the revenues and charges in India, for 1805 and 1806, by which it appeared, that the debts abroad, on the 1st of March last, would be increased in the sum of 2,655,957*l.* (and this without any provision for investment.)—The next article was, it was true, a matter of estimate and opinion; it regarded the actual value of an item, which appeared, in the quick stock abroad, under the title of Debts Outstanding, and included advances for Investment, arrears of Revenue, Loans to Rajahs and Zemindars, (the Guicuwah Rajah among the rest,) to no less an amount than 9,168,000*l.* but would any man of business in the house, either financial or commercial, deny the honorable banker's claim to a considerable allowance for bad debts under this article? Would two millions be too much to deduct from this item? The sums, therefore, to be ducted on the whole account, were

account, were - -	2,000,000
	483,024
	2,089,392
	4,000,000
	2,655,957
Forming a total of -	£11,228,373
Which, when set against the balance, in favour, in the account before him, of - - -	6,181,267
Left a balance against the company, of -	£5,047,106

There

There was, indeed, as the last speaker had stated, a memorandum at the foot of the stock account, by which a sum of no less than 9,994,208*l.* was stated as the cost of buildings and fortifications, of plate, furniture, vessels, and plantations, since the year 1702; which sum the hon. ex-chairman had considered as an available asset, against the alleged deficiency. — He was very much surprised, indeed, to find this item adduced in the manner it had been; were it even valid, this sum, though nearly ten million, would not square the account, when the company's capital, and the deficiency he had just proved, should be set against it. But, really, a single glance at the title of this account, would remove every idea of considering it as a claim upon government, when the lease should expire.—One column, amounting to nearly two millions, consisted of household furniture, farming stock, pleasure boats, plate, and table linen, of which articles, the wear of an hundred years had not much increased the value: of what nature were the Buildings? Some of them forts upon the great rivers, dismantled by time, or swept away by the changes of currents. Others either absolutely levelled with the ground, and rebuilt, or, if standing, repaired at an enormous expense.— Others of the buildings had given place to the new (and, if they pleased, splendid) palace lately erected for the accommodation of the governor-general, which, however it had been reprobated, the hon. member thought highly necessary and becoming. Would such items as these be admitted in a final adjustment between the company and the state, which had expended so many millions, in effecting the acquisition, and protecting, by its marine, these commercial dominions?—Was it nothing that the country was now actually deprived of the services of 25 of its own regiments; that two squadrons were maintained in the Indian seas; that Ceylon once, and the Cape of Good Hope had been twice conquered and retained, at an enormous expense; that a sum of three millions and a half had been paid to the company on this account since 1804, and a further sum of two millions was now under liquidation;—If there must exist an *imperium in imperio*, while it did exist, the subordinate empire ought, at least, to bear its own expenses, of which these ought to form a part. The hon. alderman, therefore, totally rejected this item of ten million.—Would an exposition, he asked, such as this now appeared, if made by an individual, induce any banker to enable him to continue the concern? The hon. member, for his part, declared, that he could not see how it was possible to continue this system, cumbrous and unprofitable as it was: time would, perhaps, shew what was to be done; or, he might learn, from the noble lord who had lately presided at the India board, how the company were to go on, without having recourse, as on a former occasion, to the aid of parliament, its partner in this concern. For himself, he could see no other justifiable mode of affording that relief, than a previous examination into their affairs, and a resolution to separate the revenue from the trade. As to the hope expressed by the hon. ex-chairman, that their affairs would recover, during a long period of peace in India, it was

with

with regret, he stated, that the best-informed men on the spot, were by no means sanguine in this particular. By an hon. general's calculation of the immediate savings on a peace establishment, 740,000*l.* were expected to be saved in the first year: but would that keep down, even the interest of their enormous debt? Would it afford any resourse for investment? Might not that balance be absorbed by unforeseen contingencies; or arrested to pay off unstated claims, in the winding up of the last war accounts?—The noble lord, and the committee, must see, by this statement of facts, deduced from documents on the table, and authenticated by the company themselves, how utterly impossible it was, any longer to support this anomalous mixture of trade and dominion, unprecedented, except in a solitary and calamitous instance,—that of the Dutch East-India company, whose fate he need not recall to their recollection.—The hon. member observed, that he was utterly at a loss to suggest any remedy to the distress already existing, much less to point out the means of continuing the company's trade, even on its present scale; for, he would state to the noble lord an important fact; and, he hoped it would convince him it was high time to check the present system. The faculty of borrowing abroad was at an end, and the ships of the company were actually loading home with private goods at 29*l.* per ton, for want of the regular investment; while the company, for this very tonnage, were paying 60*l.* making this prodigious and unnecessary sacrifice for the sake of prosecuting their favourite plan of excluding the ships of individuals, who could gain, by navigating on still lower terms than what is exacted upon private trade.—In this way, neutrals were suffered to encroach upon our natural intercourse with India, and to nourish, at our expense, their maritime power and commercial importance.—How long was the merchandize of the private trader to be reluctantly brought home at this immense loss; and a fair competition between imperial commerce, and the exertions of the British merchant withheld? So confined was the trade of the company, that it visited no shores but their own, while the neutral flag, as he had already remarked, ranged, unmolested, and even encouraged, from the Pacific to the Indian ocean; and from these to every other part of the globe.—But what pressed immediately on the committee, was, the present distress of the company, and the inevitable call on parliament for relief. How far the country was bound to answer that call, would appear from Mr. Dundas's Letter to the directors, at the discussion respecting the renewal of their charter; wherein he expressed his opinion, that the debts of the company must accompany the territory into whosesoever hands it might fall. Whether the debt had accrued from losses in trade, or from territorial expenses, the committee would now judge; for his part, he agreed perfectly with the hon. general (sir Arthur Wellesley) in his statement of the subject; and that investment, and not war, had swelled the debt to its present magnitude.—His own chief object, in this long detail, was, to warn the noble lord of the responsibility of the country. At present, he would make no motion, but would content himself with

with the promise of the noble lord, that an investigation would soon take place. Certainly, such was the situation of things, that strong and decisive measures were become necessary. When the disorder was violent, strong remedies must be administered. With regard to the right and extent of interference on the part of government, he should merely quote the authority of a great statesman (the earl of Liverpool), just leaving the world, distinguished for having asserted the rights of the British flag; and who now, after a long and illustrious career, and already sinking into the grave, had yet vigour enough to compose, by his expiring lamp, an Address to his Sovereign on the intricate subject of coinage, which work would add to his already acquired fame, as a political economist. The words were to be found in a pamphlet on the conduct of Great Britain towards neutral nations.—"The right of mankind admit of various degrees; and whenever two of these come into competition, the lowest in the scale must give place to the higher. Each man hath a right to perform certain actions; but if the distruction of another should follow from them, would not this be a just cause of restraint?" How far this high authority applied, in the present case, he must leave to the noble lord to determine; certain he was, that it would have its due weight in the consideration of this important subject. The hon. alderman concluded, by observing, that he felt grateful to the committee for their indulgent hearing; and would no longer trespass on their attention.

Lord *Castlereagh* was fully aware of the difficulties under which the East-India Company at present laboured. He nevertheless was very far from entertaining in his mind that gloomy view of the company's affairs which had been drawn by the worthy alderman who had just sat down. On the contrary, he was well convinced that if the company's affairs were vigorously conducted, it would not be long before they would reach as great a state of prosperity as the most sanguine wishes of any friend to the interests of the company could reasonably entitle them to expect. For the accomplishment of this great object he would recommend that the general state of the company's affairs should undergo the most ample investigation before a committee. The result, he was confident, would be highly favourable to the Company. But, at the same time, that he was convinced, from his knowledge of the affairs of the company, that a committee which had it in view to obtain a correct statement of the debts, assests, and revenue of the company, must necessarily draw inferences favourable to the company, as he had before stated; still he most clearly saw that something was wanting, for the present, to be done for the assistance of the company. To attain this great and most desirable object, he would recommend that a loan should be raised under the sanction of parliament; not that he could by any means suppose that there could be any hesitation or doubt of the solvency of the company, but that he saw how much more advantageously a loan would be raised under such circumstances, than if the company itself was to go into the market for that purpose. Before Ireland was united to this country, it was the uniform practice with the English parliament to

to include the loan for Ireland in one general vote along with that which was given for this country. By the adoption of such a system, the company would gain what they most particularly wanted, an extension of their capital; and the public would have considerably better security than they could now possibly have, as, from the profits to accrue from such an extension of capital, there would be a sinking fund for the total and speedy extinction of the whole debt.

Dr. *Laurence* caught the speaker's eye, and was entering into a consideration of the subject, when,

Mr. *Robson* rose to order. He observed, that on so important an occasion, an occasion that required the fullest attendance, not one of his majesty's ministers was present, to guard the purse of the public: and as he observed, by the order-book, that little business stood for to-morrow, he should move an adjournment.—The gallery was then cleared, and there being only 31 members present, the house adjourned.

July 16.

[INDIA BUDGET.]

Lord Morpeth rose and moved to postpone, till Friday, the further consideration of the India budget.

Mr. *Robson* felt it his duty to call the attention of the house to this most important subject; and to express his astonishment, that affairs of such vital importance to this country, as those of India, were to be discussed in such thin houses as this busines, has hitherto been. Whether the India company were to be continued by a renewal of their charter, or not, their affairs ought not to be treated with such levity, with so thin an attendance of members, and, more especially, without the attendance of his majesty's ministers. Their affairs, as he was taught to understand, were in a most embarrassed and deplorable situation, almost, indeed, upon the brink of ruin. It was declared in that house, that a loan, to an inconceivable amount, would be requisite to support them; but whether this was to be a loan of 7 millions, or 17 millions, or what not, he thought the subject was one of two much importance to be discussed in that house, without a full attendance of Members; and, by the blessing of God, as he never would leave it in the power of his majesty's ministers to say he did not attend, he would make a point of taking some measure to stop the proceedings in every stage, unless there was a fuller attendance, and more especially of his majesty's ministers.

Lord *Morpeth* wished to know upon what authority the hon. gent. stated that a loan would be wanted for the India company? He certainly had made no such statement, in bringing forward the company's affairs: nor did he hear any such thing mentioned by any of his majesty's ministers in that house.

Mr. *Grant* also disclaimed, on the part of the company, the representation of their affairs made by the hon. gent. and which he could not suffer to pass uncontradicted. He knew nothing of any loan proposed or desired by the company: they stood not in need of such assistance; nor did he hear any thing of any such proposition, with which their authority or wishes were connected: a noble lord, indeed, near him (Castlereagh), in his speech, the preceding night, had thrown out a suggestion, that a loan of five millions might be desirable for the accommodation of the company; but this was a mere

suggestion; in the course of a speech, wholly unauthorised by the company.

Mr. *Paull* defended the conduct, and approved the determination, expressed by his hon. friend (Mr. Robson); and hoped he would persist in his endeavours to obtain a full attendance of members upon every discussion on India affairs: for, notwithstanding the declaration just made by the hon. ex-director, it certainly has gone forth, that the company's affairs were in a desperate situation. It had been said, not by himself, but but by a worthy alderman opposite to him (Prinsep), that they were in a state of bankruptcy; and, although the noble lord's suggestion of a loan, in his speech the preceding night, might not be admitted by the hon. ex-director, as an official authority upon the point, yet his hon. friend had a right to consider such a declaration, coming from the noble lord, as good authority upon a subject, namely, the situation of the company's affairs in which the noble lord's own character and safety were so deeply interested: for it was no secret, that the noble lord's conduct in those affairs was likely to become the ground of very serious charges from an hon. member of that House. The question was then put and agreed to.

July 18th.

[INDIA BUDGET.]

On the motion of lord Morpeth, the house, in a committee, resumed the debate on the India budget.

Mr. *T. Jones* asked if there had been an adjustment of the sum of 2,672,440*l.* thus described, and in a paper moved for by him in 1801: "By what due from government for stores and supplies for his majesty's troops, &c. &c."

Lord *Morpeth* replied, that this account, blended with another, amounting to nearly 4 millions, was in a way of settlement, and some part of it had been allowed.

Mr. *T. Jones* then asked, how much of the 500,000*l.* per annum, as settled by the charter bill of 1793, had been paid by the company to the public.

Dr. *Laurence* spoke to order. He thought it contrary to the rules of the house, that, when the question for their determination was only respecting a single year, any member should think himself at liberty to ask all manner of questions. When the debate was disposed of, he certainly might find opportunities enough of asking the noble lord any questions he might think proper.

Mr. *Hobhouse* (the chairman of the committee) considered that it was the custom upon India budgets, for the member who brought them forward, to take a very wide range into the general situation of the affairs of India, preparatory to moving his first resolution; and that, therefore, it was allowed to other Members, to take a considerable latitude in speaking upon that question. As to the right of asking questions, he believed the rule was this: every member had a right to put questions; but the person to whom they were put, might answer them, or not, as he thought proper.

Mr. *T. Jones* said that, if the learned doctor wished to make a speech upon the subject himself, he should sit down with pleasure. He was prepared to meet him on every point which he had stated; and, as the learned doctor was so famous for brevity, the house would,

no

no doubt, be very much delighted with hearing him. If this was not the proper time to put his questions, he should take another opportunity.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he might take whatever opportunity he pleased; and he need not expect that he would meet him on any of his points.

Mr. *Paull* said, that having, last February, found himself under the necessity, from a paramount sense of duty, of calling the attention of the house and the public, to the state of the finances of India; and as his sentiments, on that important topic, were now before the house, in the form of a specific charge, he would forbear, on the present occasion, from entering fully into the subject; though the hon. general (sir A. Wellesley), and the noble lord (Castlereagh), had given ample room for discussion, by statements the most fallacious ever produced to any reasoning assembly. But, said the hon. gentlemen, to refute such statements is the less necessary, as the noble lord, who brought forward the business, had done ample justice to his (Mr. Paull's) sentiments, and had confirmed every assertion he had ever made on the melancholy state of India, rendered still more melancholy and desperate by the immense sums shortly to be provided for in that unhappy country. The honourable gentleman paid the noble lord (Morpeth) some well-merited compliments, for the honest, honourable, and fair manner in which he had brought forward the budget: he had scorned deception; and his candour was as conspicuous as his talents were acknowledged. The noble lord had given the only fair statement that had been exhibited of the finances of India for upwards of 20 years; and for the whole of his conduct, he merited the thanks of every man in the kingdom. The noble lord had looked the prospect, dark and gloomy as it was, boldly and fairly in the face; and had scorned to delude the house with promises that were never to be fulfilled, and prospects of prosperity that were never to be realized. But, said Mr. Paull, the noble lord has still, most unintentionally, omitted some most important items. On his own shewing, including the defalcations in the ceded provinces, the actual deficit, even on sanguine estimates, exceeds 3 millions sterling, the deficit, in the course of the next year, 1807, cannot be less; and, added to these two sums, making 6 millions, the decennial loan, amounting to 3½ millions; and two other loans, contracted for two years, at 10 and 12 per cent. and amounting to nearly a million, all become payable in 1808; so that, in that year, even taking the most favourable circumstances into account, the debt will be increased nearly 9 millions, and that in the 16th year of the company's charter; and where is the man sanguine enough to say, that we shall then be on the peace establishment? But the fact is we can have no peace establishment; from Cape Comorin, to beyond the walls of Delhi, our troops must be kept up, and scattered, to keep our subjects in awe, even if we have no enemy to contend with. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Johnstone) has indulged himself, lately, in making frequent attacks on his majesty's ministers, for the removal of sir. G. Barlow. Would that, instead, he had turned his attention to the state of the finances

finances of India, which no man knew better than he did; and had fairly and candidly admitted, that to measures acquiesced in by sir G. Barlow, for eight years criminally acquiesced in, was to be attributed the present deplorable state of the East-India Company! As to the removal of sir G. Barlow, the honourable gentleman can hardly be serious in his loud complaints on that subject; no man, either in India or in Europe, ever looked to sir G. Barlow's being permanent governor-general. The honourable gentleman himself never could have imagined it even probable, that sir George would be allowed to continue; for he must know, that sir George, though an excellent revenue officer, had none of the qualities to fit him for governor-general; and that, to insure the respect of the foreign courts, a nobleman from England was indispensable for the good government of India. The honourable gentleman had indulged in these attacks, from his hostility to ministers; and had neglected ever looking into the accounts which, perhaps wisely, he had not even touched upon, although the only subject regularly before the house.—This, Mr. Paull said, he the more deplored, as no man in England understood the real situation of the company better than the honourable gentleman. Mr. Paull concluded with again sincerely thanking the noble lord (Morpeth) for his clear, able, honest, and candid statement; and was sure his lordship would feel that, by the line he had adopted, he had justly raised himself in the opinion of every honest man in the kingdom.

Mr. *T. Jones* hoped, that he should not be thought pertinacious; but he trusted he should be allowed to make a few observations, as he stood pledged, in some degree, to the house, on this subject. He had, in 1801, stated, that the debt of the company was 20 millions. This had now clearly turned out to be the fact. He had then met with a great deal of opprobrium, and was asked to have patience. He had had patience; and the result was, that the company, as had been stated by an honourable alderman (Prinsep), was on the eve of bankruptcy; and that their debt was nearer 40 millions than 30. He was, therefore, fully justified in what he had said; and the persons at the India board, whether they were called comptrollers, or any thing else, would soon, it appeared, be only the assignees of bankrupts.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that there was no danger of a bankruptcy. He would not enter upon the particulars of the accounts, however, as it was painful to him to look at the situation of the company. But that situation was still not so gloomy as had been represented by the hon. gent. As to the loans, he hoped the persons who held them would renew their engagements. But he deprecated the transferring them to this country; and warned the directors not to ask such a think of parliament, for the minister of the day would be strongly tempted to grasp at a share of the patronage, which would be dangerous to the liberties of this country. He begged the house to consider, what would be the consequence of a patronage over 3,000,000*l.* sterling, in addition to what was already possessed by the government. Any inconvenience of trade was better than that the minister should acquire such an extraordinary power,

er. He meant this as no particular reflection, but mentioned it as applying to any minister. As to the case of sir G. Barlow, his opinion was unaltered. Even though what the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) had said should be correct, still his observations were proper. Ministers had gratuitously appointed him, on the 26th of February, and removed him fourteen days after. Now, why was he appointed at all, if it was in contemplation to remove him so soon? All the powear of governor-general would have remained with him, by devolution, till the appointment of a successor, except the power of exercising the highest functions of the office without the consent of the council—a power so extraordinary, that ithad never been exercised. The charge, therefore, remained in full force.

Sir *A. Wellesley* considered the hon. member (Mr. Paull) was completely wrong, in supposing that so large a sum as ten millions was to be due in 1807. He shewed, from a variety of calculations, that the greater part of this sum would not be due until the years 1809 and 1810. If there was a large floating debt at the end of the war, there were, also, floating securities in the hands of the company, which balanced it. He denied that the loans in India had been contracted for on such unfavourable terms as the hon. gent. had represented.

Mr. *Paull* said, that the reason that the loan appeared to be contracted on better terms in India than it really was, was because above two-thirds of it was contracted at Lucknow and Benares, where the value of the rupee was considerably less than the Calcutta rupee. The interest of the debt being paid in Calcutta rupees, and the principal contracted in the rupees of Lucknow and Benares, it made the real interest from twelve to fourteenth per cent. instead of eight. He contended, that the company actually owed six millions to the country, on account of the twelve years arrears of the half million annually; for which consideration their charter was renewed. India had, ever since, been a drain to this country, both in men and money; and not a single advantage had been derived from the possession. He was sure that, at the time the charter was last renewed, no one had the most distant idea, that it would ever be renewed again, except on terms much more advantageous; but, if they could not pay half a million, they could not pay more, and Great Britain would be the only country prohibited from trading to India, and this without any sort of consideration.

Mr. *Grant*, in general, vindicated the accounts which he had brought forward on the second night. With respect to the amount of Indian debt, he continued of opinion, that considerable arrears of the expenses of the two wars, in which we had recently been engaged, remained still to be brought to account. The experience of former wars, carried on upon a less extensive scale, justified this opinion; and he was, upon the whole, persuaded, that it was reasonable to estimate the debt, on the 30th of April, 1806, at 38 millions sterling, after allowing for the purchases made by the Sinking Fund. As to the Sinking Fund, he had admitted it to have aided in improving the credit of the company's paper; but maintained, still, that the establishment of that scheme, constitu-

ted as the fund was, circumstanced as were the affairs of the company, and pledged as the company were, to apply every valuable surplus of their revenues to the discharge of debt was liable to objections which out-weighed any incidental benefit resulting from it. That no considerable part of the Indian debt was to be charged to the commerce of the company, he contended to be satisfactorily proved by the documents he had adduced on a former night; documents framed with great care, by the able officers of the India-house, and founded on fuller and more accurate materials than those statements could well be with which the hon. general had been furnished, and which had, by him, been quoted to the house. How to account for the great difference between the hon. general's statements and his, he was at a loss, unless the hon. general had omitted to give credit for bills drawn on England on account of debt, on a supposition that the payment of debt not contracted by lord Wellesley, ought not to be charged in the accounts of his administration; but the omission would not be warranted on this ground, because, in the question of accounts, between India and England, the only fair way was, to charge all that was paid, and credit all that was received. The hon. general said, the bills drawn for the payment of debt had been credited for; but admitted that his statements did not give credit for the political charges defrayed by the company in England; which, with the other payments made there on account of the territorial possessions, would in a great degree, account for the balance which the hon. general thought chargeable to the commerce. At the same time, Mr. Grant expressed his willingness, that a very strict scrutiny should be made into the state of account between the revenue and the commerce, as far as it was possible to separate them, in order that this question might be determined and set at rest.—As to the prospect of future revenues and savings, which the hon. general had stated, and which another hon. gent. (Mr. Keene) carried much higher, Mr. Grant observed, that taking credit for future expectations was not the most satisfactory way of compensating for the past. Hitherto, the recently-conquered provinces were not even estimated to produce beyond a trifle more than the disbursements incurred on account of them;—provinces which had cost so much blood and treasure in the acquisition. Calculations founded on future receipts of revenue must be liable to uncertainty; and the surest dependence was, that of retrenching expense.

Mr. *T. Jones* said, that his object, in interrogating the noble lord (Morpeth) was, to save his trouble, and that of the house; but, more particularly that of the noble lord, who had given a fair and accurate, however to be lamented, Budget, and was now sitting to hear the third discussion on it, left quite alone, both by his majesty's ministers, and such directors of the East-India company as were members of parliament: that, by getting answers to his questions, he should see what alteration, for the better or worse, had taken place since his speech and statement, delivered in that house, June 25, 1802, thereon. But, however, as he did not wish to be pertinacious, as to putting questions, he should state facts:

Now, in 1800, up to the 30th of April, the India debt was twenty millions. Out of the 6,000,000*l*. due on the charter, only 500,000*l*. had been paid, so that 5,500,000*l*. remained due to the public. In 1801, the hon. gent. said, he had stated the East-India company to be on the eve of bankruptcy. In 1806, he was borne out by the uncontradicted assertion of a worthy alderman (Prinsep,) that it was in a state of insolvency. The difference between insolvency and bankruptcy was a distinction without a difference, and not to be argued; and, therefore, he said, instead of the eve of bankruptcy, he considered the compay in a positive state of bankruptcy; and soon, very soon, the noble lord and his colleagues, instead of being "comptrollers," would be "assignees," under a commission of bankruptcy.

Mr. *H. Martin* commented on the construction of the act by which the company held their charter; and said, that it clearly appeared from it, that when the company were in straitened circumstances, the payment was only suspended, and they now were debtors to the public for six millions. The only excuse must be, their inability to pay; and he hardly thought that this excuse would be resorted to, as it would amount to a confession, that they had been insolvent ever since the year 1793.

Mr. *Hudleston* rose and said:—Sir, the strictures which an honourable member opposite (Mr. T. Jones) has been pleased to address to me on the conduct of some of my colleagues, for their absence from the house on this occasion, it is not difficult to answer. My colleagues, sir, have been occupied to day, for seven or eight hours, by very important public duties in another place. They know also that the statements before the house contain full and accurate information relative to the finances of the East India company; and they were aware that whatever further explanation might be required, no one is more able to give than my honourable friend, the late chairman, who would, in all probability, be present in his place at this discussion. For my own part, sir, I confess I came down to the house for the purpose of offering some observations on the speech of an honourable alderman (Prinsep) who the other evening entered so largely into the subject of the company's commerce, and with views so obvious respecting it; and on part of the speech of the noble lord who so ably followed him; and I shall now endeavour to submit those observations to the house. With respect to the facts assumed by the worthy alderman, it is not necessary to dispute them. Without stopping to enquire into their validity, it may be sufficient to examine the structure he would build upon them in a fair comparison with that which he would overthrow. Such an examination, I am confident the honourable alderman can never have made, for, if he had, it would have enabled him to take a more enlarged view of the subject, and convinced him that the view he had before taken of it was narrow and fallacious. Hitherto the honourable alderman seems to have looked at the commerce of the East India company through a peculiar sort of glass, which has possessed the prope ty of hiding all its great and leading features, and all the benefits which it

it diffuses. The loss which he supposes the company to sustain by their trade, forms the grand foundation of his argument, to that point therefore I shall immediately direct my attention, by claiming of him what I am sure his conduct will readily admit, namely, that the loss is principally, if not entirely, confined to the exports. I shall then remind the worthy alderman, and solicit the attention of the committee to the momentous fact, that from the provision of those exports many thousands of the community derive their subsistence, and are enabled by it to contribute their proportion of the public burthens, instead of being themselves burthens on the state. To illustrate this, I will take that article of the company's exports on which the ascertained loss comprises a very great part of the guilt which the alderman charges to the whole of their commerce.—I mean the article of woollens; and to what is it owing that the company sustain that loss? Why, literally, sir, to their consulting the public interests in preference to their own—to their exporting annually woollens to the enormous amount of 1,300,000l by which the company sustain very great loss, but the public gain in a still greater proportion; for the provision of those woollens gives employment to more than 40,000 persons: And until lately this was not all, for the company virtually paid a penalty for rendering this benefit to the state, in the shape of a duty of 4l. per cent. which was afterwards increased to five per cent. and amounted annually to upwards of 50,000l. Even before that duty was imposed, it was a losing trade. We know, that in the last four years, the loss on the woollens sent to China alone exceeded 100,000l. in each year; and from the progressive advance in the price of labour, and of the raw material, both native and foreign, this loss is increasing; for the China trade differs from all others in this essential respect, that the China merchants themselves fixed the prices, and the same that were fixed many years ago, still continue, notwithstanding the advance in the cost of the woollens here. Two points, then, are clear; 1st, that nothing but a disposition to promote the manufacturing interests of this country in preference to their own could induce the East India company to export woollens to such an extent; for in respect to China they could obtain a more favourable remittance in silver; and 2dly, that were the company to seek other modes of remittance, the consequences would be dreadful to the manufacturing and the labouring poor in the counties of Gloucester, Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall, and in the city of Norwich; it would also operate the ruin of several extensive establishments in this metropolis, and deprive more than 700 persons of a respectable subsistence which they now derive from the East India company. Now, sir, I think I have a right to ask the honourable alderman whether his trade, or that to which he is partial, could bear this loss, or afford to the public this benefit. Perhaps he will have the goodness to inform the committee of the quantity of woollens annually exported to India by any private trader, or the aggregate of the quantity exported by all of them. I have stated only the benefit which the public derive from one article in one branch of the company's commerce; but, if the worthy alderman would take

that view of the commerce of the East India company, which I have been accustomed to take of it, it would appear to him as a vast edifice, erected on a solid foundation, which has for ages withstood the fury of the elements, and given shelter to millions of people, which, through every vicissitude, has been the firm and constant friend, as well as child, of the state, and made an ample return for the uniform protection it has received. In the provision of a single article, as I have just stated, it gives employment to 40,000 persons. The exchequer derives from it annually three millions sterling in duties and customs. It employs about 10,000 British seamen, and thus nourishes for the state a great portion of that force on which its safety essentially depends. It assisted in acquiring, and has assisted in preserving, our dominion in India. At a memorable and critical era, an enemy's squadron was totally defeated in the Ganges, by the ships of the East India company—an event that materially contributed to lay the foundation of all our subsequent greatness. On various occasions since, they have assisted in fighting the battles of the state, and particularly off Pondicherry, in October, 1778, two of our Indiamen shared in the glory of forcing the French squadron to leave that fortress to its fate. I am sure the committee must anticipate my alluding to a more recent event in the China seas, in which the ships of the East India company, under the brave and able conduct of their commanders, furnished an argument in favour of the company's commerce that will not soon be forgotten; and at this moment it will not be denied, that the commerce of the East India company supplies no inconsiderable proportion of the force destined for the defence of this capital in case of invasion. Sir, the list of his majesty's navy bears testimony in favour of the commerce of the East India company. And need I ask if the utility of this commerce is to be judged of by the balance of the head of profit and loss in the ledger? or if it be any reproach to this commerce that all which I have stated has not been accomplished without the aid of the Indian revenue? certainly I am not prepared to say that the company's commerce could go on without that aid, on the contrary, I believe the commerce and the revenue to be necessary to each other, and their continued union to be essential to the vital interests of the state. Some years ago, the worthy alderman, and his friends, brought forward another, and very captivating argument, against the company's commerce, and in favour of their own, but I know not if he has recurred to it on this occasion, not having been able to get down to the house the other evening, until he had made considerable progress in his speech, viz. the idea of bringing all the trade of India to the river Thames, and making London the grand emporium of Asiatic commerce. This was certainly a magnificent project, and only two objections weigh with me against it. First, that it is impracticable; and, secondly, that if practicable, it would be unwise to effect it. Most of the maritime powers of Europe possess, or on the return of peace will probably again possess, ports and commercial factories in India. On the coast of Malabar, and from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, are those of the French, Dutch, Danes, and

Portuguese, who are all as sensible of the value of a trade with India as we are, and their merchants as eager in the pursuit of gain, only less enterprising than ours. Is there any rational hope that we can exclude foreigners from this trade, or prevail on them to relinquish it, and consent to receive the produce of India only through the port of London? But I have said that, if practicable, it would not be wise to effect it, and here I would intreat of the worthy alderman to forget for a moment his commercial character, and to consider this point only as a member of the state; and when in that capacity he shall have weighed it maturely, combining with it our present situation, and acquisitions in India, I would ask him, if no considerations occur to his mind as adverse to our obtaining for ourselves, so invidious a preference? I would beg of him to state how much he thinks we can afford to lose of the reputation we possess with foreign powers for moderation and liberality in what relates to our commercial and naval interests, and pre-eminence.—Sir, there is one other consideration which I shall merely glance at: some persons, I know, are not sufficiently aware of its importance, but no reflecting mind, not warped by views of private or pecuniary interest, will overlook it, or deem it visionary: it applies equally to the system of Indian commerce favoured by the worthy alderman, and to the late system of conquest and extension of territory in India. At present I shall confine myself to the former. The system desired by the worthy alderman, would substitute, in the Indian trade, ships built in India for ships built in England; teak ships for oak; the Lascar, or Indian sailor, for the British tar; and the Ganges for the Thames. The home of his trade is India, and it would soon make India the home of thousands of artificers, agents, and adventurers of all descriptions. At every out-port and subordinate factory, there would be a European public, and in the space of 60 or 70 years the number of Europeans in India, would exceed the number of British Americans in North America, when that country declared its independence. Can there be any doubt then of the direct tendency of such a system, if established in regions so much more distant from the mother country? The opinion entertained on this subject, by a late truly illustrious person—illustrious for his virtues even more than for his services, may be collected from the following short passage in one of his letters, dated in November 1794; "I am "strongly impressed with a conviction, that it will be of essential importance to the interests "of Britain, that Europeans should "be discouraged, and prevented, "as much as possible, from colonizing and settling in our "possessions in India."

Whether the utmost human wisdom can do more than delay the event against which the noble marquis meant to guard, is a question beyond our reach; but it requires no gift of prophecy to be able to pronounce, with conscious certainty, that the laying open the trade to the public would accelerate it by at least half a century, and, under that conviction, I should have felt it my duty to submit to the committee these observations on the speech of the hon. alderman, even if there had been no other objection to the system which

which it is his object to recommend, and without alluding to an argument that I am sure would of itself be sufficient to secure its rejection, viz. the injustice it would operate on the East India company; but if I differ from the worthy alderman in almost all his deductions, and inferences, from the facts he laid down, I am as little able to concur with the noble lord who followed him in the debate, I mean in his limitted view of the existing evils, and his mode of accounting for the vast increase of our Indian debt, and the sole remedy which he has suggested for the consideration of the committee. The noble lord seems to consider our present financial difficulties as the only evil we have to overcome, and war as the only cause; and the remedies he proposes are of course equally confined; whereas, in my view of our present situation in India, were our debt to be this moment extinguished, very serious evils would still remain; but, even adopting the noble lord's view of the subject, and supposing it only necessary at present to advert to the immediate cause, or causes of the deranged state of our finances in India, it would still be impossible for me to acquiesce in the noble lord's statement of 13 years of war as the cause of that derangement. Two years ago I heard a similar argument from the right hon. gent. whose loss is so justly deplored, and I heard it then with equal surprize; because I well knew that during 5 or 6 of the 10 years which he spoke of, the continent of India had not been in a state of war, and that, correctly speaking, the war in India commenced in 1798, after the arrival of marquis Wellesley. The noble lord I am sure has too much candour to contend, that the march of a detachment to take possession of Pondicherry, where there was not a shot fired, nor an enemy capable of making the least resistance, constituted war in the only sense in which the argument could apply. Several other expeditions were projected, in which the East India company had no more interest than any other corporate body: such expeditions indeed, by withdrawing their troops from the continent of India, and carrying them to unhealthy climes, are worse than useless to the company; they occasioned however a large expenditure, for the whole amount of which the company have a just claim on government, as I shall at all times be prepared to prove; but the amount, large as it is, forms but a small part of the enormous increase in our Indian expenditure and debt. The peace of Seringapatam concluded with Tippoo Sultaun by lord Cornwallis, was signed the beginning of March 1792, and from that period, till the year 1798, the peninsula of India was undisturbed by war; but when the noble lord spoke of 13 years of war, as if the Indian debt had been progressively increasing each of those years, he must have forgotten the decisive fact, that, in two of the first six years, the Indian debt, instead of increasing, diminished; viz. that in 1794, it was less by upwards of 700,000*l.* than in 1793; and in 1795, upwards of 500,000*l.* less than in 1794, and that in 1796, though a little more than in 1795, the debt was still nearly 900,000*l.* less than in 1793, when, as is well known to the noble lord, its amount was eight millions; from that year

year (1793) to 1798, the increase was only three millions; if then we suppose with the noble lord, that the five intervening years were years of war, what does that fact express with regard to the expenditure of the succeeding seven years; viz. from 1798 to 1805; during which, according to the estimate on the table, the Indian debt has accumulated from 11 millions to 26½ millions; for, although the noble lord spoke of 13 years, which must include the present year, I imagine his meaning went to no later period than to April 1805, which is the latest to which the usual estimate of the Indian debt is brought up; but if the noble lord wishes to bring it up to the present time, I fear several millions must be added to that estimate. The committee will judge, therefore, whether the present embarrassed state of the company's finances can, with accuracy, be ascribed to 13 years of war, and it is at least highly important and just, that the committee should be aware, that, of the 18½ millions added to the Indian debt, since the year 1793, three millions only were contracted before the year 1798. — That this enormous increase in the Indian debt has been principally occasioned by the late war in India, there can be no doubt; but if war alone could produce so great a change in the state of our finances, what would have been our situation after the war which began in 1779, and ended in 1784, in which we had to contend in India with the French and the Dutch, the Mahrattas and Hyder Ally? between which too and the late war there was this striking difference, viz. that our own districts were the seat of war, and by far the greater part of the Carnatic, for a considerable time, in the possession of the enemy; yet, at the conclusion of that war, the company's debt in India, I believe, amounted only to 6 or 7 millions. Whereas the late war in India was carried on in the territories of the enemy, and our own felt none of its calamities, except that, during a few weeks, an adventurer, named Dundeah, committed depredations in some of the Mysore districts. This is well known to the honorable general opposite (sir Arthur Wellesley) who himself so ably conducted the war in the Deckan, and to whose military prowess is most essentially to be attributed its successful issue, and its not having been carried into our own districts. Doubtless there are expenses incident to a state of war, although the troops may not be actually in the field; and the war in Europe, by giving birth to the maritime expeditions I have alluded to, contributed essentially to the reduction of the surplus revenue; but it made no other very considerable addition to our Indian expenditure, for, owing to the vigilance of government, and the vast superiority of our navy, not a French soldier landed in India. If, then, I were to be asked, to what causes the present state of our finances in India were to be attributed, I should answer, that they might be traced to a system of policy which sought the aggrandizement and extension of the British empire and influence in India, through the medium of what is called the system of subsidiary alliances, or the bringing all the native states into subjection to, or dependence on, the British power, by means of large bodies of troops stationed in their respective capitals, with agents or ministers,

nisters, on the part of the company, to watch and direct their political conduct. This system became the fruitful parent of an extended war, on an extended scale of expense, and a corresponding system of finances and general expenditure; in both of which economy was overlooked, or perhaps did not seem necessary; for one of the effects of this system was a vast nominal increase of revenue by the necessity of exacting from each native prince a subsidy for defraying the expense of the troops stationed in his capital. tal. These subsidies, whether in money, or commuted for an equivalent in territory, occasioned a great apparent increase of revenue, and every extension of our territory or revenue being supposed to bring with it a proportionate extension of our means of paying, produced a real alteration in the scale of ideas and expectations, and, unfortunately, the increased expenditure, by new establishments, and new or augmented salaries and allowances, not being made conditional, or dependent on the continuance of a surplus revenue, remained after the surplus had ceased to exist. Such I believe to have been, in abstract, the combined causes of the present embarrassed state of our finances in India; but do I therefore concur in the position which the hon. alderman has so industriously laboured to impress upon the committee, namely, that the East India company is insolvent? No, sir; I deny that the company is insolvent, or that our present pecuniary difficulties will make us so, unless we continue in the course which has brought them upon us. — How then are our finances to be retrieved, and what is to be done? Why, sir, if there is a determined disposition to retrieve them on both sides the Atlantic, they may, and will be retrieved, by measuring back our steps to those systems, both political and financial, from which we ought never to have departed; in a word, the system and principles of Marquis Cornwallis; by disavowing all views of extending our dominion and influence in India, and in proof of the sincerity of the disavowal, relinquishing the acquisitions, both in territory and alliances, which have been made under them; and, lastly, by contracting the number of our vast and expensive establishments, and the scale of those which it may be necessary to continue. The work, both in respect to policy and finance, we have reason to believe, is already begun, and if persevered in with firmness and decision, will effect the re-establishment of a surplus revenue, and the gradual reduction of the India debt; but it will be in vain to hope for such effects from any other means than those which I have stated: other measures may be resorted to in aid of those means, but if attempted without them, will only aggravate the existing evils, and perhaps render them insurmountable; but least of all can those effects be produced by the adoption of the advice of the honourable alderman, for which, however, I do not presume to censure him, as it is the result of opinions which he has long habitually cherished; with the view which he takes of the subject, I am not surprised that the annihilation of the company's commerce, and the substitution of the private trade in the place of it, which, to my mind, present the most ruinous consequences to the East India company, the public, and even the

traders

traders themselves, should to him seem fraught with benefits to all of them; but differing so widely as I do from the worthy alderman, I have felt anxious to submit to the committee, my impressions on the whole subject, and I have now to assure them that nothing but my sense of its extreme importance could make me venture on so long an intrusion on their time.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* rose to reply. He began with observing, that after the long indulgence with which he had been honored in a former part of the debate, he felt it his duty to abridge, as much as possible, what he had to say further on the subject; and here he must acknowledge his obligations to two hon. members, (Mr. Paull and Mr. Robson,) and also to another hon. member (Mr. Francis) who had volunteered in his support. For himself, he had long fought this battle single-handed, and had thrown himself alone into "the imminent and deadly breach," with truth for his standard, facts for his buckler, and the powerful and never-failing auxiliaries of cause and effect: What but a reliance on such auxiliaries, could have sustained him against the influence and resentment of the most powerful public body upon earth, or induced him to sacrifice personal ease, and perhaps the interests of a large family, to the prosecution of a great public object,—the assertion of national right to a natural share of the British trade with its Indian dependencies?—The causes of the Company's situation, which he had so long and so often exposed, had now produced the fatal consequences he had predicted, and dire distress and necessity were irresistibly forcing a change of system and a call for relief.—It had given him much satisfaction to hear the hon. director, who had just sat down, admitting, without reserve, all the facts he had stated on a former night, although the hon. gentleman had differed as much with regard to the conclusions drawn from them, and as he had misunderstood the views and objects of their exposure. The hon. director had represented him to have contrasted the present system, with the probable consequences of separating trade and revenue; with no other view than that of obtaining the abolition of the Company's charter from selfish and personal motives, when in fact he had merely stated the four active capitals requisite for conducting, even on its present scale, the Company's trade, and the total want of any such commercial resource; in order first to prove that Indian interest attach to every operation, and if it did attach, the hon. director well knew that all alleged profit on the trade was done away. The next object was to shew the necessity of allowing British subjects to carry on that trade, which the Company had no faculty of embracing, not to confine it to a few old commercial houses on each side the water, but to enable all the merchants, manufacturers, and ship-owers at home, and in India, to complete with foreigners in carrying it on, not in the wild and extravagant idea of rendering Great Britain the emporium of all the products even of British Asia, but in the sober contemplation of securing to the mother country that natural proportion of the traffic, of which she was deprived by the impolitic restrictions under which the private trader to and from India had laboured and continued to labour.—The hon. alderman next observed, that he had been charged with expatiating widely on the little value

of an item of ten millions, stated by the company themselves, as composed of bad debts, old buildings, old furniture, and other articles, which sum their own accountant had struck out of the balance sheet, and estimated at only 400,000*l.*; was it unjust, as he had observed on a former night, to scrutinize such an asset, when adduced as a probable future claim upon government, and as part of those resources, on the security of which a noble lord had proposed that the house should advance seventeen millions of money? Was it invidious to suppose a case possible, in which government might be obliged to resume its lease of the territories, and dissolve a partnership ruinously unprofitable to both parties of the firm? Would his majesty's ministers, or would they not, be justified in opposing to such claims, the five millions and a half they had and were to pay for defending India since 1804:—the expenses of the Cape and Ceylon, the charge of two squadrons in the eastern seas, and the pay of twenty-five regiments employed in acquiring and protecting the dominions in question?—But the company, it was asserted, had estates abroad of great value, of which they could not be deprived: how far it would be politic to retain them, would appear by looking at the expense of these estates; at that of the island of Bombay, for instance, where 764,994*l.* had been expended beyond the product of farms, licences, and quit rents; at that of St. Helena, which exceeded in the sum of 47,628*l.* as appeared by the accounts of 1802-3; at the value of the villages round Madras and Masulipatam; at their factory charges of Bencoolen, and, above all, at their more recently purchased island Penang, where half a million was likely to be squandered on the wild project of making an arsenal, that could never be defended; of keeping a garrison where there were no provisions, and erecting docks where there was neither tide to float the vessels, nor workmen or materials for their construction or repair. As well might the company resume their possessions at Balem, Bangam, and the Andomans, and call them profitable estates, as retain any thing of landed property, after they should lose the revenues at large. The Dutch and French retained indeed their factories in our territories, the one for the sake of patronage, for a few favoured families of the Aristocracy, the other from a political motive of disturbing our influence; neither were profitable; on the contrary, the Dutch company had become bankrupts, from the expenses they had thus incurred, and the French would never resume theirs, but from a determined enmity to our prosperity in India. These estates, therefore, were no addition to the amount of their assets, in the stock by computation.—But this Imperial company, it was said, exported, from patriotic motives, vast quantities of woollens, at an enormous loss. The hon. director, who, as well as the hon. ex-chairman, always carefully blended the India and China trade together, had vauntingly boasted of this immense export of woollens, and stated the heavy loss thereon as a sacrifice to the manufacturers of this country; the former had asked, what would become of the 40,000 British hands now employed, were the company to throw up that trade? In the first place, the alderman ob-

served, that no idea had ever been entertained by him, of invading the exclusive trade to China; it was, if any national trade could be, the properest of all subjects for monopoly. In fact, no great quantity of woollens were, or ever would be, consumed in British India, none were exported thither, except for sepoy's cloathing, and the limitted wear of Europeans. The argument, therefore, in this point of view, fell to the ground. The fact was, that China was super-saturated with the company's woollens, and that this circumstance had kept down the price. A reference to the director's own report on this branch of the trade, would set right the noble lord and his colleagues respecting the cause and extent of loss on this item.—But, granting that British subjects did interfere, would that interference lessen the exportation if there were any demand? would it not rather occasion a greater employ of the manufacturers of Devon, Yorkshire, and Gloucestershire? This threadbare topic had long ceased to convince men of the policy of shutting out British subjects from India, and allowing neutrals to rival us in our own natural colonial trade; to load their ships under our noses at every port of the united kingdom; to range unmolested from pole to pole; and even to buy and sell at our Indian factories, on the same terms as the company's privileged captains and officers of the regular ships. Here the alderman desired the committee to look at the total export of the company to India, for the eleven years past. He had moved for this important paper, separate from the China exports; it was presented on the 5th of June, and would be seen in page 94 of the budget accounts. During the eleven last years the total export of merchandise in the first column, instead of the immense sum the last Speaker had asserted it to be, the committee would be surprised to find amounted, as he had correctly stated on a former night, to no more than 5,044,969*l*. little above 450,000*l*. per annum. (In 1794-5 it was only 133,000*l*.) The company's tonnage for their India trade was only 9,822 tons on twelve ships; and, including that for private trade last year, was only twenty-five ships, or 17,081 tons. He compared this with the tonnage of Barbadoes, and that of a single Dutch colony, Surinam, which loaded home last year 10,493 tons. Was this, he repeated, the natural share of India trade, which the mother country was entitled to? Observe, he said, the striking contrast between imperial and individual energy; by the document on the table it appeared, that in 1799-1800 the whole of the company's export to India was only 463,578*l*. and this exceeded the average of the eleven years to which he had before alluded. In the same year, by an authenticated paper, laid before Mr. Dundas, and to be found in an able publication of a gentleman deceased (Mr. Henchman) it appeared, that twenty India built ships, wisely licenced by the noble lord (Wellesley,) an act fully justified by him in a dispatch to the directors, actually carried back merchandize from London to the amount of 615,247*l*. 12*s*. 6*d*. and expended here in repairs and disbursements 202,877*l*. although two of the number were laden back by government, and this besides wine taken in at Madeira from British merchants there. Who then, he emphatically exclaimed, are the enemies to the manufacturers, ship-builders, and

ship-owners, to the traders and merchants of these kingdoms? himself and those who thought with him, or the directors of the India company? Were the people of Sheffield and Birmingham more likely to starve, if a freer intercourse subsisted with the millions of people in our own Indian territories, and a trade were opened with the myriads who inhabited regions within the company's limits; regions which they never had it in contemplation to visit, much less to supply with their instant demands, and with the growing wants, which a knowledge of our manufactures would create. —The honourable director had re-echoed against him, the charges of personal motives and attachment to a favourite project of introducing India shipping to the injury of the British artisan; but would opening the India trade, that trade which the company could not carry on, would giving facility to that trade be likely to confine it to half a dozen established English houses abroad, and himself and four or five Indian agency houses in London? certainly not, on the contrary it would open India to the British merchant, trader, and ship-owner, without distinction or preference, whether at Liverpool, Bristol, Leith, or Glasgow, Dublin or Cork; it would injure, not the company, as was dreaded, but only the privileged neutral rivals, whose operations he had already in part developed, and should farther expose in the next session.—So much with regard to any selfish object on his part; he should next proceed to notice the danger of removing our artisans, (ship-builders he presumed were meant,) out of this kingdom to our dominions in Asia. But did there, he would ask, exist any want of ship-builders abroad? At Penang, (Prince of Wales's Island) it was true, there were neither workmen nor materials, neither revenues nor provisions; but was that the case at Bombay, on the Malabar coast, or at Calcutta? were not ships built there by British subjects? were none built at Pegue or Demaur, by Burmaks and Parsees? was it not a notorious fact, that ship-building materials of every kind super-abounded in our own territories? that they no less abounded in artisans, and master-builders of the first eminence to put them together? was it not then sound policy for this government to encourage the extraction of these materials, and indeed of every other resource, which dependencies dearly acquired, and of such precarious tenure, would furnish to the mother country? would it not be sound policy to build ships there for government, which might partly pay for their construction by a freight home, and to compel the company to build there for their own commerce, and leave the oaklings of our home forests to acquire their natural growth? Would the ship-builders of Blackwall, or of any other yard, complain of such a necessary expedient? did they not candidly acknowledge, and every ship-owner feel, that the expense, and of course the profits, of refitting and repair, exceeded those of original construction; that materials were grown so scarce and dear at home, that no merchant vessel could be built to sail against neutrals, nor any Indiaman be allowed to arrest the inefficient and scanty supply of our own timber for the royal navy? was not the contract price of building for the king's service more than double within these few years? Could the commissioners obtain

contracts at all to the extent required?—These facts made most completely against the director's assertions.—The honourable director had next brought forward, the company's trade as a nursery for British seamen, and deprecated the employ of India shipping, as injurious to that object. In the first place, he would ask, by whom are the company's ships now manned, and likely to be both in peace and war, while our enemy was attempting to rival us on the seas: By foreigners mostly, when outward bound, and back principally by lascars, natives, or subjects of British India. Which of these classes deserved most to be encouraged he need not ask; our commerce was now become too much the nursery for seamen of other countries, and unless care was taken hereafter, most of our British sailors would become Americans.—It was not interest, but necessity that ever induced the employ of black sailors on board the merchant ships, the greater number of them required, in proportion to the tonnage, made it always cheaper to navigate with European, and most of all with British seamen. But, if any preference was due, the British lascar ought, in policy, to be preferred to Danish or American sailors.—The honourable director had paid a just tribute to the skill and gallantry of the men who navigated the company's ships, and of those who commanded them. No man, said the alderman, had an higher opinion of them, than himself, they were the best seamen, and the first navigators in the world; they had distinguished themselves against Suffrein under Watson in 1778, and the last glorious instance of gallantry in the China seas, under captain Dance, would for ever endear them to their country. But how that establishment was supported, or merit and seniority regarded, he would not stop to enquire. In nothing, he said, was there any design to deprive the company of their shipping, nor of that trade they were able to carry on, which trade ought to maintain its own maritime establishment.—The noble lord had fairly stated the expansion of the double system of trade and dominion, to have called for a greater amount of fixed and floating assets than had formerly been requisite; but where among them was to be found any capital applicable to trade? In all the budget speeches, the surplus revenue, and the product of exports, were expressly mentioned as the amount applicable to investment, the rest, at any rate, was borrowed for the purpose, as the noble lord himself had confessed in his last budget statement. "The question," says he, "that will naturally be suggested on this occasion is, as to the prudence or propriety of investing so large an amount in goods, when the surplus from the revenue is estimated so low, as the system of providing funds for this purpose by new loans has been often objected to."—Mr. Dundas, in 1801, had made use of these words: "The question must naturally arise, from whence funds could be derived to meet demands to so considerable an amount, to which I shall merely now reply, that, in whatever amount the supplies from Europe in bullion, and the cash received for bills on the court of directors were found deficient, money was raised on loans, as will appear in the increase of the Indian debt."—The Alderman here affirmed, that notwithstanding all assertions to the contrary, much the greater part, if not all that debt, had been created by the trade.

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The exclusive system, according to the honourable director, embraced great political objects, it ought not therefore to be judged of on the narrow principles of a profit and loss trade; this the alderman observed might possibly be rational doctrine, if the revenues were able to make good the deficiencies in trade; but, had that been the case? on the contrary, the Indian debt had increased as the commerce extended, nor had the hon. ex-chairman, the noble lord, the hon. general (Wellesley) nor the director himself, been able to show any solid capitol on which the trade had been supported; the fact was, a trade on money borrowed at Indian interest had ruined the company; the company, as he had repeatedly asserted, never had an active capital applicable to the purpose of commerce. He would state their capital; the united company were incorporated in the year 1702, by an indenture between her majesty queen Anne and the two East India companies, which had previously existed on separate establishments. In 1698 the 10th of king William, there had been raised for this purpose by subscription, in virtue of his letter patent, on a capital of

3,200,000*l.* at 87½ per cent.		2,800,000
Of which there had been lent to government at 8 per cent. interest	2,000,000	
They had also paid for dead stock under lord Godolphin's award,	400,000	
which made from the first capital a deduction of		2,400,000
So that the active capital amounted only to		400,000
To which a fresh subscription was made in 1701 upon 800,000*l.* at 155 per cent. of		1,240,000
So that the capital was then		1,640,000
But of this sum, there was lent to government the same year		1,200,000
So that the capital then remaining for trade was but		440,000
(At this time interest was reduced to 5 per cent.)		
In 1729, a douceur was paid to government of		200,000
Unless therefore the trade had increased their stock beyond their dividends, the capital was reduced to		240,000
In 1741, they lent however to government, at 3 per cent. without any call on the proprietors		1,000,000
which exceeded the funded subscription afloat		760,000
At this time their loan to government amounted to		4,200,000
In 1750, the interest on this loan was reduced to 3 per cent.		
In 1789, a new subscription of one million stock at 174 per cent. added to the company's resources the sum of		1,740,000
In 1793, the capital becoming more inefficient, 1,000,000*l.* of stock was added, though not all subscribed till the year after, and this produced		2,027,295

Upon this capital, and the surplus revenues, had the company conducted their complicated system of conquests and commerce, with what success the committee were now the judges.—One source of loss, however, he ought to state, and that was the sale of three of the four millions which their necessities had compelled the company to dispose of, at the market

price, after the whole loan to government had been converted into consols at 3 per cent. and the remainder, which was of no greater value than the consols of the day, was still a resource, though at the decreased value he had before stated, in examining the stock by computation. Upon such slender means had the machine been conducted; how far they were adequate he would not detain the committee to enquire, but a reference to the annual balances of their stock account would, in a moment, shew the progress of their affairs.—The ex-chairman had broadly admitted the company's present distress, and indeed to have denied the fact would have been strangely inconsistent with his declarations in another place. The noble lord (Castlereagh) had also made a similar confession, but the prospect of a long peace in our provinces, afforded, in their opinion, ample confidence in the resources of the company to surmount its present difficulties. The noble lord admitted that the India debt had afforded the capital for its commerce; he had also corroborated the elaborate statement of the hon. general (Wellesley) for a peace establishment, in which he was able only to exhibit the hope of a saving of 740,000*l.* per ann. and this without any allowance for the unliquidated arrears of the war, the increasing interest on the bond debt, or the funds constantly required for investment on the present footing; both however had denied the insolvency of the company, or that India was now more likely to become a burthen, than a relief to the mother country. The noble lord's illustration of the grounds of this confidence, was in unison with the declarations, so often officially made by him and his predecessors in the board of control. It was only a stronger dose of that sweet nepenthe, annually distributed in their budget speeches, "Hope travels on, nor quits us till we die." The fate, however, of a certain other great monopoly, framed upon extravagant speculation, ought to be a warning to this country, as well as to the India company. In a large building, between Leadenhall-street and the Royal Exchange, was there not at this day an evidence of the country's being compelled to pay a composition upon the capital, as well as the debts of a privileged corporation? The Missisipi bubble had ruined French credit, and so would the South Sea project have ruined that of England, had not government stepped forward with the public purse, to pay a part of the corporate deficiency. But the company, as was asserted by the noble lord and the ex-chairman, and after them by the director, who had just sat down, possessed ample resources to prevent ultimate loss to the state. They had their claim of ten millions for buildings and fortifications; this, the alderman said, he had completely disposed of. The noble lord had indeed stated, that they were, it was true, 1,598,000*l.* deficient of their capital, assuming all the items in the stock by computation to be valid; but admitting this fallacious statement, were they not still without the capital for trade, or the means of raising one? If, however, the committee adopted his (the alderman's) deductions, this deficit would be found nearer 14,600,000*l.* But the relief which the noble lord himself had suggested, sufficiently proved what his own real opinion was of the company's situation— "We are in no danger of becom-

ing burthensome to the state, or of calling for any fresh trading capital;" only, says the noble lord, "allow us to raise four or five millions by the sale of fresh-created stock, and lend us seventeen millions more, to be raised on parliamentary security, for our corporate use and benefit!" Sweet, indeed, and large must be the dose of nepenthe; copious the opiate draught that would any longer lull the house and the country into such dangerous security. Better far would it be, the alderman observed, to go first into the committee, which the noble lord now recommended; for himself, he was persuaded that the extent of the disease was not yet discovered, and therefore no adequate remedy could be applied till a fresh report was made to the house, upon a full investigation of all the branches of the India system—a firm conviction in his mind of the magnitude of those embarrassments, and of the extreme difficulty of finding a remedy; and not any of the personal or party motives, which had been again ascribed to himself; not any resentment for disappointed ambition, nor envy at the company's power and influence, but a just sense of his duty, as a representative of the commons of England, and as one of the magistrates of the first commercial city in the universe, the greatest that modern or ancient times beheld; these were the stimuli which had urged him to enter thus largely into the wide detail of the company's affairs, and which would continue to support him, in the further prosecution of the subject next session, of which he had given notice in the house.

Mr. *Hudlestone*, in explanation, said, it was impossible for him to imagine where the worthy alderman had gotten the statement which he had made to the committee of the amount or value of the company's exports to India, or who had furnished it, but that fortunately he (Mr. Hudlestone), happened to have brought with him to the house a document on that head, for the accuracy of which he would pledge himself to the committee. Mr. Hudlestone accordingly read from that document, that the company's exports to India from the season of 1797, to that of 1804, amounted to 12,368,402*l.* giving an average of 1,546,050*l.* in each year.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that the share he had borne, and the interest he must always continue to feel in the administration of India, made him desirous of troubling the committee with such observations as the course of the present debate, and the general state of the company's affairs at this period, suggested.—It was not necessary that he should detain them upon the detail of the accounts, which were the immediate subject of the committee's consideration. The different results had been very fairly and clearly opened by the noble lord, and so far as the statement related to the actual accounts for the year 1803-4 abroad, and those in estimate for 1804-5, he had the satisfaction of entirely concurring in the view his lordship had given of those accounts.—Owing certainly to no omission for which the noble lord could be responsible, but from the documents not having been received in due course from India, the committee had only now before them what ought more properly to have constituted the budget of the preceding year, and had to regret that the information

was still so much in arrear, as to deprive them of the means of forming any very precise judgment of the present state of the company's finances.—Notwithstanding the defective nature of the materials, he was glad that the present discussion had taken place. It was not likely that gentlemen, reasoning upon results that can only now be given on estimate, and drawing their inferences from combinations of accounts intricate in themselves, and such as cannot be easily reconciled in a singular discussion of this nature, should frequently find it impossible to agree in any very precise conclusion. At the same time, the debate served to bring into view, and into discussion, many leading points connected with the management of this important concern, with sufficient accuracy, to be productive of practical advantage to the administration of Indian affairs. He had always considered the public service much indebted to those gentlemen who provoked enquiry and discussion upon Indian subjects, from an intimate persuasion that it was attended with beneficial consequences both abroad and at home. Under this impression of duty, he should state to the committee his sentiments upon the leading points which had been adverted to in the course of the present debate, and more particularly on the probable state of the company's affairs at the winding up of the Indian war, and the measures which he deemed it requisite should be taken thereupon, with a view of enabling the company effectually to avail themselves of their general resources, in meeting the pressure of the heavy debt which had grown up abroad.—He could not but regret that in discussing the situation of the company's affairs, gentlemen so frequently neglected to take the obvious distinction (which they never failed to do as a matter of course, when speaking of our affairs at home) between a period of war and peace. When they ventured to speak of the insolvency of the company, and attempted to prove it by a comparison of their annual means, independent of loans, with their late expenditure, it would be well if they would consider, whether the insolvency of the government at home, or of any government in the world might not, in time of war, be established by the same mode of reasoning. It would be as untrue with respect to an individual to bring forward a year of extraordinary outgoings as the measure of his expenditure, and to conclude him ruined, because he could not meet such an extent of charge, without having recourse to loans.—Another mode, in which it is attempted to establish this theory of insolvency, is, to suppose the company dissolved, and called upon like any common banker, at a moment's warning, to pay, not only all just demands upon them, but also to repay themselves their capital stock subscribed. It is then said, where are your means? can you turn your wealth into money? must not the company acknowledge itself bankrupt?—It is hardly necessary to observe on the absurdity of resembling a great body of this description, created for the double purpose of trade and government (in which capacity it was to be hoped, for the sake of the constitutional liberties of the country, they would in all times, under proper regulations, continue to endure) with an ordinary trader; but if this very inappropriate comparison

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is to be made, would not a manufacturer, who had sunk much of his capital in machinery, not in itself of a description to be easily turned into money, though productive to him of considerable annual profit, be as open to a sentence of bankruptcy, upon these principles, as the company? It is hardly fair of gentlemen who wish to throw open the company's trade, or to carry forward any other speculative project with respect to India, to endeavour thus indirectly to attain their ends, by holding out to the public exaggerated and gloomy representations of the affairs of a commercial body, whose credit, and consequently whose interests, must, if these statements are believed, be thereby materially injured.— But, even upon the grounds of their own reasoning, their conclusion may be disproved. They set out by very unfairly considering the entire Indian debt as a sole and absolute charge upon the company's funds, distinct from the territories. Now, assuming the day arrived when parliament should think fit to vest the government of India in other hands, can it be supposed that, upon an equitable settlement between the public and the company, the latter, upon the expiration of their charter, which may be considered in the nature of a lease for 21 years under the state, would be ultimately saddled with these loans, so far as they have been contracted, not for any temporary or commercial interest of the company, but for the permanent defence and security of those valuable possessions? It is obvious that an adjustment must be made on this head, the extent and nature of which must depend on a variety of considerations.—It is enough at present to point out the fallacy, in any general balance of the company's affairs, of considering the Indian debt as wholly chargeable upon them, as a trading company.—But, even on this supposition, the result is not so discouraging, when the assets, dead stock, and absolute rights of the company, are set off against the gross debts.

India debt, April 1804 - -	22,536,207
Debt in Europe, March 1805 - - - -	6,012,196
Total -	£.28,548,403
Capital stock - - - - - -	7,780,000
Total debts -	£.36,328,403
Assets in India, April 1804 - - - - - - -	14,452,343
Assets at home, March 1805 - - - - - -	20,442,659
	£.34,895,002
Debts, including capital -	36,328,403
Assets - - - - - - - -	34,895,002
Balance against - - - -	£.1,433,401

This balance will certainly stand less favourably, when the accounts are received, bringing down the expenses abroad to April 1806, before which time the peace reductions could not begin materially to operate, and a considerable reduction must be made, though by no means to the extent gentlemen are disposed to push it, from the assets for bad debts and demands on Government not allowed; but, on the other hand, the Company have a considerable claim on any final settlement for their dead stock amounting to 9,994,208l. They would also still stand possessed, if the charter was terminated, of considerable revenues, arising from territories to which they long since became entitled, by grants and not by conquest. Of this description are Bombay, Fort

St. George, Fort William, with their dependent territories, St. Helena, the northern Circars, subject to a question, and other possessions, the annual revenues of which in 1793 were estimated at 520,000l.—Upon a mere balance then of their capital wealth, compared with the claims upon them, after making all due deductions from the Assets for such claims as may be insolvent, and striking off the proportion of debt that must in equity follow the territories, and remain secured upon them till finally liquidated, the balance of such an account would, he had no doubt, leave the company in possession of ample means to discharge all demands upon them, including their Capital Stock.—But the productive wealth of the Company ought to be measured, not merely by their capital, but by the ordinary produce of the concern in years of peace. In 1802, their net proceeds, arising from surplus revenue and profits of trade, were estimated at 1,500,000l. after defraying all charges, an estimate which, from subsequent experience, it appears would have been fully realized, had we remained at peace.—If we were, then, to look at this question as a mere matter of account, without reference to the more enlarged functions the Company were intended to perform, it would be impossible to contend, upon any fair view of their wealth in point of capital, or upon their presumeable clear income in time of peace, even after their own immediate profits have been secured in the shape of dividends, that the Company can be considered in a state any thing approaching to insolvency, however their affairs may at the present moment severely experience the pressure of war, and the extent and nature of their debt require, in sound policy, the most vigorous measures for its reduction.—There were a few other points that had been touched upon in the course of the debate, which he should wish to notice, before he proceeded to state what, in his conception, would be the state of the finances abroad at the winding up of the war, and the course which ought to be pursued for the effectual relief of the company's affairs. They might be classed under the following heads: 1st. The extent and nature of the company's trade, whether profitable or not? 2ndly, Whether the commercial capital of the company had become insufficient for carrying on their trade, and if so, from what sources the extra funds had been supplied? 3dly. Whether, in the general management of the company's affairs for a period of years, India stood indebted to Europe, or Europe to India? and 4thly, as connected with, and arising out of the preceding points, to what purposes, whether of commerce or government, the produce of the various loans made abroad, since the renewal of the charter, had been applied?—And first, as to their commerce, he conceived an hon. alderman (Prinsep) in endeavouring to lead the attention of the committee to a collateral question: viz. that of the private trade, one certainly of great moment in itself, but much too extensive in its bearings to be mixed with propriety or advantage in the present debate, had given not a very true or candid picture of the company's commerce, either as it related to their own immediate profits, or to its effects upon the manufacturing prosperity of the

empire at home. Their trade, but more particularly that with the continent of India, he had described as a losing commerce, in order to found upon this assumption the inference, that their monopoly ought to be put an end to, and their trade, at least with the continent of India, thrown open. That the trade either with India or China was carried on to a loss, he must be permitted to doubt. He held in his hand an account, prepared at the India-house, of the clear profit on the prime cost of both the Indian and China investments for 15 years from 1787 to 1801, both years inclusive. By this it appeared, that the average of profit on the Indian investments for the period in question, was 22l. 8s. 6d. per cent. for the whole period, and proportionably much higher in the later years since the shipping system of the company was opened to a free and unrestrained competition.—The average profit on the China investment calculated upon the same principles, and for the like period, is stated to be 37l. 14s. 4d. per cent. The committee would observe, that this was the profit upon the entire commercial transaction, from the dispatch of the goods or funds from hence till the return and sale of the investment, and that in order to determine how far the operation is commercially profitable, the above per centage must be compared with the amount of capital employed, and extent of time which is required, in the ordinary course of business, to complete this revolution, which may be taken at about two years and a half upon an average, the return from India being somewhat quicker than from China.—Another mode of looking at this question might be had recourse to, by reference to an account then on the table, which he had himself moved for in 1803, viz. of the actual annual proceeds at home of the four years ending in March 1802, which were on an average 366,000*l.* per annum, after paying all charges in this account, previous to the balance being struck, the dividends were included, which must be considered as in the nature of commercial profit, being, in truth, the return to the proprietors upon their capital stock employed in trade. This account, subject however to some adjustments, would go to prove the company's commerce eminently productive; but before we can consider this large annual surplus a clear commercial gain, in addition to the ten and a half per cent. the proprietors receive in dividends, we must first be satisfied, (and he would subsequently state his reasons for holding a different opinion), that no more capital was really employed in carrying on this trade, than that which was visibly assigned to this purpose; namely, the Capital Stock, the company's Bonds, and the other floating Securities for which an interest was paid. Whatever additional funds had actually found their way into the commercial concern, must be considered as part of the capital employed, and the return must provide for the interest of such funds, before the clear profit can be precisely ascertained.—It seemed, however, unjust to describe the company's commerce as carried on at a loss. To what precise extent it might be profitable, after providing a liberal dividend to the proprietors, might be a matter of more difficult calculation,

tion, and must, like all commercial results, be in its nature fluctuating; but, in reasoning upon this branch of the company's affairs, the worthy alderman must establish several preliminary facts, before he can expect to persuade parliament that the commercial existence of the company is to be considered merely on grounds of mercantile profit. He must be prepared to shew, that individuals would be as likely to carry on steadily the commerce of India, under all the fluctuations to which such a trade is liable, where the outgoings are great, and the returns distant, as a great trading corporation. He must be prepared to dispel the apprehensions which must be entertained with respect to the injurious influence on the prosperity of India, which may be the consequence of an unsteady and unequal demand for their produce, before he can expect to satisfy parliament that an intercourse, perfectly unrestrained, is preferable to that qualified intercourse, partly free and partly restricted, which now prevails. If he assumes, that individuals by using an inferior description of tonnage, could carry on the trade at less expense, and consequently at greater profit, he must be prepared to shew, that this is not merely by throwing the difference of the expense on the publick, by rendering numerous and expensive convoys requisite to protect their feeble vessels in time of war, whilst the company's ships, with a comparatively slight aid from our navy, are competent to protect each other, and to set the enemy's ships of war, even when in considerable force, at defiance. He must be prepared to shew, that such an establishment as that of the company, could be kept up without the protection of a qualified monopoly; or that such a system is in itself unnecessary to the political existence of the Company, and the management of large territorial revenues, when, both in peace and in war, funds must be transferred, through the medium of commerce, from India to Europe, and from Europe to India. He must also shew, before he can establish that the interest of the manufacturer at home is interested in such a change, that individual speculators would be disposed to send out British manufactures, even at some loss, as the company have frequently done, or that there is any other limit to the amount of this description of export, on the part of the company, than the utmost quantity the Indian market can take off, which they have not hitherto been able, with their most strenuous efforts, and some sacrifices, to carry beyond 2,000,000*l.* a year. These, and many other important doubts, must be solved, before any satisfactory or sound conclusion can be come to, on the great practical question to which the worthy alderman, somewhat out of time, had been solicitous to point the attention of the committee. With respect to his position, that the commercial capital of the company, properly so called, has in progress of time become inadequate to its purpose, that an accession of funds has been found necessary, and that the requisite increase has been supplied by loans raised abroad, he had the satisfaction to agree with the worthy alderman, though by no means to the extent of his statement.—

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Where the worthy alderman found his principle, that it required four capitals, or 24,000,000*l.* to carry on the Company's trade, he knew not; certainly not from anything he had ever said. He never had himself heard it before stated higher than two capitals and a half, or at the utmost three capitals; but without being able to trace the precise extent of the actual increase, he was persuaded that some considerable increase had taken place, partly from tracing the funds borrowed abroad to their probable destination, partly from a general but intimate persuasion that the capital itself, even with the increased amount of the company's floating securities, has gradually become unequal to the extent of their commerce; under the progressive increase of charge at which, from the effects of war and other causes, it has latterly been, in common with all other operations necessarily conducted; but still more from a detailed examination of the extent and situation of the funds themselves, as distributed throughout the various branches of their trade. If he was right in his general position, it could not well be disputed, indeed it would be rendered less doubtful from, some statements which he should subsequently refer to, that the funds requisite for this purpose had been raised abroad, and so far disadvantageously from the high rate of interest at which they were obtained, a practice which certainly nothing but a case of extreme necessity could, in a commercial point of view, justify.—This naturally led to the third point of enquiry, which had been gone into at some length by his honourable friend, the late chairman, (Mr. Grant) and also by another hon. friend of his, (sir A. Wellesley) viz. Whether, upon the balance of Funds passing between India and Europe for a series of years back, India stood indebted to Europe, or Europe to India? The former had stated the account between Europe on one side, and India and China on the other, and upon three several periods of years; viz. of 15 years, of 10 years, and of 7 years. From these statements the result was, that in the 15 years the accounts nearly balanced; on the 10 years the balance was about 2,400,000*l.* in favour of India, and upon the last 7 years, there was a balance the other way of about 536,000*l.*—The hon. general had taken somewhat a different view of the question.—He had stated the same sort of balanced account between India on one side and Europe and China on the other, from the commencement of lord Wellesley's government in 1798; in order to shew, that India had supplied considerably more than she had received, and that, down to April 1804, the increase of Assets, and the excess of her Supplies to Europe and China beyond the value received, nearly balanced the extraordinary funds raised. These two statements seem to lead to opposite conclusions. The first to establish an inference that the commercial treasury at home derived no aid of any consequence from abroad during the period in question, and the latter to establish a different inference. The two lead at once to the main practical question; namely, for what purposes were the loans raised abroad, and to what have they in point of fact been applied? It could not be expected that in a discussion of this sort, any very precise analysis could be given

given of so intricate an enquiry. He should, however, state generally his impression to the committee on that important point.—The first obvious fact that attracted attention upon an inspection of the company's affairs, was the great increase of the debts since the renewal of the character:

Indian Debt, April 1804 -		£22,536,207
1793 - -		8,074,863
Actual Increase - - - -		14,461,342
Estimated Increase to April 1806, about - - - - -		6,000,000
Total Increase -		£20,461,342
Debt in Europe, March 1794 -		7,006,500
1805 -		6,012,196
Total Decrease -		£ 994,304
Increase in India - - -		20,461,342
Decrease in Europe - -		994,304
Net Increase - -		£19,467,038

In considering to what purposes these Funds have been applied, it has already been stated that, during the 4 years ending in 1802, no loss, but on the contrary a profit, took place on the company's trade. The same fact is corroborated on a more extended period of years; viz. from 1795 to 1804, by an account now before parliament presented in 1804,* by which the surplus proceeds at home, in the 10 years, amount to 981,781*l*. From these documents it would appear, that no part of the produce of these Loans has been dissipated in the commercial transactions of the Company. Whether they may not have been employed in certain branches of them, and been invested in goods or other articles for which a value remains, is a separate consideration, and will be examined hereafter. Neither is there any reason to suppose that any considerable proportion of the produce of these Loans have been sunk and expended on the defence and management of the territories. By the accounts above alluded to, it appeared that the revenues realized in 10 years to April 1803,

Amounted to - - - - -	£94,756,281
Actual 1803-4 - - - -	13,273,044
Estimate 1804-5 - - -	13,558,509
Estimate 1805-6 - - -	14,279,533
Revenue, ten years -	£135,867,367

The charges abroad for the same period, including interest of debt, and deducting expense of Bencoolen, St. Helena, and the other settlements extra the continent of India, as being rather connected with the commercial than the territorial charges, were as follows:

Ten years to 1803 - -	£91,416,635
Actual, 1803-4 - - -	14,748,872
Estimate, 1804-5 - - -	15,005,013
Estimate, 1805-6 - - -	16,664,672
	£137,835,192
Interest paid to commissioners of the Sinking Fund - - - - - - -	730,000
Net Expenditure abroad -	£137,105,192
Revenues, thirteen years -	135,867,367
Charges, thirteen years - -	137,105,192
Deficiency - -	£ 1,237,825

During the above period, certain expenses immediately appertaining to the territories were paid in Europe, which ought to be added to the charges. They amounted, on an average of years, to about 300,000*l*. per annum, or for the entire

* See Vol. II. p. 1167.

entire period 3,900,000*l*. On the other hand, the revenues are entitled to have credit for whatever sums included in the charges abroad were disbursed on account of government, and for which the company either have or will receive payment with Indian interest thereupon, perhaps the amount of 3,500,000*l*.—Upon the whole, it appeared, that during the period in question, which was one of nearly uninterrupted war, the territories had nearly maintained themselves, and consequently but a very small proportion of the sums raised by loans, had been sunk in their defence.—Where, then, did the great mass of the 19,467,038*l*. extraordinary funds, raised by loans since 1793, go? By referring to the Account of Assets abroad to April 1804, and March 1805 at home, it would appear that a very large increase had taken place in both since 1793.

Assets in India, April 1804 -	14,452,343
Assets in Europe, March 1805 - - - - - - -	20,442,659
	£34,895,002
Assets in India, April 1793 -	8,339,362
Assets in Europe, March 1794 - - - - - - -	9,888,836
	£18,221,198
Assets, 1804-5 - - - -	34,895,002
Assets, 1793-4 - - - -	18,228,198
Total Increase -	£16,666,804

This sum was liable to be increased by whatever proportion of the funds expended in the two subsequent years, viz. previous to April 1806, to which the debts have been stated on estimate, had been realized in the assets. The amount would probably be considerable, though inferior to the increase of debt within the period.—It then appeared, that an increase had taken place in the assets since 1793, to an amount nearly corresponding to that which had been made to the debt. It was plain such an immense increase could not have grown up from the commercial profits. It was as clear, that, during the period in question, it could not have arisen from the surplus produce of the revenues, absorbed as they had been by war: The only other possible source from which it could have arisen, was from the loans contracted within the period; with which in amount (without then inquiring how far it had been invested in a description of value which could be realized or not) it in some degree corresponded.—If then, the greater proportion of the 19,467,038*l*. added to the debt since 1793, was to be looked for in the assets of the company, it remained generally to be ascertained how far those funds had been appropriated to purposes connected with the commercial or territorial interest of the company. That could only be done in a very general way, but he conceived with sufficient precision for any practical purpose. He apprehended, that to neither of these sourses could its application be exclusively traced, but to both in their respective proportions. The increase on the home assets was greatest. It amounted to 10,553,823*l*. that on the assets abroad to 6,112,981.—If the committee would inspect the items of which the account of assets consisted, they would perceive that of 20,442,659*l*. at home, with the exception of what was stated to be due from government to the company, the whole was strictly of a commercial description. The charge

charge against government within this period was stated at 4,460,192*l.* which, deducted from the increase of 10,553,823*l.* seemed to leave the increase, strictly commercial, to be 6,093,631*l.* If the assets abroad, amounting to 14,452,343*l.* after deducting the securities in the hands of the commissioners were similarly analized, the greater proportion would certainly be found to be connected with the management of the territories; but still a considerable share must be referred to the commerce, viz.

Export Goods - - - -	£1,022,907
Import Goods - - - -	1,156,228
Commercial Advances -	2,131,172
Stores, in part - - - -	2,061,593

To which might be added some allowance for the share the trade might have in rendering large balances of cash necessary, in the various principal and subordinate treasuries abroad for the convenient conduct thereof. Supposing the same proportion to prevail between the commercial and political branches with respect to the 6,112,981*l.* increase in the foreign assets since 1793, which is observable in the general account; there would then be assignable within the period of increase,

To Territories, about - -	4,112,981
To Commerce, about - -	2,000,000
	£6,112,981

If, then, to the increased commercial assets at home, viz. 6,093,631*l.* were added the proportion of the increased assets abroad, which might be deemed commercial, viz. 2,000,000*l.* the whole commercial increase would be 8,093,631*l.* since 1793, which might be taken to be about the proportion of the debt which had been contracted for purposes directly or indirectly connected with the commerce, and to have been gradually invested in a larger and more valuable stock of goods and stores on hand, both abroad and at home; in a commerce more enlarged, as well as necessarily conducted at a considerably increased advance of capital; and also in an extension of the buildings and other establishments connected with this branch of the company's service. Deducting the amount which appeared to have been thus realized in the commercial assets from the gross increase of debt, there was some reason to presume that the residue had been raised and applied to services either connected with the territorial government, or the service of the state at home.

Gross Increase of Debt since 1793 - - - -	£19,467,038
Assignable to Trade - -	8,093,631
Remains - - - - -	11,373,407
Deduct Claims on Government - - - -	4,460,192
Remains -	£ 6,913,215

The latter sum, liable to be increased by whatever proportion of the claim on government is disallowed, may be deemed, upon grounds of general reasoning, the proportion of the debt incurred since 1793 assignable to the territories, about 4,000,000*l.* of which may be found in the territorial assets abroad, having been invested partly in increased cash balances, partly in larger sums floating between the presidencies, as well as between the sub-treasuries within each presidency, partly to advances to native powers, or their creditors, as for instance, the advance on account of the Carnatic debt, the loan to the Guicowar, &c. The advances on account of the public, he

he did not consider as a debt belonging to the territories, as the sum, when repaid, whatever it was, ought to discharge an equal amount of debt. If this statement were sufficiently correct for the purposes of reasoning upon, of which he thought no doubt could well be entertained, however the detail might, on a closer inspection, be varied, two observations naturally suggested themselves, which it was important to remark, not only with regard to the past but the future management of the company's affairs: First, the extent of debt which had been contracted, and, secondly, that the entire increase had taken place abroad.—

The obvious disadvantage of providing those extraordinary funds abroad, which either the political or commercial service of the company might require, at an interest nearly double that paid for money in Europe, at first sight might seem to call in question the prudence with which the company's affairs during that period had been conducted; but, it was due to the court of directors, and to those who then presided over the Indian administration, to state, that the most serious obstacles stood in the way of their raising any considerable sum in the market at home, nearly throughout the entire of that period. He dwelt the rather on this point, as it, in principle, connected itself immediately with the remedial measures hereafter to be recommended. With respect to the past, there was every reason to presume (to such a degree was the market at home pre-occupied by the public loans,) that the company had then no other option but to borrow abroad. The serious evil however of raising money at 10 and 12 per cent. exclusive of a bonus to the subscribers, ought to suggest, for future consideration, if the requisite loans cannot, either in the whole or in part, be raised in time of war in Europe, and remitted to India; whether the amount of the money borrowed abroad ought not to be kept down as much as possible, even at the inconvenience of some reduction of the usual extent of the investment. He was fully aware of the importance of giving, at all times, the utmost support to the industry and prosperity of India, by the purchase of its manufactured produce; and of the objections to any check being given to the full employment of the company's shipping; but, if the funds for both the commercial and political services cannot be found at such a period, on terms less ruinous, it was of the last importance that the amount raised by loans abroad, should be kept within the narrowest limits possible.—He was aware that the extent of extra funds, which he was led to suppose had found their way into the commerce, more particularly in Europe since, 1793, did not quite accord with the account of value transmitted to, and received from India during that period from which his honourable friend (Mr. Grant) had made his statement.—He was not able to follow the items of the account so far as to judge whether it gave India credit not only for its ordinary advances on account of Europe, viz. to Ceylon, to the navy, to the company's ships, &c. but also for the very large advances on account of government, with interest due thereon, which had been a subject of enquiry and settlement in the course of last session, or whether it gave credit for the commercial charges abroad not added

added to the invoices, and also for the funds remitted to Bencoolen, St. Helena, &c. which must be considered chiefly as commercial advances. It would require much pains and attention to reconcile these several accounts, and from the whole to deduce a consistent and satisfactory result. With this view, he was of opinion, that it would be desirable to charge a special committee, sitting above stairs, with the task of investigating and reporting upon the present state of the company's finances in all its details. If such an enquiry was instituted, not with any hostile or indirect view of shaking the company's rights, or of innovating on their existing constitution, but with a sincere and candid desire to remove doubt, and to throw light on such points as were disputable in their financial system, he was persuaded the result would be highly advantageous to their general credit, and that a report coming from such authority would go far to prevent the public mind from being hereafter misled with respect to the true state of the company's affairs. He was the more desirous that such an enquiry should be instituted, as he did not conceive, upon any grounds less grave and satisfactory than an investigation before a committee of their own members, that parliament would feel itself authorised to lend its aid to the company in carrying into effect those vigorous measures which could alone, in his judgment, afford an early, adequate, and effectual relief to their finances, the nature of which relief he should now lay before the committee; first, however, shortly explaining the actual state of their affairs, as calling for and recommending such a measure.—The Company's debt in April 1802, to which debt the plan of liquidation which he had the honour of opening to parliament in March 1803 was applied, amounted to 18,654,381*l.* of which about 16,000,000*l.* bore interest. The Debt up to April 1806 was estimated at 28,500,000*l.* of which about 25,000,000*l.* might be considered as bearing interest. The annual interest in the former period was 1,394,170*l.* In the latter, it would somewhat exceed 2,000,000*l.* The surplus revenue was estimated, in March 1803, at 1,053,000*l.* exclusive of 80,000*l.* interest payable on debts redeemed. By the actual accounts of 1802-3 the surplus, notwithstanding 500,000*l.* additional charge occasioned by assembling, towards the close of the year, the armies on the Mahratta frontier, amounted to 797,000*l.* which would have given a surplus of 1,297,000*l.* in that year, had this armament not taken place.—Calculating upon some further military reductions then in contemplation, and about 120,000*l.* a year which had since accrued to the revenue of Fort St. George from the fund antecedently appropriated to the Carnatic creditors, had we remained on a peace establishment, the surplus at this day, independent of savings from reduction of interest, would probably not have fallen short of 1,500,000*l.* Out of this surplus, the charge of interest on debt since incurred, must be defrayed. Taking this at 700,000*l.* the surplus likely to be forthcoming upon our return to a peace establishment, might then be estimated at about 800,000*l.*—This corresponded pretty nearly with the view which his hon. friend (sir A. Wellesley) had taken of this part of the subject; in which, after

ter estimating the revenues from the late conquests and cessions at 1,200,000*l.* and the additional charges of the same at nearly a like sum, he reckoned upon an annual surplus of 700,000*l.* when all the reductions were completed, exclusive of the interest payable on debt redeemed amounting to about 250,000*l.*—It would certainly be too sanguine to estimate the surplus, upon the most favourable hypothesis, at more than 1,000,000*l.* It would not be necessary to waste many arguments in order to satisfy the committee, that to contend successfully against a debt of 28,000,000*l.* a more effective surplus is indispensable; and they must at once perceive, that the plan of reduction which was framed in 1803, to meet a debt of 18,000,000*l.* must be comparatively feeble and inadequate as applied to the debt augmented as it now is by ten millions additional. It was obvious, that the system of liquidation now to be pursued should be of a description to be rapidly operative in peace, else the company, in case of an early recurrence of war, might be exposed to have its surplus revenue absorbed in defraying the charge of new loans, and thus find itself deprived, upon a peace, even of the existing means of liquidation.—The past intervals of peace, since our connexion with India, have not been found such as to justify us in being satisfied with paying off debt only at the rate intended in 1803, when the gross amount of debt did not exceed 18,000,000*l.* Under these circumstances, the natural remedy and resource for the company to look to, was, on the return of peace, to repair, with the least possible delay, the misfortune of having been obliged to raise, since 1793, all their loans abroad. For this purpose, he would recommend that not less than 20,000,000*l.* of the debt owing in India should be transferred to Europe, with as much rapidity as its transfer could be arranged, or funds remitted from hence for its liquidation. The immediate saving of interest on this transaction alone, would be nearly 4 per cent. at once adding about 800,000*l.* a year to the company's surplus.—Some gentlemen had spoken with alarm of the proportion of the India debt, of which payment was demanded in Europe: the amount was stated to be 17,000,000*l.* He believed the securities which gave an option to the holders to transfer their debts to Europe, might not fall short in the aggregate of this sum, but from the terms of remittance to which they were entitled, the amount, which would really come home, he believed, was not likely to exceed 7,000,000*l.* He was not, however, disposed to draw any consolation from this circumstance. He should deem it rather desirable that the whole 17,000,000*l.* should come home, as it would additionally impel the company to make arrangements for converting so much of the Indian into a European debt. He was satisfied that they had the means of doing so with great advantage to their affairs; and if he was desirous of seeing this measure thus in some degree forced upon them, it was from an apprehension that, where the inconvenience was operating at a distance, men were always less disposed to make an effort out of the ordinary course of management than when it was directly pressed upon their attention.—The means of giving complete effect to this plan, he admitted to depend in a great

great measure on the return of peace. During war, the company could not, with the same advantage, add to their capital, nor could they, without some inconvenience to the state, add materially to the amount of the loan, which the market was called on to supply for the public service. To a certain extent he was however of opinion, even in war it should be attempted; reserving till the peace the execution of the measure in its full extent.—The amount of funds required for this conversation of debt was much beyond what the company, without great inconvenience, could obtain merely by an extension of their capital stock, as money thus raised was procured by creating a debt in its nature not redeemable. He was of opinion that the sum to be raised in this manner, ought not very materially to exceed what the company were at present entitled by law to borrow, namely, 2,000,000*l.* which being subscribed for at 200*l.* per cent. and upwards, that not being too high an estimate of its peace value, would produce above 4,000,000*l.* sterling.—The remaining 16,000,000*l.* he should propose to borrow upon the security of the territorial revenue guaranteed by parliament, in such proportion as it might be required for remittance to India. The money to be raised in the first instance like any other public loan, and paid over to parliamentary commissioners, charged with its application to the reduction of the India debt, who should be authorised to receive the annual interest, together with the one per cent. sinking fund payable on account of the same out of the India revenues, to be strictly set apart and paid over to them, or their order, in the precise order of payment, (that is, immediately after the military charges are provided for, and in preference to all other civil or commercial demands whatever) which is now by law provided in favour of the creditors of the company.—This proposition might at first sight appear open to many objections, and seem to realize at once the prophecies of some gentlemen, that the distresses of the company were become such as had at length compelled them to come to parliament for relief; but he denied that it was at all open to such a comment any more than the system which had been acted upon uninterruptedly for the last ten years with respect to the loans raised for the service of Ireland, even before the union. The amount annually required being invariably comprehended in the British loan for the year, was in the first instance secured upon the British consolidated fund. It was then paid over by the British to the Irish treasury; the Irish treasury being bound to remit to the British treasury in each year, the interest and sinking fund, till the whole capital thus created on account of Ireland was paid off.—In proposing a similar arrangement with respect to the company, the committee would hold in mind, that the proposition in no degree originated with the company; that it was merely the suggestion of an individual, not founded upon any existing failure of means in that body to meet, without the aid of parliament, every claim upon them, but offered for consideration as a measure calculated, without loss to the public, to add 800,000*l.* a-year to the company's income, and thereby obtain, with more certainty for the public, their

annual

annual participation of 500,000*l.* to which, in the event of an adequate surplus existing abroad, they are entitled. It really appeared to him that the public were even more interested than the company in this measure, as their prospect of participation would be thereby at once improved so much as to be placed nearly beyond the reach of failure; whereas the dividends to the proprietors were already secured, but both the public and the company would largely feel the benefit of it, in the effect it would have in meliorating the finances of an empire in which they have a common interest, which is the only British possession that has never yet, in war, been a charge on the mother country, except so far as its naval protection is concerned, and which has ample means of sustaining itself, in all future wars, from its own resources, if wisely administered; and upon principles not less enlarged and liberal than those which have been already acted upon with respect to other leading branches of the empire. That the general inducements in the present case were not less strong, and the risks not greater than in the precedent of Ireland, he thought might be successfully contended. As to the extreme case of either Ireland or India being lost to the British crown, he thought it one not to be contemplated in regulating one's decision upon a financial question of this nature. Parliament had not formerly suffered such a consideration with respect to Ireland, nor would they now suffer it with respect to India, to divest them from an important and beneficial measure of general policy. Short of the case of our absolute expulsion from India, it was impossible to call in question the nature of the security which the public would have for the regular discharge of these loans. They would have revenues, in the first instance, mortgaged to them, the produce of which was not less than 14,279,000*l.* a-year, out of which this payment would be set a part, next in order after the military charges of the government, which, in the most expensive year of war, did not exceed 8,970,000*l.* The charge for interest and sinking fund, suppose on a loan of 16,000,000*l.* amounting annually to less than 1,000,000*l.* would be received out of a residue of above five millions sterling. They would have not only the same security as the creditors of the company have lent their money on, but the same security, in fact, much improved by there being 800,000*l* less to be paid out of the same means. They would also have, if possible, better security than the public had in the case of Ireland, as the large sums applicable, in time of peace, to the reduction of the Indian debt would, in this case, over and above the ordinary sinking fund of one per cent. be payable to the commissioners, to be by them applied to the more rapid extinction of the capital created for the service of the company. It might be said, if the security of the company was really as good as had been described, why was it necessary to come to parliament to negotiate a loan for them? why did not they raise it at once for themselves? The answer to this was, that the company were not in the habit of borrowing in Europe to such an extent. Their security might be unexceptionable, yet individuals being unable, amidst so much controversy as to the nature of

of it, to form a decisive opinion of their own, might be disinclined to lend to them on the same advantageous terms as they would to the public. In short, the same reasons for adopting the measure applied in this case, as did in the case of Ireland, and the public had even a more direct interest than they had in that case to facilitate the execution of the measure. But the obtaining the money on more advantageous terms in the first instance, was not the only benefit that would accrue from its being raised as a public loan. Being included in the general mass of the funded debt, the capital would be redeemable at the precise value of the funds at the time; whereas, were this sum funded in a three per cent. separate stock, although no corresponding advantage in the original terms would probably be allowed to the company by the subscribers, the magnitude of the sinking fund applicable to its reduction in peace, would force up the value of this particular stock to par much sooner than the other funds, and thus the company would have to redeem it on much less favourable terms. Whilst the advantages, then, were clearly in favour, not only of the transfer of a large proportion of the debt to Europe, but also of its tranfer in this mode, he did not see any solid grounds of objection which could be urged on the part of the public to the proposition. Ireland was not the only instance in which the credit of the public had been interposed for the purpose of pro- n o ing and protecting the general p osperity. When the commercial credit of the country was embarrassed by temporary causes, parliament voted five millions of exchequer bills to be advanced by commissioners to individuals upon security to be approved by them. This measure relieved the prevailing distress, and cost the public nothing. Loans of the same description had been extended to sufferers, by the calamity of seasons, in the West-Indies. There seemed but two considerations in such a case to be weighed; first, whether the security was adequate; and, secondly, whether the exigency, and the advantage likely to result, were such as justified an extraordinary interference? If the interest of the India company was alone concerned, he thought parliament would have a very strong inducement to lend its aid to an arrangement by which the prosperity of so great a commercial body must be materially promoted, but, in the present instance, the public were, in truth, themselves direct parties, not merely in the more limited pecuniary sense, as entitled to share in the surplus profits, but in the larger, though more remote, view of the company being the instrument by which India was to be governed and preserved to the British crown, in failure of whose resources the charge of defending those possessions must, in fact, fall on the state. The great object to look to in the management of the company's finances was, to have such a surplus, in peace, as should make an effective progress in reducing the debt. If the suggestion which had been made, added at once 800,000*l.* a-year, to whatever the surplus might otherwise be, it was an augmentation of resource which, even in the more extended scale of the public finances, could not but be attended with the most important and beneficial consequences. Those who had looked at the company's finances with hope

hope and confidence, as he had done, must feel disposed to promote a measure which was obviously calculated to accelerate and secure all the advantages which the public had been taught to expect from them, and in which expectation they would not have been disappointed under any other circumstances than those of a continued war expenditure; but those who had been led to form more gloomy conclusions, and to persuade themselves that India would yet prove a burthen to the public, ought to be the more eager, by these means, to postpone at least the evil day; the saving to be effected by this transfer of debt being in itself sufficient, without adding to the existing charges, to enable the company to borrow not less than from eight to ten millions, if the exigency of their affairs should require it, and consequently operate proportionably to defer any possible demand for direct aid from the public. The noble lord concluded by saying, that he thought it natural and proper that his majesty's ministers should not be prepared till the actual accounts were received from India down to the close of the Mahratta war, to submit any conclusive plan to parliament upon this subject. He trusted, however, it would not be long delayed. It was to be presumed that the accounts, which ought to have been before this time on the table, would arrive so as to admit of their being opened to parliament at the commencement of the next session. He should then hope that those immediately entrusted with the administration of India would be prepared to state the system upon which it was proposed to act. He trusted it would be one of energy proportioned to the necessity of rapidly reducing the debt abroad He thought it ought to be preceded by a parliamentary enquiry. Whatever course his majesty's ministers might, upon full communication with the court of directors, think fit to pursue, provided it was founded upon enlarged and operative principles, it should have his cordial support.

He only deprecated postponing the necessary effort too long: if made in due time, the debt might be kept within bounds; if not, it might hereafter, under the accumulating expenditure of war, prove fatal to the prosperity of the company, and highly injurious to the general interests of the empire.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he should not attempt to follow the noble lord through the long statement which the house had just heard, but there were some points on which he wished to make a few short observations. If the company could pay the 500,000l. annually, they should come and state to the house that they were capable of so doing. The noble lord (Castlereagh) had annually told the house, that the company were in an absolute state of prosperity, and now he ventured to come forward with a proposition for this country to relieve them by guaranteeing their loans! Mr. Dundas too, said, that it was more likely that India would come in aid of this country, than that she would become a burthen to her. All these fine predictions were however reversed, and there was now as decided a change as ever was known in this world. This was the jet and issue of all the fallacies that had been stated to the house from year to year! Such, said the learned gent. were the statements made in this little snug party!

party! [Only 27 members were present.] The noble lord called upon ministers to institute an enquiry; but why did he not make such an enquiry while he was in office? With respect to the question of exclusive trade; when that came before the house, the learned gent. said, he should look at it as a whole, and not as the hon. alderman (Prinsep) had done. The house had lately been told, that the government of the country had been guilty of a breach of faith towards the army, but yet we were not permitted to say that the company were in a state of insolvency. What was insolvency but an inability to pay debts? and that, he insisted, was the present state of the India company. The dead stock, every stick and stone had been put together, and set off against a debt that might come upon them at a day's notice. In the name of common-sense, how could this be the case, unless there was a deficiency of the means of the company? something must be done, he ventured to say, and that speedily. Whether what the noble lord (Castlereagh) proposed, or whether what had been suggested by the hon. alderman, he did not say, but he could not put his trust in the noble lord, after the many years fine prospects that had been held out by him.

Mr. *T. Jones* said, that he concurred (notwithstanding his interrupting him as to putting questions) with the learned doctor in the opinion, that the Company ought to give some account of the payment of the six million charter-money due, which at best (as stated by him and another member, Mr Martin) was a sum suspended, and as such could not be done away with, and it amounted to a sum which, if paid, would relieve the public from that grievous and grinding tax, the property tax, which had been increased in bitterness and oppression by the ungracious mode, *per saltum*, of laying it on. He had often heard the late president of the board of control (now lord Melville,) state, amidst his lavish praises of the company's affairs, (while the figures told a different story) the immense sums which the mother country might soon expect from India. Has it ever come?—will it ever come? Must not (for that is the dread) the mother country bleed to support her offspring? The learned doctor observes, this is a "snug party" to discuss topics in; a snug party of pleasure with all his heart, said the hon. member, but this was a disgraceful party, twenty-seven members (alias creditors) met to adjust a debt of nearer 40 than 30 millions! and this he should prove on summing up. Where are his majesty's ministers, said the hon. member? Where are the directors? [one only present, Mr. Hudlestone.] Why do they not attend and assist the noble lord (Morpeth) in settling their own accounts? The company is in a state of insolvency, and the noble ex-president (lord Castlereagh) says, he considers them in the view of wanting "prompt and vigorous melioration;" so that he, whatever he may think of his majesty's ministers, certainly does not imagine the directors lay on a "bed of roses." The noble lord says, he compares them to manufacturers in embarrassment, who give in a list of their assets, &c. So do I, said the hon. gent. but honest manufacturers labouring under misfortunes call their creditors together: for instance, a coachmaker,

maker, who says " here, I am in a bad way, take an inventory of all I have, barouches, landaus, gigs, tandems, telegraphs, &c. and come to some understanding." But have the directors of the East India company done any such thing? The hon. member then proceeded to state, that lord Castlereagh had not succeeded, during his presidency, in getting a loan for some expedition, (Egypt) and on that had recommended an enquiry into their affairs.—It was a matter of indifference, whether the debt was a commercial one or not. The noble lord had insisted much on that advantage; but the hon. gent. observed, that it was partly commercial and partly military, consisting of expensive staffs, and various expeditions, as stated by him on the 15th of June, 1801, and since considerably increased; and here he observed, that ever since the taking of Seringapatam, and the subsequent wars and acquirements, India had gained in aggrandisement of territory, but had improved only in poverty. Moreover, said the hon. member, to whom do these conquests belong? to the government or to the country? the hon. gent. then quoted, in proof of his assertions, Mr. alderman Prinsep's speech, who had given an historical account of the company, and in his asserting that they had always dealt in credit, Mr. Jones observed, that hitherto he had supposed them only as dealers in tea, nankeen, &c. He appealed strongly to the house on the comparison which had been made between the India and South Sea house. He agreed with the hon. alderman, that the East India company were in a state of insolvency; as they could not go on, they must borrow; they must die—" die all, die nobly," as in the Dramatist, " die like demi-directors."—Then to the hon. gent. (Mr. Grant) who would not proceed until he had asked a question as to the amount of the debt, Mr. Jones made this statement, 31.000,000l. the granted debt 6,000,000l. Sub-judice, at best, 2,672,440l. comprized in an account of above four millions with government, of which only part had been allowed to the company, and consequently this sum might (as it was so in fact) be added, making the debt of the company nearer forty millions than thirty. The hon. member then emphatically said, " All that the grand defender of the company (Mr. Grant) can say is, that he thinks theirs " an extricable case." These are two very remarkable words, and all I shall say further is, I think (and I believe the world thinks with me) theirs—an inextricable case.

Mr. *W. Keene* thought, that the excessive military charge of nearly 9 millions had caused the embarrassment of the company's finances, and that prosperity might now fairly be anticipated.

Mr. *Johnstone* thought the prosperity of India was calculated on estimates never to be realised, and he thought it too much for human patience to hear the arguments urged in their support.

Mr. *Grant*, in answer to Mr. alderman Prinsep, said, that after having already engaged for some time the attention of the house, he would decline following the hon. gent. through all the details of his extraordinary speech, which contained the most extravagant and most unfounded views of the company's affairs. It had little or no reference to the ultimate object of the

the discussion now carried on by the house, which was the improvement of the company's state; its aim was evidently not the amendment but the abolition of the whole of the present system of the company, and indeed the company itself. For this he had pressed into his service, facts, altogether irrelevant, and had employed them in the most unfair and hostile manner. He was the professed advocate of another system, that of enlarging, or rather entirely opening the private trade, a question not simply commercial, but involving one of the greatest state concerns which could engage the attention of parliament, namely, on what principles India should continue to be held and governed by Great Britain. All that he had said respecting the loss with which he alleged the company carried on their trade, amounted to mere assertion, and was disproved by the statements he (Mr. Grant) had submitted to the house. The company's profits had, indeed, been diminished, but it was owing in part to the competition of the private traders, who had thereby injured both themselves and the company. He had equally failed in his attempt, to shew that the company traded on a revenue capital. Nothing could be more loose and fallacious, than the data on which he endeavoured to support this idea. But the most surprising of his assertions was, that the company required 24 millions sterling to carry on their trade that is to say, according to him, 21 millions for active capital, and 3 millions for dead capital. Whence did this enormous capital come? It was impossible for the hon. gent. himself, to maintain, that it was derived from the revenue; the hon. gent. affirmed that the company possessed no property of their own—"that they had not a single shilling of their stock;—it was evident that their debts in England never amounted to any thing like this sum; how, then, was the existence of such a capital to be accounted for? The fact was, such a capital did not exist. The investment of one year out, and home, amounted on an average of 10 years, ending with 1802-3, to little more than 5 millions, and the trade did not require an investment of four successive years before the returns of the first year were ready to be employed again. Nor would the allowance of 3 millions, which the hon. gent. was pleased to make for dead stock or dead capital, added to all the circulating capital, bring the aggregate amount to nearly the sum of 24 millions. But, according to the hon. gent.'s mode of stating things, the dead stock, which he had been pleased to reduce in value from 9,900,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l* must be taken at its full amount, because, whatever it may be worth, it actually cost the company the sum at which it stands, and, therefore, he ought to compute the capital invested in their trade, at 30,990,000*l.* instead of 24 millions. Mr. Grant supposed that the capital actually employed in the company in their commerce, independent of their floating credits by India Bonds, Bills of Exchange, and goods bought on time, might, on an average of the 10 years before mentioned, be from 10 to 12 millions. Of capital to this extent, the hon. gent.'s own statement allowed the company to be actually possessed, although he was pleased to affirm that they had no resource for investments; they likewise still enjoyed the credits just noticed, although he had further affirmed that

that their faculty of borrowing seemed completely extinguished. It was the hon. gent.'s object to disparage the company as an organ for carrying on the national commerce with India, and to extol the channel of the private trade in which he was personally interested; to supersede a tried and steady channel which had answered its purpose for two centuries, and had contributed to raise the prosperity of the country, in order to favour another channel very uncertain in its extent or permanence.

This was not the time to enter into a question which could not be justly treated without taking a comprehensive view of many topics connected with it, but such vague and unwarranted assertions as the hon. gent. dealt in, could have no weight in settling this question. He had boasted of great Exports sent from this country to India when an experiment was allowed to be made by the private merchants. The fact was, the experiment did not increase the exports of the country, but only shifted them for that time from Company's to private ships, which, by sailing sooner, anticipated the exports the Company's ships would otherwise have carried out.—The hon. gent. professed to give the history of the capital of the India Company *ab ovo*, and begun with the year 1698, in which, according to him, the first capital was founded. But, unfortunately for him, he had begun a century too late, the company, as every body knew having been first incorporated in 1600. The company formed in 1698, was a *second* company, the first still continuing, and an instance very unhappily chosen by the hon. gent.; because that second company was composed of merchants who envied the first, and the consequence was, that by the effect of rivalship and competition, raising the prices upon each other in their purchases, and lowering them upon each other in their sales, they were both brought to the brink of ruin, and at length, for self preservation, obliged, in the course of a few years, to coalesce, which produced the united East-India company subsisting at this day. The hon. gent. affected to consider the active capital of the company as at all times contemptible. The detached circumstances he mentioned to prove this strange assertion, did not at all establish it, and still less the annual amount of the company's trade which was the true question; but without entering minutely into this point, was it not universally known that the company had carried on their trade for a century and a half without any aid of capital from revenue or government; that they had become great by their trade, and had at length acquired territory and dominion, chiefly by their own commercial resources? what more could be necessary to show that their means had been equal to the production of great prosperity and power to themselves and the state? It was with great injustice therefore, that the hon. gent. attempted to degrade their means, their profits, their solvency, or their stability, by such rash and unwarranted assertions as he had ventured to utter. They could have no weight with those who knew or would examine the subject, but they were nevertheless highly reprehensible as used in that house, because it might be supposed that no member would use them without some degree of authority, and they were most of all reprehensible from such persons as the hon. gent. who was fostered

under

under the company's wing, and now turns his influence against that body to whom he entirely owes the fortune which introduced him into notice in this country.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* concluded the debate by observing, that if the expressions he had used, of which such heavy complaints had just been made by the hon. ex-chairman, (Mr Grant,) were felt to be either disrespectful to the great body whose affairs were now again under their annual investigation, or stronger than the occasion called for, (and even in this case they could not justify the use of invective as a reply, where confutation was felt to be impossible,) he trusted, that in the one case, allowance would be made for some degree of provocation he had met with at the beginning of the debate, in a fresh attempt to preclude him from expressing his sentiments at all in the committee; and in the other case, that the committee would think with him, that, feeling as he did, the importance of the facts, and of his deductions from them, it became both his right and his duty, to enforce conviction, by the strongest language that the subject suggested to his mind. The resolutions were then agreed to, and the house having resumed, the report was ordered to be received on Monday. Adjourned at one o'clock on Saturday morning.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE INDIA HOUSE,

FOR 1806.

FEBRUARY 28.

A general court of the proprietors of the East India company was yesterday held, pursuant to public notice, at the India House.

Soon after twelve o'clock, the chairman having taken his seat, rose, and briefly stated that the object for calling a general court was, for the purpose of taking into consideration a proposition from the court of directors, relative to the late marquis Cornwallis. The advertisement which called them together, he said, had hinted merely at the business which was to be laid before them, and he now had to inform them, that it was the opinion of the court of directors, after some consideration, that the fittest mode of acknowledging the services of the late marquis Cornwallis, would be to make some pecuniary compliment to his successor. For this purpose they had come to a resolution, which should be read, and it would then be competent for any proprietor to make any motion, or propose any amendment he thought proper.

The resolution was then read. The purport of it was, "that in consideration of the many services of the late marquis Cornwallis, in advancing the interests of the East India company, the amount of the salary, which, if alive, his lordship would have been entitled to, for the remainder of the year in which he died, and for one whole year besides, should be voted to his heirs."

Mr. *R. Jackson* moved, that the correspondence between the late marquis Cornwallis, and the board of directors, immediately previous, and subsequent to the time of his last appointment, should be read. This was objected to by some gentlemen, on the grounds that it was not a subject that could produce discussion; and, therefore, there could be no occasion for reading the correspondence.

After a short conversation on the subject, it was, at length, agreed, that the papers should be read, as that would be the only criterion the proprietors had to judge by, in agreeing to the proposition of the directors.

The letters were then read. They commenced in January, 1805, with the proposal made to the marquis to go out again to India. His lordship's answer, accepting that offer, was then read, and all the letters received from his lordship from the time of his departure from England to the time of his death. In these he described the affairs to be in a very bad state; and, in his last, he gave a sketch of the plan he intended to adopt so as to retrieve them

This letter was not read, as it was stated by the chairman that some

some of the plans sketched out in it were now carrying into effect in India, and though the evil which might result from their disclosure was very remote, he thought it better, if there were no gentleman particularly anxious, not to make them public.

Mr. *R. Jackson* rose for the purpose of submitting a motion to the consideration of the court. He said it was not necessary for him to enter into a detail of the merits of the late noble marquis. His oriental political career was entirely under their immediate inspection, and with so much wisdom did he reform the different abuses which existed, that even those who felt their incomes curtailed by it, were the first to acknowledge his merits. One of the first principles which that noble lord laid down, was, that after a man had passed a certain portion of his life in India, he should have the means of returning to his native country, and enjoying the fruits of his labour. The hon. gentleman then went into a statement of the various benefits which India had derived from the services of the marquis Cornwallis; particularising his establishment of a court of jurisprudence, by which he compelled a proper administration of justice, and his regard and attention to the comforts of the natives as well as the Europeans, it was not necessary, he thought, to remind them of the military talents of the noble marquis. Every person must remember the victory gained over the turbulent Tippoo Sultaun. When under the walls of Seringapatam, the abilities he shewed as a warrior were only surpassed by his conduct as a statesman, and a man who had nothing else at heart but the benefit of the company. Nothing, in his opinion, could be more magnanimous than the conduct of the noble marquis in giving up his share of the prize money, to be distributed among the soldiers, who were rather discontented at the loss they experienced by the treaty at that time entered into. He then detailed the various achievements which had been performed by the noble marquis; and after dwelling for some time on the circumstance of his death, when endeavouring to advance the interest of the company, he concluded by moving a resolution, the purport of which was, "that the remainder of the salary for the year in which the marquis Cornwallis died, together with one year and a half's salary besides, should be voted to his representative, and also the discount which the marquis, if he lived, would have been entitled to, on transmitting it to England."

Sir *William Burroughs* concurred in the eulogium on the marquis Cornwallis; and, after entering into a very long and intricate statement of the increase and decrease of the debt of India, from which he submitted that the affairs of India were now in the most flourishing state; he concluded by moving, as an amendment, "that the money voted should be equally divided between the present marquis Cornwallis, and his sister, lady Mary Singleton."

The *Chairman* in making some observations on the sentiments which had been expressed by the hon. baronet, (sir William Burroughs,) said, he differed entirely with respect to the state of India, as it was his opinion that the affairs of the company had been managed in a most extravagant manner. However, that was not at present before

before them, but would be the subject of future investigation, with respect to statements which had been made in the newspapers, particularly in a weekly publication, that the company were obliged to borrow two millions from government, and which had been referred to in the course of the day; he said he thought it necessary to state, that the money was due by government for the expense incurred by the company, in sending men from India to Egypt. It was also a mistaken notion which was entertained by many, that the company were indebted to government seven millions. This was made out by calculating the 500,000*l.* a-year which the company were to pay for the renewal of their charter. It was to be considered, however, that the payment of that sum was only a contingency. The honourable chairman concluded, by advising the resolution as submitted by the court of directors, should be carried, and that afterwards any other motion might be made upon the subject.

After some other gentlemen had delivered their opinions, Mr. Symes, for the purpose of compromising between the mover of the original motion and of the amendment, proposed "that the sum of 50,000*l.* should be voted, of which 40,000*l.* was to be given to the present marquis Cornwallis, and the remaining 10,000*l.* to lady Mary Singleton."

The debate was likely to be terminated in this manner, when Mr. Bosanquet discovered, that as the motion brought forward effected the purse of the company, the notice given in the newspapers was not sufficient, as it did not particularise the nature of the subject.

Mr. *Adam*, the counsel to the directors, was called upon and gave his opinion in favour of Mr. Bosanquet's objection, in consequence of which the court adjourned for a fortnight, without being able to come to any determination.

MONDAY, *March* 17.

On Friday a general court of proprietors was held pursuant to public notice, for the purpose of considering of a resolution of the court of directors, of the 27th ult. for granting a sum of money to the son and successor of the late marquis Cornwallis.

The *Chairman* opened the business in as concise a manner as possible, stating, that instead of the word "Heirs," they had, agreeably to their uniform intention, named the present marquis. Their resolution so amended, they left for the consideration of the general court.

Mr. *R. Jackson* observed, that his former address to the court made it unnecessary for him to do more than again present the resolution which he had moved at the last court, with no other alteration, than that he had inserted the sum of 40,000*l.* instead of a year and a half's salary.

Mr. *Rock* seconded the motion.

Mr. *Macnaughten*, late from Bengal, complained of his having been refused the perusal of the letter from lord Cornwallis to general Lake, containing the noble lord's plan of pacification. The papers that had been already produced and read in court, he conceived to be of an infinitely more dangerous tendency, particularly that in which the state of the company's

pany's finances was mentioned by the marquis Cornwallis. In consequence of that disclosure, he asserted, that every proprietor who possessed sufficient qualification to entitle him to vote for a director, must have been 60*l*. or 70*l*. out of pocket. He dwelt at considerable length on the probable ill effect of the publication of each document. He, however, did not oppose the motion; he only wished the additional paper to be produced.

The *Chairman* observed, that a great deal of matter irrelevant to the subject which the court had met to discuss, had been delivered by the gentleman who had just sat down. As to the production or non-production of the papers to which he had alluded, it was his own particular wish, and that of the court of directors generally, that every statement that was in their power should be fairly given to the proprietors; but a member of that court had supposed that it might be impolitic; the proprietors seemed generally to be of opinion, that the promulgation of the noble marquis's plans might possibly have a dangerous tendency, and therefore he did not think it would be proper in him to press the reading of that letter, though he, for his own part, was too well acquainted with India, to imagine that the people there troubled themselves about whether a paper were produced here or not. He had not any knowledge of even the name of the honourable member, until he had heard it by chance the day before, and therefore it was impossible that he could have meant any thing personal towards him; the officer or servant of the company, who had refused to give him the perusal of the noble marquis's letter, he supposed had acted discretionally, in consequence of what had passed at the late court. There was one part of the observations of the hon. member, which he thought it fit to answer, though he by no means intended replying to all the detail which had been entered into by that gentleman. The hon. member had thought proper to arraign the conduct of the court of directors for having produced a paper which afforded the proprietors a fair view of the state of their finances. Now, he was convinced, and the court of directers were convinced, that it was their duty not to withhold, from the proprietors, a document which gave them the knowledge of the real state of their finances. The stock of the company ought not to bear a fictitious value. It was fit to observe, however, that the company's finances were far from being at any time in a desperate situation, and he trusted that measures had been taken before now to retrieve them.

Mr. *Lowndes* observed, that the proprietors were then assembled in consequence of the director's ignorance of a bye-law; if they had had a knowledge of the laws of the company, the business would have been decided at the last court. He thought it would be right that a fine should be imposed on the directors in case of ignorance or neglect. The manner in which the notices were printed in the newspapers, he conceived to be particularly liable to objection.—He had searched over upwards of three columns of a paper, before he could ascertain when it was that a meeting of the East-India proprietors was to be held; he at last found an advertisement stating what he wanted to be informed of; but, it was in a poor, mea-

meagre, lean-faced Italian character, that no one, without a deal of pains, would know that such a notice was in the paper. He suggested, that henceforth, the advertisements of the company should be printed in large bold Roman character. After giving his support to the motion, then before the court, the honourable member was proceeding to descant on the merits of sir Sidney Smith's defence of Acre, the keystone of India.—

When he was called to order by the Chairman.

The question was then put, and carried with only one dissentient. On the question of adjournment being put, Mr. Lowndes again mentioned the fine, and the large Roman letters.—

The next court was made special by the desire of Mr. Rock.—Adjourned.

THURSDAY, *March* 27.

A Quarterly general court was held yesterday at the India-house, and was numerously attended.

BYE LAWS.

After some previous business was disposed of——

The *Chairman* said, he understood, that this was a special court convened to receive some propositions with respect to the bye-laws.

Mr. *Rock* rose, and after observing shortly on the state of the bye-laws, by the wording of which, he said, the court of directors had a power of granting any sum of money they pleased, to any person, without the concurrence of the court of proprietors, though they were prevented by a positive law from granting any pension of greater value than 200*l.* per annum; he then moved, "that a special court should be held on Wednesday, the 7th of May next, at which he should be at liberty to make a motion to remove all doubts with respect to the bye-laws, regarding the grant of pensions by the court of directors, without the concurrence of the proprietors; and that there should be added to the said bye-law, "or any sum of money equivalent thereto."

This brought on a conversation, in which the Chairman, Mr. Twining, Mr. R. Jackson, and Mr. Lowndes, took part; after which, Mr. Rock's motion was put, and carried.

COLLEGE AT HERTFORD.

The *Chairman* then rose, and said, that he had to submit to the court, a subject which had already been agreed to by the court of directors. It related to the erection of a college, to prepare young gentlemen for India, at Hertford. He concluded by saying, that the papers which should be read to them, would more fully explain the different circumstances.

The clerk then read the report of the committee appointed to take into consideration all matters relative to the establishing of a college at Hertford Castle, which should hold 80 students.

From this report it appeared, that the lease which the company had of Hertford Castle, was only for twenty years; and that, therefore, it would be much to the disadvantage of the company to expend a sum of money on it. The committee were therefore of opinion, that freehold land should be purchased; but that no greater sum than 10,000*l.* should be expended.

On this report the court resolved, that it would be ineligible to expend money

money on the castle of Hertford, and, therefore, gave power to the committee to purchase freehold lands, but not to exceed 10,000*l*. In consequence of this, sixty acres of land, with a house, were purchased in the county of Hertford, for the sum of 5,900*l*. and an adjoining field for 2000*l*. The sum 46,000*l*. being the lowest estimate made by the different contractors, Mr. Wilkins was directed to undertake the building.

A letter from lord Minto was then read, from which it appeared, that the board of control highly approved of the purchase of the lands, and the erection of the college.

The *Chairman* then stated, that there were at present twenty students at Hertford Castle, which was fitted up as a temporary college, and in a short time, he expected that there would be forty more.

Mr. *Devaynes* objected to the erection of the college, on account of the expense.

Mr. *Jackson* commenced by pronouncing an eulogium on the marquis Wellesley for the steadfast support he had ever given to this establishment. The only question now was whether, after it had been sanctioned by the board of control, and by the court of directors, they should object to it?——He submitted that it would be much cheaper to act on this plan, as though they were about to expend 50,000*l*. instead of 20,000*l*. yet it would always be the property of the company; and in the other case entirely lost at the end of 20 years. He concluded by moving, "that this court agree to the resolutions of the directors."

Mr. *Devaynes* asked, whether the court could lay out money on a freehold, without the aid of an act of parliament?

The *Chairman* said, he did not think that was a question to be considered, as the sum expended on the purchase was under the sum to which they were restricted. But if, on account of the building, it was thought necessary to apply to parliament, he was convinced there would not be the smallest difficulty in obtaining an enabling act.

Mr. *Twining* was concerned at the increase of expense, but thought there were good reasons for it; and that in the end it would be a saving. He therefore should support the motion.

After a short conversation between Mr. Devaynes, Mr. S. Dixon, and Mr. Jackson, relative to the right the company had to purchase freehold property, the question was put on Mr. Jackson's motion, and carried in the affirmative.—Adjourned.

May 7.

A very numerous meeting of the court of proprietors and directors of the East India company, was this day held at twelve o'clock, pursuant to notice.

The Honourable William Elphinstone, Chairman.

In the early part of the day, some conversation took place, on the subject of altering a certain bye-law, for the purpose of restraining the directors from voting certain sums without the concurrence of the general court of proprietors; this proposition was, however, negatived.

The report of the committee of shipping, recommending the taking up two ships for the company's service, one of 1,200, and the other of 800, tons being read, it was moved, "that the first section of

of the 13th chapter of the bye-laws be suspended, in order to enable the company to build two ships.

The honourable Chairman expressed his opinion, that this was not the time for making such an experiment, and wished it should be deferred till about Christmas.

Mr. *Atkins*, Alderman *Prinsep*, Mr. *Dwaining*, and Mr. *Wilmore*, approved of the measure, as highly beneficial to the interests of the company.

Mr. *Peter Moore* thought it a question of great importance; looking to the situation of the officers of the Britannia and sir Edward Hughes, who were as meritorious officers as any in the service, he considered that motives for the first, who had lost their all in the service, and of justice, in the other, should induce the court to adopt this measure; and he was satisfied that when they came to consider it, they would be inclined to put it into immediate execution.

After a few observations from Mr. Atkins and sir Robert Wigram, in support of the measure, and the Chairman against it, the question was carried without a division.

INDIA PAPERS.

The orders of the day for the production of certain letters and Papers, relating to the correspondence between the court of directors, the board of control, and the resident government in India, on the subject of the late wars in that country, being read,—

Mr. *Johnston* rose, and called the attention of the court to this subject which had so lately been agitated in the House of Commons. He had paid particular attention to those papers, and he hoped, and trusted, that the court of proprietors would be unanimous in expressing their approbation of the conduct of the court of directors upon this subject. From these papers, it will appear, that a practice had prevailed, of withholding from the directors, letters from the Indian chiefs, after they had been sent home to the secret committee. In these papers, it will be found, that the directors had made a manly and firm stand against such a practice. A censure had been passed upon the court of directors, and it was necessary the proprietors should declare their sentiments of the persons they had entrusted so great a charge to; and, as some persons had not yet perused the papers, it was his intention to move, in the first instance, that they should be printed; and then for a day next week, to take them into consideration, and to express their thanks to the court of directors, for their appointment of marquis Cornwallis to the government of India.

Sir *George Palmer* considered that government should carry into effect the commands of the court of directors; but ever since his majesty's ministers took an active part in the affairs of the company, according to their interference, so had their misfortunes increased, and, therefore, he trusted, the directors would feel the highest satisfaction in the approbation of the proprietors.

Alderman *Prinsep* highly approved of the proposition of his honourable friend, but very much suspected, that they must have a more copious view of the subject, than those papers could give them. Great care, attention, and caution, should be used, before they passed any censure upon any person having the supreme command

mand in India; and it was but mere justice to the court, and to those implicated in the criminality; he therefore wished sufficient time should be allowed for the consideration of this question; and although the production of those papers had been refused in another place, he would give the court of directors all the assistance in his power to arive at the truth of these facts, and would support them in every measure they should be inclined to adopt; but in order to give it effect, they must have full time and information on the subject.

Mr. *Johnston* said, it was entirely foreign from his purpose to express any disapprobation on the conduct of marquis Wellesley, but to declare his approbation of the conduct of the court of directors upon that occasion. If they thought the court of directors had discharged their duty, then delicacy for marquis Wellesley should not prevent them from expressing such approbation, and supporting their rights against the evils and misfortunes they now labour under.

Alderman *Prinsep* again observed, that they should not pass an unqualified censure against marquis Wellesley, upon mere exparte evidence; all that had passed had not satisfied his mind; and all he desired was, that the correspondence of marquis Wellesley should be laid fully before the public; and without any communication with the noble marquis, or any of his connections, he would wait on him to-morrow, and bring him the list of papers he wished the noble lord to furnish him with.

In consequence of an observation from captain Seely,

Alderman *Prinsep* replied, that if the honourable gentleman had taken the trouble to read those papers, he would find a direct censure on the measures of marquis Wellesley.

Mr. *Lowndes* thought, that notwithstanding the manner in which this motion was brought forward, he could discover the sting in the wasp's tail;—the honourable gentleman had moved for papers, as another honourable gentleman (Mr. Moore) on a former day, having passed a general philippic upon the conduct of certain individuals, moved for papers also upon that very topic; could it then be said, that while a certain noble lord was now on his trial, and while the newspapers were prevented from printing one single iota respecting that trial, and after the bill brought into parliament by serjeant Best, another was to be condemned without any trial at all?

Colonel *Allen* was surprised to hear what had fallen from an hon. gentleman; (Mr. Johnston) he considered the paper in question as a libel on the noble marquis, and wholly agreed with the sentiments of the honourable alderman.

The *Chairman* was sorry to hear such an expression fall from the honourable proprietor, and considered himself to blame in not calling him to order. The paper alluded to was a document of the court of directors, who were incapable of a sentiment which could give rise to such an observation.

Colonel *Allen* declared he did not mean any disrespect to that body.

Sir *Francis Baring* observed, that this letter had made much noise, and he asked how the directors would stand, if such a discussion

as

as the present should continue; he therefore thought they should be either silent, proceed, or reject the question in toto. Colonel Symes adverted to the proceedings of the court, on the vote for 40,000*l.* to the representatives of the late marquis Cornwallis—it was then stated, that the company were almost in a state of bankruptcy, and this misrepresentation had knocked down, in 24 hours, the India stock from 186*l.* to 179*l.* by which a loss was sustained by the company of 60,000*l.*

Mr. *Grant* contended, that the depression of India stock was occasioned by other causes, and that the Company had not lost any thing by it. He wished, at the same time, that the business should receive a fair discussion.

Mr. *Peter Moore*, in strong terms, condemned the reflections of the gentleman who had spoken on the other side. He then went into various observations on the affairs of India, but particularly adverted to those of the Carnatic, and the ignorance in which the company was kept upon that subject. Having animadverted with much severity on the interference of the board of control, he concluded by supporting the original motion.

After a few observations from the chairman, Mr. Twining, and Mr. Lowndes, Mr. Johnstone moved for some further papers, which were agreed to. He then observed, that in moving for these documents, he wished expressly to be understood not to make any allusions whatever to the conduct of marquis Wellesley, only so far as it was concerned in expressing their thanks to the court of directors.

The motion was then carried without a division, and the papers ordered to be printed, and taken into consideration upon this day fortnight, until which time the court adjourned.

May 21.

A general court of proprietors was held this day, pursuant to notice; when, after disposing of some routine business, relative to the suspension of a bye-law, in order to take up two ships for the company's service in place of the sir Edward Hughes and the Britannia, which was agreed to; and voting a salary of 4,000*l.* per annum to the recorder of Prince of Wales's island, the order of the day for the further consideration of a vote of thanks to the directors being read;

Mr. *Johnstone*, pursuant to his notice, rose, and having congratulated the court on so numerous an attendance, observed, that his object was, that the court of proprietors should express their thanks to the court of directors, for their uniform conduct in preserving the interests of the company at large, and particularly with respect to Marquis Wellesley. The papers upon the subject, which had been printed, he hoped every gentleman had perused with attention, as in that case he should have little difficulty in the task he had undertaken. He by no means intended either directly, or indirectly, to make any charge against the Noble Marquis, and wholly deprecated the idea of the court going into any investigation of his conduct, that being a subject now under the consideration of the House of Commons; although he was satisfied that house would not be influenced by any proceedings of theirs; and grounded the present discussion upon the precedent

dent of lord Melville's impeachment, against whom addresses poured in from all quarters. Marquis Wellesley was now no longer the servant of the company; and, therefore, had no relation whatever with it; and although he would not do any thing to depreciate the noble marquis's conduct indirectly, which he should not do openly, yet no converted foe of the noble lord should deter him from the observations he had to make. From a perusal of the papers upon the table, his mind was impressed with the greatest gratitude towards the directors, whom the company were bound to support, particularly as it was now a question of the greatest importance, one of his majesty's ministers having given his most decided and fixed opinion, that the affairs of India should be conducted by commissioners, and not by the company of directors. He should not now have come forward, but to preserve them from the danger that threatened. He considered the duty of the proprietors to consist in watching over the powers granted to them by charter and acts of parliament. To look to the distribution of the public money, and to check the ambition of their servants abroad. He called upon any gentleman to say whether the directors had neglected that duty, or conscientiously discharged it? In adverting to the papers, he observed, that it appeared hostilities had commenced in India three months before any dispatches had been sent off, and the moderate commands of the directors upon that occasion deserved their warmest approbation.

The governor-general was bound, by the act of parliament, to consult the council, but from his high rank, and the council being chosen indifferently, it was not possible they could be a check upon his conduct. The duty of the directors was, to watch over the expenditure of the public money, and, although he admitted the great talents of the marquis Wellesley, no man, he was sure, would consider him an economical governor; he seemed to wish to conquer the whole peninsula of India; and by his subsidiary treaties to keep all the native powers in subjection. On the other hand, marquis Cornwallis confined himself wholly to internal regulations, cautiously abstaining from any interference with the native powers, and every man must rejoice at the recent peace, although purchased with such a loss of blood and treasure for the last two years. He reminded the court of the power they had to contend with in the board of control; all right was on the one side, and all might on the other; and he conjured the proprietors to assert, and maintain, the rights of their directors, their honour and independence. After some further general observations upon the conduct of marquis Wellesley, he concluded by moving, "that this "court, *having considered the* "*papers laid before it*, most highly "approves of the zeal manifested, "and the conduct pursued, by the "court of directors, and regards a "firm adherence to the principles "maintained by the court of directors to be indispensably necessary "to preserve the salutary authority over the governments of "India, *vested by law in the court* "*of directors*, to restrain a *profuse* "*expenditure* of the public money, "and to prevent all *schemes of* "*conquest, and extension of dominion*,—measures which the "legislature has declared to be "repugnant

"repugnant to the wish, the "honour, and the policy of the "nation. And this court doth "assure the court of directors of "its most cordial and zealous "support, with a view to preserve, "unimpaired, the rights and privi- "leges of the East India com- "pany."

Mr. *Lushington*, jun. warmly seconded the motion. He thought it high time those papers should go into the world, that the public might see what respect marquis Wellesley paid to their commands,—he mocked their authority, held them out to ridicule, and disobeyed their orders.

After Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Lushington had supported the motion by their respective speeches,—Mr. Jackson rose to reply—

Mr. *Jackson.*—Mr. Chairman, I wish to ask if a draft of the intended dispatch, or that which was substituted for it, or the letter from the court of directors to the governor-general, dated the 12th February, 1806, have either of them been seen by lord Wellesley?

(*The Chairman did not seem to understand the question.*)

Mr. *Jackson.*—My meaning is this, Sir; it is evident, from the dates of these printed papers, upon the consideration of which the motion before the court professes to proceed, that the dispatches they contain could not have arrived in India till *long after* the noble Marquis had sailed for England, and that the letter from the court of directors to the governor-general, dated 28th November, 1804, is the *only one* of all these papers that can have been seen by him, unless you have transmitted copies of them to his lordship since his return to Europe. I beg to know if such has been the case?

The Chairman. I don't think the thing was any way possible for the court of directors.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Chairman,—Sir, I am not insensible of the extreme disadvantage under which I rise, though in a situation not entirely new to me. I have more than once opposed myself to what has seemed to me to be the passions of the general court, and when they have been heated and inflamed by eloquence and abilities not inferior to those of my honourable friend; I shall do so on this day; trusting that those who have long honoured me with their support in this place, will not finally disapprove of the reasons which I am about to offer against the adoption of the resolution before the court.

I wish, however, first to remove one impression which may have made its way to the minds of the proprietors. My honourable friend did not, I am sure, mean any thing uncivil, when he termed me a "converted foe" to the noble marquis. I beg leave to appeal to the recollection of those who have been present at our general courts, when his lordship's name has been mentioned, whether I have not uniformly deprecated discussion, till he should have an opportunity of answering for himself? Fortunately for my character and honour, this does not depend upon bare assertion; the fact is placed upon your records. When, at the close of the Mahratta war, the directors were pleased to offer to our adoption an extremely equivocal vote of thanks to the noble marquis, I objected to the terms: the motion runs thus:

"Without entering into the "policy or the justice of the war, "the

"the court of directors return "thanks, &c."

I arraigned that motion as a censure upon our governor-general, of whose merits we had not then the means of judging, and I moved to amend it by the introduction of these words, "The proper documents respecting which not being yet before the court." The general court was pleased to adopt my amendment; and thus disarmed of its sting the premeditated affront. Did I act on that day like a foe to the noble marquis? At a subsequent period, when it was proposed to pass a high and well-deserved eulogium upon the memory of marquis Cornwallis, accompanied by a very substantial testimony of our esteem, a resolution was offered to us by the directors; I took the liberty to say, that much as I esteemed and lamented that noble lord, I could not consent to the resolution as worded by the court of directors, because I thought it teemed with reflection upon the character of lord Wellesley. I therefore moved a resolution, on this side of the bar, not subject to that objection, and the general court again did me the honour to approve of my proposition. The debate, however, as you may remember, went off upon a point of form; the court was adjourned for a few days, and my motion was of course deferred: in the interim, it was whispered to me, that the directors meant to supersede my proposition at the next court, by the re-introduction of their own. I waited upon the chairman, and represented to him, that such conduct would be inconsistent with the privileges of the general court; he desired I would address a letter to him officially.—I did so; and if you, sir, are as regular in your proceedings as my honourable friend says the noble marquis should have been, who, he contends, ought, during a *seven-years'* administration, over *fifty millions* of people, and over a territory of 300,000 square miles, to have entered *all* his proceedings every morning, noon, and night; I say, sir, if your honourable court but approaches to the regularity which it enjoins, that letter is now upon your records. From a fear of the contrary, I will state the substance of it, and then leave to the ingeniousness of my honourable friend to retract and regret his insinuation. I wrote to the honourable chairman, that I could not allow any motion from behind the bar to supersede that which I had moved, and which, at the next court, must stand as the order for the day, without abandoning the rights of the proprietors, which, on the contrary, I would defend to my uttermost; but, if the proprietors themselves should be insensible of their value, and give way to the directors' claim of originating resolutions, I should then of course bow to their decision; but in that case, I should take leave to give, with all due respect, the reasons why I could not consent to the resolution of the court of directors, or to any resolution which had for *its object* the *crimination* of our highest servant; whose conduct was not yet before us, and respecting which we had not been furnished with the means of forming out judgment. The point was yielded, and I moved that resolution which now stands upon your journals as the resolution of the general court. I meant it to express our warm feelings towards the fame and family of lord Cornwallis; but I believe it will not be found

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to contain one disrespectful sentence towards lord Wellesley. If I am a "converted foe" to that nobleman, such has been the history of my enmity; I have, upon every occasion when his lordship's name has been mentioned in this place, since our exulting plaudits for his conquest of Seringapatam, uniformly opposed every approach to the expression of any *premature, partial*, or *unjust* sentiment regarding him; I would have done the same by the humblest of my fellow subjects. I will endeavour to maintain that just character in public life which I hope I have maintained in private, and I cannot do that which my honourable friend recommends me to do, by his motion this day, without its violation.

Let us now follow my honourable friend a little through his speech, and see how far his conduct, and his concluding motion, have agreed with the professions with which he set out, or if they have corresponded in the least degree! I was in hopes, when he begun his speech, that there would have been no great difference of opinion between us. I had not the good fortune to be permitted to see his motion, till a few seconds before I came into Court: consequently had no opportunity of entering into the extent and meaning of it till I had heard it argued and deliberately read. My honourable friend set out with deprecating any thing like an examination into Lord Wellesley's conduct; which he admits would be at present premature and unjust. He said, he should not allude to it directly, and that he should think the doing so *indirectly*, infinitely more unpardonable. What has been the conduct and the language of himself, and of the honourable and learned gentleman who seconded the motion? have they not raked into every part of the intended dispatch? have they not expressed themselves in terms of the most unqualified severity, and used language, such as I protest it has not been my misfortune to hear, except in a course of criminal proceeding, when I attended at the Old Bailey; and yet, with the mildest primary professions, you are called upon, deliberately to sanction a resolution, which treats accusation as established guilt, and which has been supported in language that *could* not have been applied to the meanest of the King's subjects, without extremely distressing the mind of every feeling and just man. The reasons upon which my honourable friend urges you to precipitate yourselves into his conclusions, I shall presently notice. My honourable friend has made great professions of attachment to Proprietors, and of respect to the Directors. I hope I do not yield to him in these respects; I have been long among you, and I believe your opinion is, that I have always acted like a true friend to the Company; I wish also to support the Directors.—I am disposed so to do, but it shall be at a proper time, and when I can declare that support consistently with sound policy, and subtantial justice; but I desire to warn you, that the resolution of this day *is premature, ill-timed, and inconsistent with the principles of justice.* Were we even in such a situation as one of the honourable gentlemen has described, who says, we are called upon, in duty to ourselves, to take steps paramount to justice; were we so far warmed and worked up by the speeches that have been delivered, as to be disposed

posed to disregard all the ordinary ties of justice, and to depart from all those liberal maxims which distinguish our countrymen and ourselves; were we even prepared, to act upon principles the most sordid and selfish; I say, that danger to our common interest stares us in the face, and says, defer the consideration of this question: stay till the cause is fairly before you; stay till Parliament has finished the enquiry; stay till the noble person has an opportunity of answering for himself; stay till you can proceed without an open affront to the House of Commons; and then thank the Directors as strongly as you please. My honourable friend has assumed a fact which I own I was not aware of: he has stated, that he makes this motion in conformity to the wishes of the Directors. I could not have imagined, Sir, but that the Directors, with their usual discrimination, would have seen the peril of the resolutions urged upon the Court. The honourable and able person who seconded the motion, confirms me in my belief of that peril; he even speaks of our proceedings as an indictment; to which he says the noble Lord must plead. I do not wish to animadvert in stronger terms than the occasion requires, upon the language of that learned gentleman. I hope I shall always be ready to hail and encourage rising talents, though I shall never relinquish my right in debate to comment upon such language, without ceremony.—The learned gentleman says, he also understands it to be the wish of the Directors. I was in hopes, Sir, that I should have found advocates this day on your side of the bar; that I should "have heard you say, "however "much we feel indebted to the "Proprietors for their good opi"nion, however proud we should "be of their declared support, yet "we feel the indelicacy of agita"ting this question, from the pe"culiar predicament in which we "stand; the business is before the "House of Common, and it may "be thought *grossly indecent in us* "to investigate it here, during a "Parliamentary enquiry." Look at the printed papers in this book; my friend has distinguished them in his speech, but has he distinguished them in his resolution? His resolution purports to be founded upon the consideration of them all. Look, I say, at these papers; one of them is called "an intended dispatch;" it is a dispatch full of accusation, a dispatch which *was rejected* by the Board of Controul, and which the noble Marquis has not *even seen*, and yet my honourable friend sustains his argument principally upon it. Other of the papers you will see involve a question of right and authority between the Board of Control and the Directors. My opinion is, that the less such questions are discussed the better. Why should we throw down the gauntlet to that high authority? Has it not become proverbial among us, that we can always come out of such contests poorer than when we go in? I deprecate such discussions; I will not even now be led into them, unless they are forced upon me, but content myself with earnestly advising the Court, not to countenance a resolution, which goes to hold up our asserted authority against so powerful a body as the Commissioners for the affairs of India, supported as they naturally will be by the government of the country.

With regard, then, to what more immediately relates to the noble Marquis, I observe, that the intended dispatch of accusation was not

not *even written till three months after* the appointment of Lord Cornwallis; and that neither that, nor the subsequent dispatches, could by possibility have reached India till long after the return of Marquis Wellesley; it was, therefore, Sir, that I put the question to you, whether the Directors had transmitted copies to his Lordship since his arrival in England? If I had been one of your honourable body, Sir, you should have had no rest till you had so acted by his Lordship; according to my old-fashioned notions of candour, *that* should have been done. I should have thought it a more open and honourable proceeding to have presented his Lordship with his accusation in England, where he could see it, than to have sent exclusively to India, *where he could not see it.* I must not be told, that the forms of your Court prevented this open proceeding. We are too old in the usages of the Company to conceive, that they are inconsistent with common candour, not to say common politeness; such conduct would not have disgraced your forms, or the character of your Court. My honourable friend justifies the long period, the years of delay, which took place between your conceiving these charges against the noble Marquis, and your putting them upon paper, and he says, it was your fear of power, and so on. My honourable friend also applauds the wisdom and the forbearance of the Directors. I agree with him, Sir, and hope that we, the Proprietors, shall profit by your example. I admit your fear of giving offence to the country, by premature discussion, to have been a rational fear. I partake of it, Sir, and I expect the Proprietors will this day be governed by its influence. It must be admitted, that I advise the General Court from the highest authority, when I state to them the rule which the Directors have prescribed for their own conduct; they shall have that rule in your own words; they are these, Sir; and they appear in the intended dispatch, "We had been previously called "upon, in the 7th paragraph of "the Governor General's letter, "of the 21st. December, 1803, "to declare our opinion on the "justice and necessity of the war, "but as we have reason to believe "that the subject of the war "will shortly come under the consideration of Parliament, we "feel ourselves precluded, by our "respect to so high an authority, "from declaring any opinion "thereon at the present motion." This prudent resolution was come to, Sir, by your honourable Court prospectively, when you had only reason to believe, that the subject would be brought before Parliament; and yet, now that it is actually before Parliament; now that there is a charge laid upon the table of the House of Commons; now that it has been gravely talked of in that house, whether the accuser should proceed by way of impeachment, or in the Court of King's Bench, or before the Court of Indian Judicature, my friend says, it is the wish of the Directors, that we, the Proprietors, should plunge into a predicament, which you, Sir, and your colleagues, have so carefully avoided. I put it, Sir, to the Directors, is it fitting that we should so involve the General Court?—I repeat, Sir; I did expect that the Directors would have risen, one after another, in their places, and even intreated us not to precipitate ourselves into an enquiry, the whole scope of which is before the House of Commons at this moment.

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My honourable friend, as well as the gentlemen that followed him, have adduced the instances of the city of London, and other public bodies, interfering in the case of my Lord Melville; but those instances fail them as miserably as the other parts of their argument.—What! says my honourable friend, did not the great city of London address his majesty before the trial, with regard to Lord Melville's conduct? I ask, was my Lord Melville then in the situation which Lord Wellesley is in now? I hope my Lord Melville will be delivered from the high charges brought against him. I am not afraid to say, that it is among the warmest wishes of my heart, that the noble viscount may come out pure and untainted from his trial. I do not think that the noble viscount is an inhuman or an unjust man, though it has been said that he is so, and that Lord Wellesley is infinitely worse, and guilty besides of prodigal expenditure. But what was the case of my Lord Melville? At the time of the addresses alluded to, the House of Commons had already come to their awful resolutions, they had resolved upon his offence, and upon his impeachment; such is not the case, and I trust never will, or can be, with marquis Wellesley. The honourable member who has come forward as his accuser, has moved for papers, and has laid his charge upon the table; but the house has as yet gone no farther than to grant the papers. The honourable member who accuses him before Parliament, seems to me to have acted with manhood and consistency: he has sought nothing yet, in that house, by indirect means. He has moved no resolution of implied condemnation before the accused has seen the papers upon which the accusation is founded. On the other hand, the right honourable secretary has conceded every paper which the honourable member has moved for, except this very intended dispatch, upon which my honourable friend rests his cause. The right honourable secretary has been traduced in this respect; his conduct has, in my opinion, been most candid and consistent; he could not have consented to the production of the intended dispatch without a violation of all the rules of evidence; it was *not a legal* or existing document; it was not a document between the accuser and the accused; it was the mere opinion of a third party, whose assertions might be true or false; but the circulation of which, without its antidote, the noble marquis's answer might have had that effect, which I charge upon the motion of this day, namely, that of *unduly prejudicing* the public mind. The right honourable secretary, therefore, acted like himself in refusing it; he acted like a man who loves the people, who knows the weight and value of their opinion, but who will not stoop to obtain it by a sacrifice of principle. Shall we then, deluded by eloquence, or by strong appeals to our passions, suffer ourselves to be betrayed into that error from which the right honourable secretary saved the House of Commons?

My honourable friend, notwithstanding his professions to the contrary; notwithstanding his formal assurance, that he deprecated premature examination, that he did not mean even to allude to the intended dispatch, has referred to it throughout his speech, and absolutely calls upon the court to decide upon

upon its merits. I am glad that we at length understand him, and discover, under the mask of a resolution of thanks to the court of directors, that it is meant to try and to criminate the noble marquis.

A cry of *no! no! no!* from the gallery.

Sir Stephen Lushington—To order—The learned gentleman is not warranted in imputing to the court an intention to criminate the noble marquis.

The Chairman—I beg leave to say, the honourable gentleman has travelled out of his way; there is no disposition in this court to charge or bring forward accusation.

Mr. Jackson,—Is the honourable director speaking to order or not?—if he is not, no gentleman has a right to interrupt another in his argument.

Sir Hugh Inglis,—It is contrary to order to discuss a motive which has no relation to the motion. It is in other respects disorderly, that any member should impute motives to another, contrary to those which he professes.

Sir Stephen Lushington—Proceeded to make several observations.

Mr. Jackson,—Mr. Chairman, I call upon you, sir, to declare, whether or no the honourable baronet is speaking to order? If you will say so, upon your authority, I will sit down; otherwise, I will not allow any man, however elevated his station in this court, to infringe the rights of the proprietors, by interrupting them in the course of their arguments.

The Chairman,—Mr. Jackson, you may proceed.

Mr. Jackson,—It would not be surprising, sir, if I found myself embarrassed by so unseemly an attempt to destroy the effect of my address to the court. I submit, sir, that whether the motion has the tendency which I impute to it, is matter of argument; and it was by argument that I was endeavouring to shew that it had, and that, by its adoption, the proprietors were about to decide, as far as depends upon them, upon the fame and character of a distinguished nobleman, with scarce an iota of evidence beyond the charge of the accusing party.

My honourable friend, after dwelling upon the intended, and the subsequent dispatches, which the marquis cannot have seen, thought fit to notice the dispatch, dated 28th November, 1804, which did arrive just before his lordship left India, and which he, together with the council, have jointly answered. I wish the proprietors directly to understand the nature of this letter; it was sent by the court of directors a few months before the penning of the intended dispatch, and contains some of the identical complaints, which are repeated in that paper. This letter (the only one which his lordship can have yet seen) is answered by his lordship in council, as appears from the printed papers, under date 20th May, 1805. To this reply there is a letter of rejoinder, written by the directors, under date 12th February, 1806, at a time when his lordship must have been upon the shores of Europe.

I admit that it was perfectly fair for my honourable friend to reason upon the two former of these papers, as they respect Lord Wellesley; and, upon all three, as they respect the directors; but let

let us see if he has stated the contents of the one or the other correctly and fairly?

My honourable friend says, that marquis Wellesley commenced hostilities against Jesswunt Row Holkar, avowedly without the consent of the council. Here he goes even beyond the directors—they only charge, that "the orders for hostilities were signed by the governor-general, in his own name; so that, according to appearance, it should seem as if he acted without the consent of the council." Now how does that fact stand? It appears, that the answer of the 20th of May, 1805, was signed not only by Lord Wellesley, but by Sir George Barlow and Mr. Udney; it was signed by those gentlemen on the eve of his lordship's departure, when they had no longer any thing to hope from him—if hope they had entertained; when they had no longer any thing to fear—if with fear he had inspired them; they have declared, under their hands, that hostilities were not commenced with that chieftain till after mature deliberation—till after repeated discussions, and then, by their "*unanimous*" consent. They say, "with respect to the "orders for the commencement "of hostilities against Jesswunt "Row Holkar, those orders were "issued with the full concurrence "of the members of the supreme "council. After long and *repeated* "discussions on the subject, it "was the *unanimous* opinion of "the governor-general, and members of the supreme council, as "well as of his excellency the "commander in chief, that the "unprovoked aggression of that "lawless freebooter, and the dangerous consequences to be apprehended to the British interests, "and to every state in India, from "allowing him to prosecute, unmolested, the hostile course of "policy which he avowed, admitted of no other proceeding, but "that of reducing his power. The "grounds upon which this opinion "was formed, have been stated in "the dispatches of this government to the secret committee of "your honourable court."

"A sense of public duty, as well as the respect which the governor-general entertains for the members of the supreme council, would have *precluded* the governor-general from adopting any measure of importance without a full discussion of the subject with them; and the members of the supreme council would have considered it to be their duty to have formally objected to any such course of proceeding." If this, which is one of the principal charges, is capable of so satisfactory an answer, it shews the extreme impropriety of our coming to a vote respecting others, which the noble marquis has not seen; every one of which, for what we know, he may answer as satisfactorily as he has done this; he undoubtedly will answer them when the proper opportunity shall offer; and we may then come to a just conclusion. I have always said, that when that period arrives, we must judge of the noble lord's conduct as a whole. There will be much to applaud—something perhaps to regret—something, for what I know, to condemn; but, as men of candour and honour, I think we shall be bound to consider of the whole together. (*A cry of hear! hear!*) I perceive that this sentiment, at least, is unanimous; tell me, then, how can we judge of his conduct as a whole, till the whole

whole of it is before us? Even the *irregularity* which my friend charges is equally refuted by the same authority. The council state the practice with respect to signing the dispatches, &c. to have prevailed under preceding administrations, and to have been apparently sanctioned by the court of directors. But read, says my friend, that admirable composition, the rejoinder of the court of directors! I have read it, it is an able paper, and I draw from it, as from the highest possible authority, additional reasons against the adoption of his motion; indeed, the correspondence which appears throughout these papers, is a model of ability for intercourse of that description. One of the main charges, it will be recollected, which my honourable friend has brought against the noble marquis, is, that he did not cause the consultations to be entered at the time they took place. It is possible that his lordship may have been irregular in that respect; but to say nothing of the signatures of the council as to former precedents—signatures of men of such high character, that my honourable friend applauds your firmness in maintaining them in their present stations; it will be found, that the directors, in their rejoinder of 12th February, 1806, admit, that a *similar irregularity* took place, and for high state reasons, during the government of lord Cornwallis, I read in that letter the following paragraph:—"In the months of February and March, 1788, a correspondence passed with the government of Madras, on the subject of an expected war with France, which was withheld from the consultations until the 2d April, when it was entered with the following minute: 'the following letters have been written and received by the governor-general, between the 18th January, and the 31st ult. copies of them were kept in charge of the secretary, and their dates were noticed in the consultations of the 10th, 24th, and 31st ultimo; the advices received yesterday from Bombay, and entered after them, rendering it no longer necessary to withhold this correspondence from the proceedings—Ordered, that it be recorded in this place.' If that great and venerable man, lord Cornwallis, thought it expedient to keep back the consultations from insertion in the books, during the months of February and March, on account of an expected war with France, is it unnatural to suppose, that lord Wellesley may not have had reasons equally important to have induced him to keep back the insertion of the minutes during one of the most critical, important, and decisive campaigns ever conducted in India? At least, ought we not to defer any resolution obviously meant to criminate the noble lord, until he has seen the whole charge upon this subject, and we can know his reasons for deferring such insertions? It is said, that copies of the letters, sent by lord Cornwallis, were kept by the secretary, and their dates noticed in the consultations. Is there any man living, who will deny that copies of the letters, written by marquis Wellesley, were kept by the secretary? Is there any man living who will say that he has received a letter upon business from marquis Wellesley, without its being attested by his secretary upon the face of it? I understand these facts to be notorious; each of these noble persons,

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it appears, occasionally kept back their consultations; one of them has given his reasons for so doing, and you were satisfied; the other may give reasons equally satisfactory; and my argument is, that it is neither just nor wise in us to condemn the eminent person in question, till we have ascertained the fact? But I will even suppose, for argument's sake, and for argument's sake only, that marquis Wellesley had acted illegally. Would even that be without a precedent, which the directors have approved and sanctioned according to the circumstances of the case? The directors, in this same letter of rejoinder, say, "whatever mode of correspondence lord Cornwallis may have adopted during his absence at Madras, from 1790 to 1792, no precedent can be established thereon, because he then exercised powers which were found not to be compatible with existing law, and it required a subsequent act of parliament to render his acts in the exercise of that power valid." My lord Cornwallis, it thus appears, acted illegally during his absence from the seat of government; he did so, and he helped to preserve our empire by so doing; you felt the weight of his reasons, and obtained a bill to indemnify him from the consequence. Who shall say, till lord Wellesley has had an opportunity of explaining his conduct, that he may not have acted under exigency equally strong, and have equally entitled himself to a bill of indemnity, supposing him even to have departed from strict law? My honourable friend's next charge is, that the powers granted by marquis Wellesley to lord Lake, and to general Wellesley, were irregular, if not illegal. Whether those powers were irregular and illegal, or not, they have at least the stamp of that high authority to which I before alluded. Your present governor-general, of whom you think so highly as to be determined to maintain him in his station against all opposition, and Mr. Udney, declare, under their signatures, that "the orders of the governor-general to major-general Wellesley, and eventually to lieutenant-general Stuart; and the orders to his excellency the commander-in-chief, were issued after full communication with the members of council, and with their *entire concurrence* and *approbation*." But, independently of this sanction, hear the reasons of the same persons for agreeing to such order; they say, "The necessity of a reference to Fort William, on every question arising at the Durbars of Dowlut Row Scindia, and of Ragojee Bhoonsla, during the negotiation of colonel Collins, which immediately preceded the commencement of hostilities, would have enabled those chieftains to attain their object of protracting the determination of the question of peace or war, until the close of the season of the rains, when they could have employed their bodies of cavalry, with great advantage, in predatory incursions into the territories of the company and its allies. This delay would likewise have allowed them leisure to conclude with Jesswant Row Holkar, and would probably have enabled them to obtain his accession to the confederacy." Lord Wellesley further shews in what manner the usual intercourse was interrupted, that the only object of the enemy was to protract the negotiation till the rainy season, and that, had these commanders

commanders been obliged to refer themselves upon every occasion to the seat of government, the enemy's purpose would have been answered; and I beg my friend to compare all that himself, and the learned gentleman who seconded him, has talked about prodigal expenditure, with the probable expense of an additional Indian campaign! It appears, however, that even those powers which the noble marquis gave to those gallant officers, he gave under terms of the most minute and anxious qualifications; his lordship describes himself to have furnished them with detailed instructions, suited to almost every possible occurrence: their general orders were subject to the principles contained in those instructions; from which principles they had no authority to depart, but upon some such unforeseen exigency as would, upon the face of it, justify them in so doing. Who then, I ask again, can say, till the whole affair is wound up, that this conduct did not prevent a second campaign? and who, conversant with the affairs of India, can be insensible of the consequence of such a prevention? It is well known, how ingenious the princes of the east and their ministers are in all the arts of diplomatic deception. The doctors of the Sorbonne are not profounder casuists, nor the disciples of Loyola more subtile intriguers. The Indian chiefs excel Europeans in the science of political chicane. Their intention was to amuse, until the rainy season should arrive, when their army could act, and our's could not; and it was to frustrate this purpose that the noble lord gave the high powers which he did to the commanders in question, not, as pretended by his accusers, *without* the knowledge of his council, but, as I have shewn, *with* their express advice and consent.

My honourable friend has, in every respect, broken the promise with which he set out; he who deprecated examination; he who would not censure directly, and still less indirectly, travels into the treaties of Oude, of Bassein, and the subsidiary treaties, and seeks to infer criminality from each of them: he talked much of Oude, and quotes the language of the directors, when speaking of the embarrassments of the nabob. (Here was a cry from Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Impey of *No, no; nothing like it.*) I am in the judgment of the court, if my friend did not use the words, "wrested from him." (*No, no*; repeated.) It is impossible I should have noted down what I see I have, if nothing had been said about the subsidiary treaties; and if nothing had been said about wresting from the Nabob the treaty of Oude. I really thought my honourable friend had mentioned those as a division of his argument; but since he does not chuse to go into them, I shall abandon them also, although they occupy so much of the printed papers; but I beg it may be remembered, that my honourable friend does not venture upon the discussion of the treaty of Oude; we are still in the dark as to its merits, though I know my friend would have found one difficulty upon the threshold of his subject; namely, that the legitimate organ of the company upon such occasions, the secret committee of the court of directors, have expressed their approbation of that very treaty. Neither shall I follow my honourable friend

friend through the anomalies he adverts to in the present constitution of the East India company: all that is matter of opinion — Whenever that important subject shall be brought under discussion, which it perhaps may at no distant period, we shall be extremely obliged to him for the assistance derivable from his comprehensive mind.

My honourable friend imputes it as one of the misfortunes of the present East India charter, that it has constantly received one construction abroad, and another construction at home; that our government abroad, and our government at home, have constantly differed upon that subject; and that lord Wellesley, in his anxiety to signalize himself, has construed his powers in his own way. He has, indeed, been anxious to signalize himself: happily for you, sir, for the directors, and the proprietors, such has certainly been the noble lord's anxiety. There was a time, sir, when you thought the noble marquis had succeeded in that object, and your constituents agreed with you in sentiment. I will remind the court of their former feelings; the passage, sir, is short, and you will find it under the head Seringapatam, in the proceedings of the general court, November the 13th, 1799; it runs as follows:

Resolved, "That the thanks of this court be given to the earl of Mornington, for the wisdom, energy, and decision displayed by him in the discharge of the arduous duty of governor-general, from the period of his arrival in India, until the glorious and happy termination of the late war in that country; by which the power of the Sultaun of Mysore, and the influence of the French in India, have been crushed; events which promise to establish, on a firm basis, the tranquillity and security of the British dominions in India." If I recollect right, my honourable friend seconded this motion; and among other glowing eulogiums, it was said, that "the fall of Seringapatam was a revolution, and the noble lord the Saviour of India." But, alas! since then it appears that the noble lord has not minuted his proceedings morning, noon, and night, as my friend says he ought to have done; and that, during the heat of the campaign, and the intricacy of negotiation, he, with the advice of his counsel, kept back his consultations from the books till the storm was over.

Another honourable friend of mine, whose character and talents I much respect, and who perhaps may take a part in this day's debate, and whose judgment upon such subjects cannot be doubted, observed, upon that occasion, "That, but for the vigilance and prompt activity, the firmness and penetration of the noble lord, excited at the moment of his accession to the government, the British power, and our footing in the East, had perished together! I feel," he continues, "the embarrassed situation in which he found our provinces on his arrival in India, a situation you may remember I described to you on a former occasion, while the noble Earl was on his passage to India, as I then expressed my doubt whether he would find a government existing when he should land in Asia." Now, sir, if there is no longer any danger of the British power, and our footing in the East, perishing together; if it be no longer a doubt, whether we have a government existing in

Asia;

Asia; if those circumstances of extreme embarrassment which my honourable friend describes as existing when the noble marquis arrived in the East, are no more, I think it must at least be admitted, that we are indebted for this happy change of circumstances to his lordship's administration. If, on the contrary, they still continue, I think my honourable friend will find he is proceeding much too harshly in charging irregularity as crime, and treating accusation as guilt!

Sir, I will not detain the court longer by following my honourable friend through the other points of his speech; I should not, indeed, have gone so far, had he adhered to his promise of refraining from an endeavour to commit the court in any direct or indirect censure on marquis Wellesley. I think no man who reads the resolution can doubt of its conveying the strongest censure upon that noble person; it is ingeniously drawn, it has been artfully supported, and its popular pretence is, that which seldom fails in this place, the support of the court of directors. My friend exclaims, shall we abandon the court of directors? I say not; support them; but let it be with wisdom and with justice. I do not observe, Sir, that the directors sanction this resolution, although said to be brought forward at their wish and desire. I hope they do not sanction it; it is not the true way of supporting their authority: no man can doubt its intention; its very terms are taken from the dispatch of accusation, and from the charge which now lies upon the table of the house of commons. All that I ask for the noble lord is, what I would ask for any man accused, namely, that you will stay till you have the facts on your table, and his answers to them, before you condemn him: if, after that, you shall be inclined to censure him as your governor-general, do so; but do not do so till then. As to supporting the directors, be assured, Sir, that the best basis of authority is the public estimation; the public cannot esteem you, if you are uncandid or unjust; rather let me advise, both the directors and the proprietors, to adhere to that line of wise moderation which the directors formerly assigned to themselves, when they only *expected* this business to be taken up in parliament; it is now actually taken up, and before the house: if you held it improper and indecorous then, you must surely think it more so now. Convinced as I am, that if one act can, more than another, endanger our interests, or your authority, it is rashly engaging in discussions of this nature, I earnestly recommend that we may proceed no farther at present. I pledge myself, whenever the business can be taken up consistently with our own safety, consistently with justice to the noble lord, consistently with our due respect for the commissioners for the affairs of India, and with that deference which we all owe to the house of commons, to meet my honourable friend, if he will call us together, and go into a full discussion of the noble lord's merits; but, feeling most entirely convinced, that the present resolution is premature, dangerous, and unjust; and thinking it highly for the interest of the proprietors to suspend its further agitation, I shall take the liberty to move the previous question.

The

The motion for the previous question was seconded by *Edward Baber, Esq.*

Mr. *Twining* equally deprecated the conduct of the gentlemen on both sides, and as that of the directors deserved some mark of approbation, he wished it should be done without passing any censure upon any party, till they should have an opportunity of answering the charge. He thought the present a very improper question to agitate, it being now under investigation in a much higher court.

Mr. *M'Naghten*, Mr. *Grant*, alderman *Prinsep*, colonel *Allen*, sir *Stephen Lushington*, and several other gentlemen, delivered their opinions at some length, chiefly inclining towards a vote of thanks which would cast no reflections upon any party, and Mr. M'Naghten proposed an amendment to that effect; when the question was loudly called for, and strangers ordered to withdraw.

The previous question of adjournment was then negatived, and a ballot demanded upon the original motion which was accordingly ordered, and will take place on Friday fortnight. The court then adjourned.

May 31.

Yesterday a ballot was taken at the East India House, on the following question, viz.

"That this court, having considered the papers laid before it, most highly approves of the zeal manifested, and the conduct pursued, by the court of directors; and regards a firm adherence to the principles maintained by the court of directors, to be indispensably necessary to preserve the salutary authority over the governments of India, vested by law in the court of directors, to restrain a profuse expenditure of public money, and to prevent all schemes of conquest, and extension of dominion; measures which the legislature has declared to be repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation. And this court doth assure the court of directors of its most cordial and zealous support, with a view to preserve, unimpaired, the rights and privileges of the East India company."

At six o'clock the glasses were finally closed, and delivered to the scrutineers, who, at o'clock made their report, when the numbers appeared to be,

For the question, 928. Against the question, 195.—Majority, 733.

June 19.

Yesterday a court of directors was held at the East India House, when, after the proceedings of the former day had been read, and some other routine business was disposed of,

The *Chairman* called the attention of the court to the subject of a resolution of the court of directors, granting a salary of 4,000l. per annum to the recorder of Prince of Wales's Island. Having adverted to the necessity of having a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction in that island, he said, he understood the gentleman who had been appointed to that situation, was highly eligible to the office, and had been well recommended by government. The directors had wished, and proposed that a mayor and aldermen should have been appointed to administer justice, but his majesty's ministers thought proper to interfere, and propose, that this office of recorder should be established; and the court of directors having maturely considered the plan laid before them for the due administration of justice, in that

that Island, approved of this measure.

The Resolution being read,

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that consistent with the decided opposition he had hitherto given the whole of this measure, he rose to express his dissatisfaction of the resolution which had been just read; he could not see the necessity of granting so large a salary to such an establishment; and therefore decidedly opposed it.

Mr. *Kemble* was of the same opinion, and could not reconcile such a proceeding with the present depressed state of the company's affairs.

The *Chairman* answered, that the duties of this office would be very arduous, and that salary was allowed in lieu of all fees and perquisites; so that, in fact, whoever accepted of the office, could derive no other advantage from it; besides the difficulty of procuring a person who was fit for such an office, consistent with his rank in life, his knowledge and talents to fill such a situation; altogether the eligibility of such a person being taken into consideration, he could not conceive what less sum could be granted.

Mr. *Huddleston* declared, that from the state of the company's finances at present, he could not agree with the honourable chairman, and thought this salary much too great for the duty and situation. He adverted to the appointment of Mr. Sullivan, as attorney-general of Madras, a gentleman equally high in rank and abilities with the gentleman (Mr. Ormsby) who was appointed to the office in question, an office no way superior to that of Mr. Sullivan, whose salary was only 500 pagodas per month, about 2,500l. per annum.

The *Chairman* expressed much surprise at hearing the honourable gentleman now oppose what he understood him to have acquiesed in upon a former occasion, and wished he had made his objections sooner. Much had been said on the bad state of the company's finances, but in this he could not agree; and although they might be somewhat reduced at present, yet they were by no means in such a state as to prevent the company's granting such a salary to any gentleman going out in such a situation; if the honourable gentleman had read the last dispatches from that island, he would have seen the necessity of sending out such an officer. Much might also be said of the virtues and economy of former times; but it should be remembered, that although persons then had but small salaries, yet by catching and grasping at every thing which came within their reach, they were enabled to amass immense fortunes, at the expense of the company. This, however, could not be the case in the present instance; and he therefore contended, that the best plan the company ever adopted was that of giving liberal salaries. It was originally the intention of the directors to have had a mayor and alderman for the administration of justice in the island, who would be little expense to the company, but government proposed a recorder, and the board had no alternative left, but to take their charter of justice under this regulation. He concluded by proposing to have read some extracts from the dispatches before alluded to.

These dispatches represented the necessity of expediting the charter of justice for the good government of the island, and related

lated several enormities committed with impunity by Europeans, for want of a proper Judicature, and particularly alluded to the case of eleven persons guilty of murder, who were suffered to go unpunished.

Mr. *Kemble* reprobated the idea of the court of directors, who had so much the guidance of the company's affairs, suffering any measure to be crammed down their throats by government, nor could he suppose the company would support them in such conduct.

After some explanation from Mr. Huddleston,

Mr. *Peter Moore* said, that he also, consistent with his former opinion on this subject, strongly opposed this measure; nor could he think of supporting the board of directors, until they should again adopt the measures resorted to in 1781, those of economy and reformation. The means were in their own power, nor could he agree to any measure which had for its object an extravagant expenditure of the company's funds.

In answer to a question from col. Symes, it appeared that the salaries of the recorders of Madras and Bombay, were 5000*l*. per annum each,

Mr. *Johnstone* again addressed the court; he could not conceive why so enormous a salary should be granted for such a situation, in an island not so big as the Isle of Wight, where a judge would have nothing scarcely to do, and whose salary for one year, would cover all expenses of litigation that might arise in ten. He did not expect that the court of proprietors would support the directors in any such measure as the present, when they suffered any person whatever to be imposed upon them by his majesty's ministers, who had endeavoured to dictate to them upon every subject, and particularly in a very recent instance, when they endeavoured to force a minion of their own as governor-general of India. [Here the honourable gentleman was called to order by colonel Symes.] He replied, that in making use of that expression, he meant no disrespect to his majesty's government, but he could not give his support to such measures, and declared, in conclusion, as his opinion, that the present establishment of Prince of Wales's Island would not exist two years longer.

Colonel *Symes* spoke at some length in support of the measure.

The *Chairman* then adverted to the importance of the island, both in a commercial and naval point of view, as a situation long wanted by the company. He strongly reprobated the language made use of by the hon. gentleman, (Mr. Johnstone) and thought it highly unbecoming in that court, however he might be authorized, to repeat it in that determined and strong opposition, which he so uniformly gave to all measures of his majesty's ministers in another place.

Mr. *Johnstone*, in explanation, replied that he never gave any decided or strong opposition to his majesty's ministers, except in the recal of sir George Barlow from the government of India; a man high in the confidence of the company, and whose conduct, in every respect, was highly meritorious. This measure, done in direct opposition to the company's wish, and also the appointment of a person in his room, totally adverse to their inclination, he must ever reprobate.

Mr. *R. Thornton* strongly condemned the conduct of the honourable

able chairman, for making any such reflections upon the sentiments of any honourable gentleman, who had a right to express himself in that court; he considered every gentleman present was entitled to declare his opinion openly and fairly upon any subject before the court. With respect to the measure itself, it was a child born when he was sent to grass, and out of the direction,—therefore he had nothing to say to it; but, at all events, he thought some unanimity should be observed in the course of their proceedings.

Sir *Francis Baring* wished much to see that harmony and unanimity should prevail amongst them; but he could not help reprobating the intemperate language of an hon. gentleman, (Mr. Johnstone) who took so warm a part in the debate. As to the measure itself, he gave it his decided approbation.

After some further observations, the question was loudly called for, and being put, "that the court of proprietors do agree with the court of directors in this resolution," the question was negatived without a division, and the court adjourned.

September 25.

Yesterday a quarterly court of the proprietors was held for the purpose of taking into consideration the resolution entered into by the court of directors of a former day, respecting a salary to be granted to the recorder of Prince of Wales's Island, &c.

The Hon. *Wm. Elphinstone* in the chair.

The resolutions of the court of directors being read by the proper officer, purporting, first, to grant a salary of 3000*l*. per annum to the recorder of Prince of Wales's Island; and further granting a pension of 1000*l*. when he shall have served that office for the space of 10 years,

The *Chairman* rose, and said, it was necessary for him, for the better information of the court of proprietors, to state, that the court of directors, dissenting from the court of proprietors, in the negative which they gave to resolutions relative to this subject, on a former day, and having since received some official communications from the government of that island, had thought it right to re-consider this subject; the result of which was, the resolutions now offered for their concurrence. From the communications alluded to, he trusted the court would see the absolute necessity of sending out some person immediately, in a judicial capacity, and he was convinced, that when these communications were read to them, they would acquiesce with the court of directors in these resolutions.

A public letter from the government of that island, to the directors, was then read, expressive of the great want of such a person, and the great mischief which must ensue from any delay.

After enumerating the various offences which were daily committed with impunity, for want of judicial authority, and stating, that the gaols were full of felons, that 21 persons were now in confinement charged with murder, without the power of punishing them; it adverted to a very recent robbery, committed in the navy pay office, to the amount of 3000 Dollars, supposed to be done by a Sepoy, on whom a quantity of money was found, which he could not account for. For want of proper authority to try him in the Island, by the advice of the presiding Magistrate, they were under the necessity of

of sending him, at an enormous expense, to the government of Calcutta, to be there tried.

After some further observations, by the chairman, in support of the resolutions, the question was put, and

Mr. *Kemble* said, he did not entirely oppose the salary of 3,000*l.* per annum, although he still thought, as on former occasions, that 2,000*l.* was a very handsome and sufficient allowance. He was adverse to every measure which might increase the expenses of the company, in the present depressed state of their funds; but, above all, he was adverse to granting a pension, at least before the person's merits were known, or his services performed. He considered 3,000*l.* per annum a very liberal salary; and if the gentleman was at all prudent, he might, in the course of ten years, realize a very handome property for himself and family.

Mr. *Johnstone*, upon the same principles with which he had ever opposed any establishment of a government in Prince of Wales's island, said he rose to oppose the present resolutions *in toto*. He conceived that it was taking an advantage of the company to bring forward such a proposition, on so short a notice; it would, he thought, have been more candid to defer the matter for a longer period, and give the company an opportunity of considering the propriety of such a measure. He also opposed these resolutions of the directors, because they went to render fixed and permanent an establishment, in Prince of Wales's Island, which the company would ever repent, which he must ever disapprove, and which he thought would be better got rid of altogether. In order to have this appointment of a judge established, they had resorted to the one solitary instance of a Sepoy, whom they might have tried by martial law, being a soldier, and martial law being in force there, though the civil law was not.—This one solitary instance only occurring in the space of six months, was now to be made a pretext for getting a recorder, with a salary of 3,000*l.* per annum. They had already granted 10,000*l.* to the governor, 4,000 to each of the counsel, 3,000*l.* to the doctor, and 1800*l* to a parson; and now they must have a judge, with 3,000*l*. a year more. If the Island was worth all this expense, he should not mind it—the expense he considered as nothing — but the example was a bad one; and, however willing he might be to grant a liberal allowance, when he was convinced, and could see either the use or necessity for it, yet he advised the company, while their finances were at so low an ebb, when they were so deeply involved in debt and difficulties, not to suffer the public money to be squandered with so extravagant a hand. When gentlemen recollected, that this island, from which so large an establishment was to be appointed, and such immense salaries were to be granted, was not quite so large as the Isle of Wight, they would see the folly of squandering the public money in such a way. It was their duty to curtail, instead of increasing the expenses of the company, at such a period as the present, and as long as any resolutions were proposed, which had for their objects a lavish expenditure of the public money, he would give them his most strenuous and decided opposition. Upon a former day, in debating this subject, a suggestion had been thrown out by an honourable

honourable baronet and director, (sir Francis Baring,) whose suggestions must ever have weight, and be treated with the utmost respect, that it would be better to transfer the island altogether, to government, than to be saddled with an expense so enormous, and which far exceeded any advantage they could possibly derive from it. It was said to be situated between the eastern and western part of the continent of India; and a safe harbour and resting place for shipping; but, in his opinion, Trincomalee was better situated for that purpose, without the addition of all this expense. He really thought it would be better to give it up entirely to government, whose policy it had even been to reduce the influence of the company, to increase their own patronage, and leave the East India company to defray all the expenses. Upon all these grounds he gave his most decided opposition to the proposed measures.

Captain *Symes*, on the other hand, supported both resolutions; and, in adverting to the salaries of the puisne judges belonging to the other East India governments, he considered the allowance now proposed comparatively small, taking it upon what scale they might. If they expected proper officers, who would do their duty, they must allow them liberal salaries. The person appointed to such a situation must be a gentleman, a man of education, and of some pre-eminence in life; it was not every man who would offer, who was calculated to fill such an office; besides, it was highly necessary he should have a sufficient allowance, to preserve that rank and consequence which belongs to such an office. It was also very well known that the living in Prince of Wales's Island was more than double as expensive as any other part of India; and it could not be expected a gentleman could possibly lay by any thing out of such a salary. He concluded by expressing a wish that the original resolution, for granting a salary of 4,000*l*. per annum, had been adopted, and gave his hearty concurrence to the resolutions.

The *Chairman*, in answer to what fell from an hon. gentleman without the bar, (Mr. Johnstone,) observed, that he never heard any gentleman talk so much, and to so little purpose; he was always happy to hear him speak, he did it so pleasantly, and with so much eloquence; but he wished he had contrived to introduce a little more matter into his speech. He talked of law and judicial proceedings, as if he himself was the only person present who understood any thing about the matter, yet he (the chairman) was convinced he knew nothing at all about it, or he would not have talked about trying a fellow by martial law, for a crime committed against the civil law. He had also talked, he must say, in a shameful manner about the company's finances; he begged leave to answer, that they were not as he meant to represent them; they were now in a very prosperous state, and improving every day. With respect to the Island itself, it was of the greatest importance; but especially while the French infested those seas. The size of a place did not always constitute its importance. This was a most convenient harbour for shipping to rest or weather at. — There was wood enough on the Island to build a whole navy, and ship-building was done at half the expense it could be effected in England or elsewhere;

where; and being the centre between the eastern and western seas of India, it must even be the constant resort of shipping of all descriptions; so that either taking it in a commercial point of view, it was of the utmost importance to the company. From all these circumstances, therefore, this Island must be the constant scene of litigation, both civil and criminal, and any Judge who resides there must be employed from week's end to week's end. With respect to giving up the island to government, it was one of the most dangerous propositions he had ever heard; and if such was the case there was an end to their influence in India. They had already repented the government having Ceylon in their own hands. He said, he was sure, if the gentlemen would but take the trouble of perusing the documents before them, all this would appear very evident, and for this reason he highly approved of the resolutionsas entered into by the board of directors.

The question was then put upon the first resolution, granting a salary of 3,000*l.* per annum to the recorder, and carried in the affirmative.

Upon the resolution forgranting a pension of 1000*l.* at the end of ten years service,

Mr. *Huddleston* opposed it, on the grounds of bad example, and the possibility of their charter not being renewed, or there funds sufficient before that period.

Sir *Hugh Inglis,* and the Chairman, supported the resolution; Mr. Kemble, Mr. Inglis, and Mr. Pepps opposed it.

The question being called for, it was decided by a shew of hands; the resolution was negatived by a small majority, and the court dissolved.

CHARACTERS.

Memoir of the late right hon. GERRARD LAKE, BARON LAKE, *of* DELHI *and* LASSWARREE, *and of* ASHTON CLINTON, *in the county of* BUCKINGHAM.

The late Gerrard, Lord Viscount Lake was born on the 27th July, 1744, and shewed an early predilection for the military profession.

In 1758, when scarcely fourteen years old, he entered the army, and was appointed an ensign in the 1st regiment of foot-guards.

With the 2d battalion of that corps he proceeded to Germany, in 1760, where he served during the remainder of the seven years war. On various occasions, during this early period of his military life, he displayed much of that spirit of enterprise, that decisive judgment, and heroic ardour, which so eminently characterised his maturer years. At the battle of Williamstadt, near Cassel, in particular, these admirable qualities appeared with peculiar lustre, and gave an early presage of his future fame.

The allied army, under the hereditary prince of Brunswick, after having defeated the enemy near Williamstadt, and driven him from all his positions, on the unexpected appearance of a body of the French forces on the right, were seized with a panic, and, notwithstanding the exertions of the officers, the men were abandoning the field in confusion.

Ensign Lake, who, on that day, carried the colours of the 2d battalion 1st regiment of foot-guards, undismayed by the retreat of his companions, remained at his post, with a few men; and perhaps this rare example of courage and determination greatly contributed to recover the soldiers from the consternation into which they had been thrown, and to bring them back to their duty.

He was soon after this appointed aide-de-camp to General Pearson, in which situation he remained until his return to England, in 1763.

In the year 1776, he was introduced into the family of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: how well he conducted himself, in this station, is best evinced by that affection, esteem, and regard, which his illustrious master ever bore to him, which never knew abatement, but remained unimpaired till the last.

In 1781, he proceeded to America, and joined the brigade of guards, serving under Lord Cornwallis. During the siege of York town, he particularly distinguished himself by storming one of the enemy's batteries in so gallant a manner, as to obtain the warmest thanks of the commander-in-chief, in general orders.

After the fall of York town, he returned to England, and, as a testimony of his sovereign's approbation of his behaviour in America, was appointed one of his majesty's aides-de-camp.

When war with France broke out in 1793, he went to Holland, in command of the 1st brigade of guards, disembarked at Helvoetsluys, and immediately afterwards proceeded

proceeded to Williamstadt, which was, at this time, besieged by the French, and saved by the opportune arrival of the British troops.

He was present at the siege of Valenciennes, and in most of the considerable actions fought in 1793-4. Perhaps the most brilliant exploit which happened in the course of the campaign, was the assault of Lincelles, by the brigade of guards under lord Lake. If we advert to the great superiority of the enemy, the strength of his position, and the seemingly insuperable obstacles which art and nature had opposed to a successful attack, we never can sufficiently admire the judgment, decision, and intrepidity which he displayed upon this occasion, and the spirit and courage which were manifested by his gallant followers.

Nor was his conduct less conspicuous, or less deserving of applause, at Bois-du-Aikmair, where his personal exertions so materially contributed to the safety of the guards.

The disasters which befel the allied armies towards the close of 1793, and early in 1794, compelled the British troops to retreat before the overwhelming numbers of the French, and ultimately to evacuate the continent.

On the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland, in 1798, lord Lake was appointed to the staff in that kingdom. In this arduous and trying situation he conducted himself in a manner equally honourable to his own character, and beneficial to his country.

The unhappy state of Ireland, at that period, called for measures of uncommon vigour, and too often for the exercise of a severity which necessity alone could justify. By tempering justice with mercy, rather than by the use of force, or coercive measures, he succeeded in restoring tranquillity to the south of Ireland. At Vinegar-hill, he attacked, with great judgment and spirit, the collected force of the rebels, which he completely defeated; and followed up this success so rapidly, as to prevent their ever again assembling in any considerable number. Upon this occasion, as on all others in which he was engaged, he led on the troops in person, and he had a horse killed under him.

The speedy return of peace, and total suppression of the rebellion, which the decisive action at Vinegar-hill gave reason to expect, were endangered by the arrival of a French force, under general Humbert. At Castlebar, this officer obtained an advantage over the troops commanded by lord Lake, and, in the expectation of being joined by the disaffected in his progress, moved rapidly towards the capital. Reinforced by some fresh troops, lord Lake after a most severe and fatiguing pursuit, came up with the enemy, at Ballinamuck, and compelled the whole to surrender.

During the remainder of his stay in Ireland, he was of essential use in carrying into effect the measures of the government; and the promptitude and vigour with which he executed the orders of the lord-lieutenant, contributed in a great degree, to recal the misguided inhabitants to a sense of duty and obedience.

In 1800, he was nominated to the important stations of commander-in-chief of the king's and company's forces in India, and second member of the supreme council at Bengal.

About the middle of March, 1801, he reached Calcutta, and the following July proceeded to Cawnpoor, the principal military

station on the frontiers. In this situation, his whole attention was devoted to the improvement of the Bengal army, and especially of the native cavalry, which, by his professional skill, and indefatigable knowledge, was brought to the highest pitch of excellence. For some time a negotiation had been carrying on with the Nabob Vizier, the object of which was to obtain a cession of territory in lieu of the subsidy which his excellency paid for the troops employed in defence of his dominions.

This negotiation was brought to a successful termination in the month of November, 1801, and owing to the judicious disposition which lord Lake had made of the troops under his command, the civil authorities were established, without difficulty, over these extensive and valuable provinces, with the exception of Sasnee and Cutchoura, the zemindars of which refused to submit to those municipal regulations of the company which had produced such benefits to the inhabitants of Bengal. Every conciliatory endeavour was unsuccessfully used to bring back the Rajahs of those places to a sense of duty, but as they continued to resist the orders of government, lord Lake was compelled, in the spring of 1802, to attack them with a military force; in the course of two months, he reduced the strong fortresses of Sasnee, Bidjeghur, and Cutchoura, with no very considerable loss on our side, and by this means secured the tranquillity of the country.

The defeat of the armies of Scindiah and the Peishwah, and the seizure of Poona, by Jeswunt Rao Holkar, in their consequences, led to a subsidiary treaty between the Peishwah and the English government, and involved the latter in a war with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar. When negotiation had failed, and every effort been unavailingly tried, to procure the continuance of peace, the noble marquis then at the head of the Indian government, in defence of his ally, and for the safety of the dominions more immediately entrusted to his charge, was reluctantly compelled to resort to arms.

Towards the middle of July, 1803, lord Lake received orders to take the field. At that time, the disposable force in Bengal was small, owing to the reduction which had taken place in the native army, in obedience to orders from England, each battalion having been reduced from 900 to 700 privates, and of the latter, 100 were absent on leave. Every means was strained to supply the deficiencies of cattle, &c. and such were the indefatigable exertions made by lord Lake that he was enabled, on the 5th of August, to take the field with a small, but well appointed army. On the 29th of August, he entered the Mahratta territories, where he found General Perron, with from 12 to 15,000 horse, drawn up in a very strong position, near to Coel, prepared to receive him.

Lord Lake, at the head of the British Cavalry, immediately attacked the enemy, and, after a short and desultory action, drove him from the field, and took possession of Coel. On examining the fort of Aly Ghur, it was found to be so strongly fortified, that its reduction, by regular approaches, could not be looked for in less than six weeks, a loss of time which might have proved fatal to the success of the campaign, by allowing Scindiah's regular brigades, then

rapidly advancing from the Deccan and the Punjab, to form a junction.

Its possession was, however, deemed indispensably necessary, as, if left in the hands of the enemy, it would have cut off the communication of the army with the company's provinces, whence our supplies were derived.

Lord Lake therefore determined to attempt to carry this important place by a coup-de-main. It was accordingly attacked, on the morning of the 4th of September, the three gates successively blown open by a twelve-pounder, and after a gallant resistance from the garrison, it was carried.

This decisive and able operation enabled lord Lake to move towards the main body of the enemies force, which, on the 11th September, 1803, after a fatiguing march of twenty-three miles, in the warmest season of the year, his lordship engaged, and defeated with great slaughter, two of Perron's regular brigades, consisting of 16 battalions, a considerable body of horse, with upwards of 70 pieces of ordnance; all the latter were taken.

In this brilliant action, which was fought on the plain opposite to Delhi, the British force was under 3,000 firelocks, three weak regiments of cavalry, and a small proportion of artillery.

His lordship, with his usual activity and zeal, led the troops into action at the head of the 76th regiment, and had a horse killed under him in the advance. On the 13th September, the army crossed the Jumna, and took possession of Delhi, the capital of the Mogul empire, where his lordship enjoyed the heartfelt satisfaction of relieving the aged and venerable Shah Alum from the misery to which he had been so long exposed, from Mahratta and French oppression, and of returning him to a situation of happiness and comfort.

The marked respect and veneration with which the emperor was treated by his gallant deliverer was particularly grateful to the feelings of that unfortunate prince, who testified his gratitude by bestowing on lord Lake the highest titles which could be conferred on such warriors as had rendered the most signal services to the state.

Having provided for the security of the capital; for the emperor's peaceful enjoyment of personal freedom, comfort, and dignity; and for the tranquillity of the surrounding country, lord Lake hastened, with the army, to Agra, which is denominated the "*key of Hindûstan*," and which he reached in two days.

The situation of the army before this place was such as to require the exercise of great prudence and enterprize. The garrison consisted of upwards of 5,000 men. Four regular battalions, with 22 pieces of cannon, defended the ravines, and approaches to the fort, and two of Perron's brigades, composed of 17 battalions, a considerable body of cavalry, and 82 pieces of field ordnance arrived from the Deccan, and took a position about 20 miles in the rear of the besieging army. The security of the company's and Nabob's dominions, and the prosecution of future military operations, depending, in a great measure, upon the fall of Agra, these considerations determined his lordship to undertake the siege of that strong and very important place, in the face of danger and difficulties which might have deterred a less intrepid mind. The operations commenced on the 10th of October, and terminated on the 18th, by the capitulation of the fortress, after

after a vigorous but ineffectual resistance.

The capture of Agra secured a line of defence along the west bank of the Jumna, and left the British army at liberty to attack Scindiah's remaining brigades. The pursuit accordingly commenced on the 28th of October; but the distance the enemy had gained in advance, and the celerity of his movements, soon shewed the little chance there was to overtake him with infantry.

Aware of the evils which would result to the public service, if this formidable body of troops was allowed to join Jeswunt Rao Holkar, then in great force on the borders of the Jyepore country, at twelve o'clock P. M. of the 31st of October, lord Lake pushed forwards with the regular cavalry, and at sun-rise, the 1st of November, 1803, came upon the enemy at Lasswarree, whom he immediately charged and broke; but, owing to the badness of the ground, the advantage he first obtained could not be followed up.

When the infantry arrived and was refreshed, the enemy was again attacked, and, after a severe contest, completely defeated; eighty-two pieces of cannon were taken, and the whole of the infantry either killed or made prisoners.

In this memorable engagement, lord Lake, who headed every charge, and whose personal exertions exceeded all his former exploits, had a horse shot under him, and was for some time exposed to the most imminent danger.

The small body of troops which accompanied him into action, after giving proofs of invincible courage, for a moment gave way to superior numbers, and the destructive fire of the enemy's artillery, and were on the point of being charged by the enemy's horse, when they were rallied by the personal exertions of his lordship. Encouraged by the arrival of the 29th dragoons, and animated by the presence of their beloved commander, they renewed the charge with an impetuosity, that speedily decided the fate of the day. A small proportion only of the British force took an active part in this brilliant and decisive victory, which annihilated the whole of Scindiah's regular army in Hindûstan.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the talents and ability which were exhibited by lord Lake in the conduct of this arduous and difficult campaign, when it is considered he had to contend with troops long accustomed to victory, vastly superior in number, disciplined by French officers, and furnished with a formidable train of artillery, which was admirably served in every action. His own force did at no time exceed 5,000 infantry, 2,500 cavalry, and a small proportion of artillery; yet with these seemingly inadequate means did his lordship, in less than three months from the opening of the campaign, defeat the enemy at Coel, Delhi, and Lasswarree, take the strong fortresses of Agra and Aly Ghur, and reduce the whole of Scindiah's dominions east of the river Chumbul. In this rapid and victorious career, 39 of Perron's regular battalions were destroyed, upwards of 480 pieces of artillery taken in the field, and nearly 600 in garrisons. In addition to these military operations, lord Lake rendered essential service in the conduct of various political arrangements of great importance, and in the settlement of the conquered provinces.

Towards the close of the year, a treaty of defensive alliance was entered

entered into with the Rajah of Jyepore; and in February, 1804, lord Lake entered the rajah's country, then threatened by Jeswunt Rao Holkar. While lying there, the strong forts of Gwalior and Rampoora were reduced, under his orders, by detachments from the British army.

In the middle of May, 1804, the inclemency of the weather, and difficulty of procuring supplies, compelled the commander in chief to withdraw the greatest part of the army into the company's provinces, leaving five battalions to cover the Jyepore country during the absence of the army; a force which was deemed fully adequate to that purpose.

Unfortunately this detachment, venturing too far in pursuit of Holkar, was overtaken by the rains, and not being able, in consequence, to procure supplies, was attacked and pursued by his collected forces, and after undergoing great fatigues and privations, was driven under the walls of Agra, with the loss of all its artillery, camp equipage, stores, &c. &c. and more than half of its original number. The war, by this unexpected misfortune, was brought home to the company's provinces; and the diminution of force which had been made by the defeat of this detachment was severely felt at this crisis of affairs.

In September, 1804, Lord Lake joined the troops assembled at Agra; but an immediate movement against the enemy was retarded by causes as new as unexpected, arising out of the defection of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and the insubordination which, through the intrigues of that chieftain, and of the emissaries of Holkar, generally pervaded the ceded and conquered provinces, and in their consequences operated as a serious impediment to procuring provisions and supplies.

At length his lordship was enabled to put the army in motion, which reached Delhi on the 17th of October.

The enemy's infantry had ineffectually besieged this place; and on the 15th of October they were repulsed in a general assault with great loss, and immediately afterwards retreated towards the river Bennee.

Anxious as the commander in chief was to bring the war to a speedy termination, by the destruction of this body of troops, the want of provisions rendered their pursuit totally impracticable, and compelled the army to halt until this most essential requisite could be supplied.

On the 31st of October, Lord Lake, with three regiments of British and three regiments of native cavalry, two European flank companies, and two battalions and a half of native infantry, followed Holkar, who had entered the Doab, and threatened to lay waste the whole country.

After a march unequal for celerity, Lord L. on the morning of the 17th of November, surprised the enemy's camp at Furruckabad, and defeated him, with the loss of nearly 5,000 men left on the field. Holkar's army was estimated at 15,000 horse, while the British cavalry did not exceed 1,800 mounted men, who engaged under the disadvantage of having marched fifty-eight miles within the twenty-four hours preceding the action. Holkar himself escaped with great difficulty.

This signal and decisive victory proved of incalculable advantage to the

the public interests; it saved the whole of the Doab from being laid waste; it evinced the superiority of the British arms; and shewed to the natives, that the boasted rapidity of the Mahratta horse could be outdone by our cavalry.

When the cavalry had, in two days halt, recovered in some degree from the fatigue it had so lately undergone, Lord L. proceeded to join the army at Mutra, which, during his absence, had, under a combined and masterly operation most skilfully planned by Lord Lake, and carried into effect by the gallant General Fraser, defeated the enemy's infantry under the walls of Deeg, and taken most of his guns.

The siege of Deeg was begun as soon as the battering train arrived. In the beginning of December, a practicable breach being made in one of the bastions, it was stormed and carried, and on the following day the fort was evacuated.

Bhurtpore, to which the remains of Holkar's army had retreated on the fall of Deeg, was the only place of consequence which now remained in the hands of the enemy. It was invested early in January, 1805, and the siege was protracted to the beginning of March; during which interval was stormed four times unsuccessfully, and with very considerable loss to the besiegers.

Notwithstanding these failures, arising from the great population of Bhurtpore, and from the natural difficulties of that extensive fortress, the rajah foresaw that the place must ultimately be taken, and accordingly, early in March, he sued for peace, which was granted by lord L. on terms highly honourable to the English government.

Deeply as the miscarriage at Bhurtpore was to be deplored, the enemy had little cause to exult. During the siege, almost the whole of what remained of Holkar's infantry, and also Meer Khan's (which were strongly entrenched under the walls outside the town), were destroyed, and their artillery taken; nor was the loss of the garrison, composed of the whole strength of the Bhurtpore dominions, and a large addition of mercenaries, less considerable.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, Holkar and Meer Khan retreated with the horse that still remained to them; and as the country was now cleared of enemies, lord L. was enabled to put the troops into quarters on the Jumna, during the remaining part of the hot season and the rains.

He was not, however, permitted to indulge long in repose. Towards the close of 1805, Holkar and Meer Khan again appeared in considerable force in the countries north west of Delhi.

Although their armies possessed no solid strength, nor were calculated to make any serious impression, being principally composed of predatory horse, yet still, if not timely checked, they might have caused great mischief, by laying waste the country, and destroying the villages. When lord L. received money sufficient to relieve the immediate wants of the troops, who, from unavoidable causes, were in considerable arrears, he moved against the enemy with his usual promptitude and celerity, and pursued them so closely, as compelled them to take refuge in the Lahore territories, at no great distance from the banks of the river Indus.

In this long and fatiguing march lord L. traversed nearly the whole of the Punjab, a country hitherto very imperfectly known to the

English; and the knowledge which, on this occasion, was obtained of it, and of the powers who possess it, must be considered of great value, and eventually may become of the highest importance.

No prospect of escape remaining to Holkar, he sued for peace, which was concluded by lord Lake in February, 1806.

From this period until his lordship left India, in February, 1807, lord Lake was successfully employed in completing all the various arrangements connected with the distribution of the army, the reduction of the irregular troops, and the final settlement and security of our invaluable conquests. His departure from India was accompanied by the regret both of the European and native inhabitants of Bengal, and by the most public testimonials of respect, esteem, and gratitude. He arrived in England in the following September, after an absence of seven years, and was received by his king and his country with that attention his eminent services so well deserved.

When the result of the campaign of 1803-4 was known in England, lord Lake received the thanks of parliament for his eminent services; and his majesty, to mark the high sense which he entertained of general Lake's meritorious conduct, as well as to commemorate the recollection of those glorious achievements, created him a British baron, by the title of lord Lake, of Delhi and Lasswarree; and soon after his return to Europe raised him to the dignity of a viscount, and conferred on him the government of Plymouth.

Thus distinguished by his sovereign, beloved by his friends, and enjoying the esteem and confidence of a grateful nation, ever just to the merits of those who serve it with zeal and fidelity, no man ever had a fairer prospect of passing many years of unclouded happiness. But scarcely had he begun to taste the sweets of repose, in the bosom of his family, when it pleased Providence to terminate his valuable life, on the 21st of February, 1808, after a short illness.

To detail the services of lord L.'s long and active life would demand a much larger compass than our limits will permit, and would require an abler pen to do justice to his merits than the writer of this hasty sketch can boast.

The solid benefits which the state has derived from those exertions which destroyed Scindia's regular army, a force organized and disciplined by French officers, and furnished with a formidable train of well-appointed artillery, must be acknowledged by every one, and, in the present state of Europe, must be considered to have contributed in the most material degree to the safety of India.

Few men ever were endowed with qualifications calculated to form an able commander in a superior degree to the late lord L. To judgment and quickness of conception he united undaunted courage, great decision of mind, and uncommon capability of undergoing fatigue. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of conciliating the confidence and attachment of those under his command. His unwearied kindness, and unremitting attention to promote the comforts of the soldier, and the constant exposure of his person in the midst of danger, won the hearts of the army, and secured their attachment.

His

His integrity was incorruptible; and although his situation in India offered numerous occasions to benefit his fortune, at a slight sacrifice of the interest of the public, in no one instance did he ever stain his honour, or barter his fair fame for wealth. At this time too he was labouring under great pecuniary embarrassment, from which he would not have been completely relieved when he returned to England, if it had not been for the prize-money which his valour had gained, amounting, in the whole, to about 50,000*l*.

In private life, his pleasing manners, and his mild and generous virtues, engaged and secured the affection of his numerous friends; whilst they mitigated all personal animosities, and even assuaged those little irritations which are inseparable from the intercourse of social life. So that of him it may be truly said in the words of an illustrious statesman, "AMICITIÆ SEMPITERNÆ, INIMICITIÆ PLACABILIS."

His lordship was married, July 3, 1770, to Elizabeth, the only daughter of Edward Barker, of St. Julian's, Herts. By this lady (who died July 20, 1788) he had issue three sons and five daughters, viz.

1. Francis Gerrard, born March 31, 1772, who succeeded to the title and estates. This nobleman, who is a lieutenant-colonel in the army, and captain in the guards, married (January 1, 1800) Diana, relict of Sir Bellingham Graham, of Norton Conyers, Yorkshire. She is the eldest sister of lord Whitworth

2. George Augustus Frederic, in the army. Now at Gibraltar with the expedition under general Spencer, and lieutenant-colonel commanding the 29th regiment of foot.

3. Warwick, in the navy, and commanding a frigate on the West India station.

4. Anna Maria, married (August 21, 1799) to Richard Borough, of Ham Common, Esq.

5. Ammabella, married (May 23, 1803) to John Brooks, esq. deputy-quarter-master-general on the Bengal establishment, in the hon. East India Company's service.

6. Elizabeth, married to major Harvey, on the staff, at Colchester.

7. Frances.

8. Ann

Character of LORD MACARTNEY, *from* BARROW'S *Public Life of that distinguished Nobleman.*

Lord Macartney, on his return from his travels on the continent, was considered among the handsomest and most accomplished young men of the day. His features were regular and well proportioned, his complexion wore the glow of health, and his countenance was open, placid, and agreeable. This description appears to be correct from the concurring resemblance of two or three portraits

traits that were painted before his leaving England on his embassy to the court of Russia, one of which, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is now in the possession of major-general Benson, a near relation of his lordship. The portrait at the head of this volume, from a full length drawing by Mr. Edridge, in his 65th year, is perhaps as strong a character as the pencil is capable of producing. From these two portraits it would appear that so great an alteration had been made in his features in the lapse of near forty years, in the course of which he was exposed to the extremes of heat and cold, to dangers, difficulties, anxieties, and mortifications, to severe and repeated attacks of sickness, and an unremitting application to business, as to render it difficult to trace any resemblance between them. His person was somewhat above the middle size and rather corpulent; in the early part of his life it must have been powerful and athletic; his manners were engaging, and his carriage easy but dignified; in conversation he was extremely affable, cheerful and entertaining; at the same time he was no admirer of that confident assurance, that easy familiarity and careless neglect of personal appearance, which are assumed by many young men of fashion in the present day. He possessed all the dignity of the old school without its stiffness; and he retained it in his dress, the fashion of which for the last forty years of his life could scarcely be said to have undergone any change; in his person he was always remarkably neat. Although the public character of the Earl of Macartney has, it is presumed, sufficiently developed itself in the course of the preceding pages, yet it may not be amiss to subjoin a few of the more striking characteristics by which he was distinguished, and of the general opinions which swayed his conduct. We have seen that his perseverance and address were amply put to the test in Russia; his indefatigable application to business and management of a turbulent assembly in Ireland; and the good effects of his conciliating disposition, his zeal and courage, were sufficiently manifested in his government of Grenada; but India was the touchstone to try his sterling merit; and he was proof to the test. It has been observed, maliciously enough, that every man has his price; but if this satire on human nature were strictly true, taken in its greatest latitude, it must however be allowed that a few public men do now and then appear on the stage, whose price, at least, has never been ascertained. One of those few was Lord Macartney. The whole revenues of the Carnatic, which were, in fact, at his command, with the fee simple of Bengal added to them, could not have bribed him to swerve one inch from his public duty. That wealth which is able to purchase power, and influence, and honors, and without which they are rarely attainable, had no temptation for him. "I think," says he, in a letter to Lord Hillsborough, "I am now worth about 10,000*l.* more than "when I arrived in India, and I "do assure you that I might have "been easily worth ten times the "sum, if I pleased, without any "reproaches but those of my own "conscience." In fact, the system of corruption is so well established in India, that those who are disposed to avail themselves of that source of wealth run very little risk of

detection.* No blame was ever thrown by the nabob of Arcot on any of lord Macartney's predecessors for taking his money; but torrents of abuse were poured out against his lordship, because he would not take it. It was a maxim with him that plain dealing and clean hands will always in the end be an overmatch for artifice and dishonesty; the truth of which he had very frequent occasions to put to the test. Nothing indeed could have supported him in the line of conduct he pursued in India, against the intrigues, the duplicity and the universal corruption which surrounded him, but an unsullied integrity, and an inflexible firmness. Never perhaps was the *mens conscia recti*† more eminently displayed than in the arduous struggles he was called upon to make in his government of Madras. But conscious of standing upon high and solid ground, perhaps on such as few, if any, ever stood before in that part of the world, he maintained his elevated position with the most perfect calmness in himself, though surrounded by turbulence and agitation. Like the proud rock dashed by the waves of the ocean, he remained unsullied and unshaken in the midst of a sea of corruption. For the purity of his conduct he pretended to little merit. "Let it not be supposed," says he, "that the spirit of disinterestedness "and integrity which governs my "actions arises from any heroic "virtue, or better motives than "those which actuate the generality of mankind. I am free to "confess I have a stronger passion "than the love of wealth—to "reinstate India in its former "glory would give me more pride "and satisfaction than I should be "able to derive from ten times the "fortune of Mr. Hastings. It is, "in fact, a bad calculation in the "accounts of the world to sacrifice "reputation for any increase of "fortune Such," continues he, "is the opinion of one upon this "subject, who has had it twenty "times in his power to make a "large fortune, and yet never has "had it in his thoughts." For the usual modes that are practised in India to obtain wealth, he entertained the most sovereign contempt. "Notwithstanding the indignation "I feel, I am really," says he, "sometimes diverted with some "of these woodcocks, who thrust "their bills into the ground, shut "their eyes, and then think no-"body sees them." He used to say that a man who has not been in India knows mankind but by halves, and that he who has been there, knows mankind, alas! but too much.

Few men perhaps ever possessed more real disinterestedness than lord Macartney. The moment that

* The nabobs and rajahs, and khans, with others of inferior rank, deem it so dishonorable to discover their private transactions, even with those whom they are dissatisfied with, that no motive of resentment ever leads to their developement, and those in subordinate stations, who must necessarily be entrusted with such secrets, have the additional inducement of considering their inviolable fidelity to their employers as the basis of their future fortunes. When the East India company sent out, in 1781, a gentleman in the law (Mr. Newman) for the express purpose of obtaining proof of the sums of money that were said to have been taken by some of their servants from the nabob of Arcot and other Indian powers, that gentleman, with all the assistance of the Madras presidency in the upright administration of Lord Macartney, embarked for England without having gained one single object for which he was sent out, or a single proof against the most notorious delinquents.

† The motto on his Lordship's arms.

that the public service required his attention, every personal consideration seemed to vanish. He was at all times ready to furnish his own money, and the extent of his credit, to relieve the public necessities, which in India he saw occasion to employ in more than one instance. "Every private "concern," says he, "appears to "me at this moment of the least "consideration. I cheerfully leave "to the chance of a very distant "day the retrieval of my own "affairs. I feel no uneasiness but "for my friends, who, upon de-"ceitful representations, have "accompanied me to this coun-"try, and given up better pros-"pects elsewhere." In another place, he observes, "that I was "disinterested so as no other man "excepting perhaps Sir John "Clavering, is well known. I "have been twenty-two years in "his majesty's service, and my "appointments never, before that "to India, equalled my necessary "expenses. In Russia I sustained "my character by involving my-"self in a debt of 6000*l*. When "I resigned the embassy I gave "up the plate warrant, equipage-"money, &c. which I might have "retained, as my predecessor, who "never left England, kept, to the "value of 10,000*l*. I gave up the "muster-master's place in Ireland, "which was settled at near 2000*l*. "*per annum*, to accommodate the "lord-lieutenant, and received a "pension, which produced in Eng-"land 1000*l*. *per annum*, and "which I sold to pay my debts. At "Grenada I lost my service of "plate and all my property there, "to a very great amount, at the "storm of the Hill, for which I "never received the least com-"pensation, yet I do not complain, "nor am I discontented." So scrupulous was he when in India in the rigid adherence to his instructions, that he paid into the treasury all the *nazzars*, or presents, that are made to the several governors on various and unavoidable occasions, together with the dresses and jewels that were sent to him from the Nizam, and from Tippoo Saheb, on the ratification of the treaty of peace; and all the little compliments of fine cloths, muslins, silks, shawls, and other trifling articles which cannot be refused without giving offence, he punctually delivered into the export warehouse, without reserving a single article, however insignificant, for the gratification of his dearest connections at home, being determined to observe the same attention to correctness and accuracy in the minutest lines of the company's service, as to order and economy in the greatest.*

His

* I have somewhere met with the following passage from an epistle of Cicero to his brother Quintus, applied to Lord Macartney's conduct and character while in India, and certainly with great justice and propriety:

"Præclarum est enim summo cum imperio fuisse in Asia triennium, sic ut nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nullum vas nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cujusquam, nulla conditio pecunæ (quibus rebus abundat ista provincia) ab summa integritate continentiaque deduxerit. Qid autem reperiri tam eximium, aut tam expetendum potest, quam istam virtutem, moderationem animi, temperantiam, non latere in tenebris, neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asiæ, in oculis clarissimæ provinciæ, atque in auribus omnium gentium ac nationum esse positam? non itineribus tuis pertereri homines? non sumtu exhauriri? non adventu commoveri? esse quocunque veneris et publice et privatim maximam lætitiam: cum urbs custodem non tyrannum, domus hospitem non expilatorem, recepisse videatur."—Essist. I. Lib. 1.

His economy indeed, in all public expenditure, was not more rigid than his conduct was pure and disinterested. He made it a rule not to suffer a *fanam* to be expended that could be avoided. In the hope that example might have some effect, he would not allow any of the usual expenses to be incurred at the several government houses he inhabited, on the public account, for his private accommodation; and so desirous was he to discountenance that spirit of extravagance, which pervades every department in India, that he would neither suffer tatties to the windows to cool his apartment, nor a palankeen to be kept for his own use. " I confess," says he, " I " think I should not shine in the " meridian of Bengal. I should " have ten times as many diffi- " culties to encounter there as I " have had at Madras. Here I " rumble on in the same old equi- " page which I carried out with " me, live in my usual style of " moderation, and feel no in- " crease of avarice or ambition. " My object for the public has " been rather a safe than a brilliant " government. The same prin- " ciple directs my private views " merely to independence, and " that the remains of my paternal " estate, when unencumbered, will " give me." It was considered, indeed, at Madras, that as a governor he entered too minutely into the detail of business, or, in other words, that he inspected too closely into contracts and other transactions connected with his government.* " I " confess my fault," says he, " but " I am too deeply engaged to think " of any thing but proceeding for- " ward, and proceed I will, " though my life, I am persuaded, " will be the sacrifice; for though " I have long been accustomed to " intense application, I already " feel the ill effects of it here in " every respect, except on my " temper, which, thank God! yet " remains to me unshaken." It has, indeed, been sufficiently shown, that the government of Madras was productive to him of nothing but excessive labor, continual exercise of mind, ill health, and mortification; but his spirit always rose to difficulties and distresses, and, though frequently disappointed, he never appeared to be discontented. It was observed that no one ever saw him out of temper, and that no one ever witnessed a harsh or unguarded expression in the midst of the most trying difficulties, except in the single instance when it was forced from him by a most audacious contradiction. " It is a rule " with me," says he, " when any " thing unpleasant happens that I " cannot help, to divert myself with

* As for instance: It is but too common a practice abroad to condemn what are called king's stores upon very slight grounds, the disposal of them, and particularly the purchase of others to supply their place, putting money into the pockets of the persons concerned in such transactions. A quantity of beef of this description was condemned to be sold at Madras, at a time too when they were threatened with a famine. Lord Macartney attended the sale in person, bought a considerable quantity of it, had it served on his own table, invited the parties who were principally concerned in the business, and made them acknowledge the beef to be excellent. This was considered as *inspecting matters too narrowly*, and *unsuitable to the dignity of a governor of Madras*. The public, however, would not be the sufferers if we had a few more such governors as Lord Macartney; and although their conduct, like his, would be sure of exciting the enmity of all those whose private views were disappointed or counteracted by such minute attention to the public interests, yet they would be sure to merit and obtain the applause of all those whose applause is worth having.

"with it, instead of letting it vex "me; and by these means I make "shift to rub through the thorns "of the world, and convert them "into roses and daffodowndillies."

He possessed a firmness of character which those who did not know him well considered as bordering upon obstinacy. He was slow to act when the case was not pressing; but having once taken his ground he never deserted it. "Before I decide," says he, "on "any matter of moment, I revolve "the subject well on my pillow, "after which I have generally found "my decision to be just." If, by his integrity and impartiality, he inspired confidence, his steady and decided conduct never left a doubt remaining on the minds of others, that his measures would not be carried into execution. This steadiness extended to his opinions of men as well as to the prosecution of measures: "I am of all men," says he, "perhaps the most cauti-"ous: but, at the same time, the "most decisive. I have no ma-"lignity in my nature; I have "only that steadiness which will "prevent me from being twice "deceived by the same person." But if he was cautious in bestowing his confidence, he was equally steady in his friendships. There was nothing capricious in his nature; his actions were guided by cool and deliberate judgment, free from passion, prejudice, or precipitation. Yet, in compliance with custom, he twice found it expedient to expose himself to the fire of his antagonist, but he could very safely say, on both occasions, he took his ground without being moved with the least resentment to the parties who had thought fit to call him out, "I have never," says "he," had a private quarrel in my "life, but have unfortunately "been engage in two public ones, "and have suffered severely from "wounds received in both. These "I might easily have avoided, had "I not preferred the public ser-"vice to all private consideration. "I have invariably adhered to my "first principles, an unshaken at-"tachment to the King's person "and government; and have acted "up to them fearless of the con-"sequences. I have no malice in "my heart against any one, and I "am more inclined to forward "than to thwart the views of "others where I can do it consis-"tently with my public duty. "Every strong measure I was "compelled to take in India was "contrary to my own natural dis-"position. The disobedience of "the King's officers was, in fact, "to the king; for the Company, "to whom I was a sworn servant, "stood in the king's place just as "the lord-lieutenant does in Ire-"land. It is, therefore, an idle "thing to pretend to make a dif-"ference between the two servi-"ces; the king has delegated his "authority in India to the Com-"pany, whether constitutionally "or not, it was not for me to "judge; but this being the law, "I was to obey it. It is now a "matter of no further moment to "me, as I have done with India for "ever; but I wish to stand well "with the king; to do away any "prejudice that may be entertained "of me, and also to have my me-"rits, whatever they may be, "properly understood."

He appears, indeed, to have observed, in every situation of life, the most steady and loyal attachment to his sovereign. Whether in place

place or out of place, whether favoured with the smiles of the court or apparently neglected, his sentiments, in this respect, were invariably the same. On all occasions he boldly stood forward in support of the king's prerogative. To those who laboured to abridge it, and among them were some of his particular friends, he would say— "Surely you would not treat the "sovereign of this country as the "weird sisters did Macbeth?

"Upon his head to place a fruitless crown,
"And put a barren sceptre in his gripe.

"which must be the case if you "refuse the king his just prerogative of conferring favour and rewarding merit. I know," says he, "in the Irish House of Commons, that the word *pension* "gives great offence to some gentlemen of delicate ears and delicate feelings; but, for my part, "I have lived too much in the "world to suffer myself to be imposed upon by a word or a name. "In every other country in Europe, a pension is considered as "the most honourable recompence which a subject can enjoy. "I speak of free countries such as "our own. I know that in Sweden a pension to a person who "deserves well of the state, is the "most honourable acknowledgement of his merit, a recompense "which implies haste and eagerness in the sovereign authority "to confer a reward where a reward is due; to seize the earliest "opportunity of recompensing it, "not coldly waiting for a death or "removal, not marking the "winding-sheet of a decrepit old "man in office as the only passport to retribution and gratitude. "A pension," says he, "is infinitely more honourable than a "sinecure office; the one loudly "speaks its meaning; but the other "hypocritically lurks under a supposition of duty where there is "nothing to do."

As a minister at a foreign court, his qualifications were of the first rank. By his extensive knowledge of men and things, by address and management, he could make himself master of intrigues and projects while yet hatching, and exhibit them to his court in all their various bearings. It was the opinion of many of his friends, that the minister could not have employed the talents of Lord Macartney to a better purpose in the service of his country, than as a negociator at the different courts of Europe, few men being, perhaps, so qualified, in every respect, for such a situation as he was.

Throughout a long and active life, and with a very extensive and intimate acquaintance among the leading characters of various administrations and oppositions, he had the resolution to keep himself totally unconnected with party in politics, the spirit of which, however gentle and good-tempered the individuals who compose it might be, is always productive of violence and ill humour, which were so contrary to his disposition. This party spirit he considered as tending only to impede the public service, by embarrassing government, to create dissensions among intimate friends, and to unite the bitterest enemies and the most jarring dispositions. But a respectable opposition in parliament he conceived to be among the most efficient and salutary checks on any abuse of power in those who are entrusted with the administration of the government. The speech he made

on this subject in the Irish House of Commons is not unworthy of being recorded. " I most firmly " hope," says he, " never to see " opposition crushed. In a free " government like ours, I hope " always to see an opposition to a " certain degree; but it is an op- " position to check, not to en- " chain to balance, not to " overturn; vigilant, but not jea- " lous; spirited, not violent: " neither vindictive nor rancorous; " but candid, vigorous, and active. " Such an opposition might do " honour to an indifferent cause. " Such an opposition might invite " even a bad administration to a " conduct, which craft or peevish- " ness might never be able to " obtain. But a systematic oppo- " sition to all the measures of go- " vernment is what no man of " sense or common honesty can " approve. An opposition of this " sort reminds me of a fable I " have somewhere met with. An " angel carried a simple European " to the regions of Asia, where a " hundred thousand Turks stood " in battle array against a hundred " thousand Russians. The man " asked what was the cause of the " war? To which the angel replied, " because these men wear hats and " those wear turbans.' " I fear, " Sir, we should not be able to " assign a better reason for our " present wordy warfare than that " some gentlemen chuse to sit on " that side of the house and others " on this side. As to those, in- " deed, who have lost places and " want to recover them, it is no " wonder they should be angry " when out of office, since they " were so when in. But those " sound patriots whose only inquiry " is, from whom does the question " proceed? Who have no opinion " of their own as to the right or " the wrong of any measure, " those gentlemen remind me of " Mr. Bacon's pupils at whist, " who were told that whenever " they were at a loss what to play, " they should always play clubs, " and I make no doubt the good " gentlemen I allude to, will play " their clubs against government, " to the end of the game. Let no " gentleman, however, imagine " that I have any wish to cut off " opposition. I know it is most " salutary when the greatness of " the occasion demands it, when " the time promises it efficacy, " and the sincerity of the oppo- " nents secures them both success " and honour. It has been hinted, " that I esteemed opposition a " rope of sand. I have seen such " oppositions made up of the most " motley materials of men with " different passions, different pur- " suits, without concert in coun- " cil, or unity in action; where " the firmness of the individuals " caused the weakness of the par- " ty, which agreed in no one " point but the obstinacy of wan- " ton opposition. Such is, indeed, " a rope of sand; but when men " unite on public, not on private " views; when individual advan- " tage is sacrificed for the general " good; when there is a harmony " of council and steadiness of ac- " tion; when neither accident nor " disappointment can make them " lose sight of the great object be- " fore them, and the firmness of " each individual is exercised to " add strength to the whole—then, " I say that opposition is not a " rope of sand, but a chain of ada- " mant.

In the Irish House of Commons

he was considered as an able and energetic speaker, studiously avoiding any of those sallies of passion, impetuosity, and personal invective, which were but two common in this assembly; he fought the battles of his principal with great good humour, and with equal success; he seldom failed, by the introduction of some pleasant story, to keep the house in temper, and divert any petulance or peevishness from mixing in the debate. In the latter part of his life, he attended the English House of Peers, on questions of moment, whenever his bad state of health would allow him, but he never spoke on any question; he used to say, that if ministers would give more of their attention to what was to be done, rather than to what was to be said, on any occasion, the country would be no sufferer by the loss of a few fine speeches.

As a staunch admirer of the British constitution, he was an enemy to despotism, under whatever shape it might be exercised. Nothing could more strongly convey his sentiments on this subject than the following *Note*, concerning the situation of the Wirtemberg troops, in the service of the Dutch at Batavia, which, as he observes, was written there one night, "in a moment of indignation," after retiring from supper, during which he had held a long conversation with the young count Charles of Wirtemberg, a natural son of the late duke. This young officer had been sent out by his father as captain in the regiment, and has long since fallen a sacrifice to the destructive climate, like his brother victims in the same service.

Note relative to the Wirtemberg troops at Batavia.

"As the German Europeans (Wirtemberghers) weak and sickly as they are, form the principal military strength of Batavia, it may not be amiss to say a few words upon their subject.

"If it be the duty of sovereigns to guard the lives of their people, to watch over their interests, and to promote their safety and welfare, what must we think of those princes who, in this civilized and enlightened age, and in the face of all Europe, carry on a public mercenary traffic in soldiers, and, having calculated the probable date and value of their existence, set a price upon their blood, carry them to market, bargain and sell them like common cattle, and knock them down to the best bidder. It appears, by the journals of the House of Commons, of November 21st, 1786, that no less a sum than 471,000*l.* three *per cent.* stock was transferred to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, for 15,700 of his soldiers sold, killed, or otherwise expended, in the late American war, whom he estimated at the price of 30*l.* *per* man, not so much as the price of an ordinary coach horse.

"The Germans are a brave and generous nation, and of a gallant military genius, which some of their respective sovereigns observing, have endeavoured to turn it to their own private account, and dispose of it for money, like any other commodity produced in their dominions. Thus war is become a mere paltry hireling trade, neither kindled by the heroic spirit of revenge, nor exercised for the patriotic purpose of defence; not to guard the altars at home, nor to repel and punish invaders from abroad.

"His most serene highness of Wirtemberg is at this moment a perfect crimp for the Dutch East India

India company, to whom he hires out, at a stipulated rate, the youth, health, and strength of his children, and his subjects, who are torn from their dearest and tenderest connections, and banished without redemption from their native soil. Instead of being employed at home like men, and as soldiers only should be, to defend their country, to redress its wrongs, and vindicate its honour, they are vended, without compunction, by their natural protector, to a set of foreign merchants, who export them to be broiled alive on the sands of Columbo, or to rot by inches in the hospitals of Java.

"Of those whom we saw at Batavia, and that were able to crawl abroad, there was scarcely one, who did not totter under the weight of his arms and accoutrements, being either baked into a mummy, or dried and shrivelled like a stock fish. The lieutenant-colonel of the Wirtemberg regiment, a natural son of his most serene highness, and a youth of great hopes, fell a victim to the climate within six weeks after his arrival. His three younger brothers, Mr. Guillaume, Mr. Frederic, and Mr. Charles, are yet alive, but will probably soon *follow him*. The last, who attended the embassy, as officer of the guard, has been well educated, is well-informed, and a good officer. Of the whole corps, the greater part of which came out here but a few months since, in full health and vigour, I do not imagine there are a dozen likely ever to return. The regret of leaving Europe, the *necessary* duty of their profession, and the enmity of the elements, all conspire here to wear out the soldier, and to hasten his dissolution. Ambition is dead, relief is hopeless. He is undermined by decay, he drops gradually into the grave, and "dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos." whilst the survivors are told, with a mockery superadded to their misery, that he died nobly, at his post, in the exercise of an heroic vocation, not in the still shade of civil life, but in the career of glory, on the field of honour! It is truly wonderful to what a pitch of senseless vanity the military bubble has blown up the human mind, and, at the same time, debased it to the most brutish subjection. That one man should presume, in the pride of his heart, to arrogate the right of saying to his fellow creature,

"'Tis mine to order, and 'tis thine to die,"

is equally repugnant to common sense, and to common humanity; and yet it is a right that, however disguised, is usurped and assumed by all the sovereignties of Europe, whether monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical; for it makes no difference under what title or denomination despotic power is exercised. If the youth, to whom the mandate *de part le roy*, or *de part le peuple* is addressed, be not rich enough to bribe the sovereign for an exemption, he has no remedy, but must enlist with the recruiting officer. And this practice has been long looked on, not only with indifference, but has been quietly acquiesced in as an indisputable prerogative. Even in England it is justified by the authority of some of our most* celebrated writers; for their premises, when fairly examined, warrant this conclusion, that children, relations, and subjects, every connection, natural, moral, and political, may be sacrificed by power on the altar of avarice, to enable a little Suabian despot to give a masquerade at Stutgard, or to pass the Carnival at

* Foster, Blackstone, &c. &c.

at Venice. If protection and obedience be reciprocal, as those very writers tell us, surely reluctance to slavery and opposition, to oppression, are equally rational and just; and were an insurrection to happen at the next registry of his serene highness's able-bodied subjects, or his next levy for equinoxial service, it is probable he would find but few advocates to plead his cause, or protect his person. On such an occasion, resistance would be a virtue, and rebellion to such tyranny prove loyalty to mankind. It is impossible to think of this scandalous conduct of the little German princes, without a mixture of horror and contempt. Such avarice and apathy must find an enemy in every breast of feeling and generosity. To renounce, as these men do, all parental care of the people, committed by Providence to their charge, wantonly to tear in pieces the ties by which they were bound to them, and to deliver them over without mercy to the tormentors, is such a strain of ingratitude and depravity as cannot long continue unresisted, or remain unpunished. The miserable negro, on the coast of Guinea, who exchanges his child for a striped handkerchief, or a bottle of brandy, is not a greater barbarian."

But though he held the slave trade and slavery in utter abhorrence, he did not entertain those enthusiastic notions respecting the abolition of the latter, which have prevailed in this country for some few years past. He contended that all great changes, of what nature soever, ought to be gradual, not violent; that the objects of our humanity should be first prepared and fitted for that state of happiness in which we design to place them, or that otherwise the change might prove, instead of a blessing, the greatest curse that could happen to them, or to their deliverers. But though not an advocate for a hasty abolition, he was most decidedly against the continuance of the trade; and he had determined, on taking possession of his government of the Cape of Good Hope, not to suffer the importation of a single negro into that colony. He was however prevailed upon, by the very earnest supplication of the magistracy, in the name of the colonists, to grant a licence to a single ship to proceed to Mosambique for a cargo of slaves. It was represented to him, that the number of mouths to feed at the Cape had, by the army, the navy, and foreign vessels, been increased in a three-fold proportion since it became a British colony, whereas the quantity of tillage must remain the same without additional labourers. "We must, therefore," says he, in "a letter to Mr. Dundas, "either "metamorphose every white husbandman into a Geryon, or Briareus, or allow him, in some "measure, to make up for his "weakness by the strength of "two-handed negroes. The question was, whether, in a state of "actual necessity, we were to "listen most to the dictates of "good sense, and public duty, or "to the whims and ravings of "ignorance and fanaticism? It "appeared to me an indispensable "obligation rather to provide for "sustenance of the people committed to my care, and of his "majesty's fleet and army *in esse*, "than to argue with myself what "might be the possible felicity of "freedom to unknown blackamoors. I paid, however, such "respect to the prejudices of the "day, as to confine my licence to

"to a single ship, and shall be "cautious in extending it till the "proper authority shall have de- "cided this point, which seems "to have been at issue for some "years past between rashness and "experience, thoughtlessness and "reflection, ancient wisdom and "modern philosophy."

Few men were more conversant in polite literature than Lord Macartney; and his acquaintance was sought by the first literary characters of his time. With Dr. Johnson, Edmund Burke, David Hume, and all those who used to meet at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, he was particularly intimate. He was one of the original members of Dr. Johnson's literary club, which he continued to frequent with great pleasure in the latter years of his life, whenever his health would permit him, and he was a member of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of London. He was fond of social conversation, but reading was to him a never-failing source of delight; a book was not a mere luxury; it was an article of the first necessity. It was rare to find him, when alone, without a book or a pen in his hand. He was considered, when a young man, as a sound classical scholar, and to possess a critical knowledge of the ancient poets and historians. It appears, from the correspondence of several eminent characters, that he was himself no mean poet, and that he took great delight in courting the acquaintance of the muses.* In his letters to the late Mr. Charles Fox, when a student at Oxford, he strongly recommends history as the best polisher of the manners, and the best introduction to the knowledge of the human heart. "Livy," says he, "is written in "a style that must charm every "one. He is master of our pas- "sions, and catches the soul by "surprize. Look at that admira- "ble passage where, Coriolanus going to embrace his Mother, she "stops him with, *sine priusquam* "*amplexum accipio, sciam ad hos-* "*tem an ad filium venerim.*" Tacitus he thought less graceful in style than Sallust, but more pungent, and he calls him the true anatomist of the human heart. The unadorned easy style of Xenophon he preferred to that of Cæsar: but of Homer and Virgil he always speaks in raptures; the latter, indeed, he could almost repeat by heart. From a letter of the late Charles Fox to him, dated Oxford, 13th February, 1765, it would appear that, in the early part of his life, he had no taste for mathematics, and that he valued them lightly. His opinion, however, must have greatly changed in this respect, on entering upon business, for no man could be more convinced than he was of the transcendent utility of what are usually called mixed mathematics, as applicable to so many of the common and important concerns of life; and he was sufficiently acquainted with most of the modern sciences to

* So late as the year 1800, he wrote the following lines as an inscription to be placed over the gate-way of the castle of Lissanoure, on his paternal estate:

Sub libertate
Quieti
Hos avitos agros, has ædes auctas ornatas
D. D. D.
Georgius comes de Macartney, Vice Comes Macartney de Dervock; Dominus Macartney,

to make a conversation on their subject interesting both to himself and to others. His memory was of the most retentive kind, and had stored up an abundant supply of anecdotes, relating to persons and events, to times present and past; and the pleasing manner, and genuine good humour, in which he could relate a story, seldom failed of communicating to it an additional interest. By some peculiar arrangement, or classification of objects in his mind, he contrived to recollect the date of an event as correctly as the more important circumstances connected with it. It was observed of him at Turin, that he was much better acquainted with the history and connections of the Italian and French families he met with there than they were themselves; indeed, so wonderful was his recollection on points of genealogy, that there was scarcely a person of any note mentioned, by sacred or profane writers, whose history and connections were not perfectly fresh in his memory. When he passed the Hague, on his way to Petersburgh, Sir Joseph Yorke, then minister at that place from the court of London, invited all his brother ministers to meet Sir George Macartney at dinner. The conversation, as might be expected, turned on the affairs of Europe, and, although some of the company were pretty well hackneyed in the diplomatic service, and Sir George but just entering upon his career of public life, yet it was observed, that he was much better informed with regard to the respective courts of Europe, than any of the ministers were themselves who represented them.

He had a peculiar facility in extracting information from those he conversed with, even where there might be an unwillingness to communicate it; but whatever knowledge he obtained in this way, he used to consider as problematical, until corroborated or contradicted by other sources; thus the information he procured, on subjects connected with his official situations, was generally considered, in the department of state to which it was transmitted, as superseding all former information on the same points.

It is thought, by some of his friends, and, indeed, has been confidently asserted by others, that he had employed some part of the latter years of his life in drawing up a connected narrative of the events and transactions, in which he had borne a principal share, with memoirs and anecdotes of distinguished characters. But it appears, from the best authorities, that nothing of this kind was found among his papers; nor any notes or memorandums that could warrant

Macartney, Baro de Lissanoure in regno Hiberniæ; Baro Macartney de Darkhurst et de Auchenleik in regno Magnæ Britanniæ, ordinis regii et peranti-qui Aquilæ Albæ necnon ordinis præhonorabilis de Balneo Eques, et regi a sanctioribus Consiliis utriusque regni, in patriam redux anno 1796.

"Erin nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem
"Hausimus, Europæque plagas fere visimus omnes;
"Nec latuit regio primum patefacta Columbo:
"Sinarum licuit dextram tetigisse tyranni,
"Tartaricos montes, magnum et trancendere murum,
"Turbidaque impavide tentavimus alta Pechellæ
"Hactenus Europæ nullis sulcata Carinis:
"Casibus et variis acti terrâque mârique
"Sistimus hic tandem atque Lares veneramur Avorum."

rant such a conclusion. The only writings of lord Macartney that were digested by him into any thing like the shape of regular treatises, may be said to consist of three articles, namely, *An Account of Russia in 1767: An Account of Ireland in 1773*; and *A Journal of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China.* Of these three articles, it remains only to give a concise account, and with it conclude the present narrative.

His *Account of Russia* was drawn up into a regular form from the documents he procured from others, and from his own observations, when minister at the court of St. Petersburgh. A very few copies of it were printed at a private press, for the use of ministers, and for some of his most intimate friends. It is addressed to the secretary of state for the northern department. He observes, in the Introduction, that Russia, at that time, was but little or indistinctly known; that she had no writers of her own growth; and that foreigners had been either incurious or unsolicitous about the subject. "It appeared," says he, "like the view of an immense " waste, the prospect seemed lost " in its vastness, and wearied the " eye with its gloomy distance. " If I am able to throw a new " or stronger light on some things " already known, or to develope " others unnoticed or obscure; " if I can convey to you a clearer " idea of this country, and its in" habitants, I shall esteem myself " happy. I shall trust to your " candour if I fall into errors; " I flatter myself they neither " proceed from prejudice nor " partiality, but are such only as " every man is liable to that ven" tures to describe a nation, whose " manners, religion, and govern" ment, are dissimilar to those " of his own. Whether," continues he, "this great body is " likely to preserve long the same " state of health and strength of " the frame; whether it promises " short life or longevity, shall be " my business to inquire in the " following pages: and to do this " with the greater truth and pre" cision, it will be necessary to " consider, at large, the geogra" phical situation, the form of " government, the riches and " resources of this empire, the " genius and manners of its in" habitants, and the particular " periods and events of its history, " which either smoothed the paths " for gentle changes, or, at length, " flung open the gates to an ex" tensive reformation." From the concluding paragraph of the introduction may be collected, the light in which he modestly considered this performance, at that time, particularly valuable. "I must " observe," says he, "that this " account will appear, in a variety " of instances, very different from " any that has hitherto been pub" lished; indeed so many changes " have already been made by the " present empress, and so many " still greater are expected, that " a discourse of this kind ought " scarcely to be considered in any " other light than as an annual " calendar: I therefore do not " presume to give it you under a " higher title than that of *a Rus" sian Almanack for the year* " 1767."

The Journal, which was kept by his lordship, of his proceedings in China, is a document that cannot fail of being read with pleasure and satisfaction. A detailed ac-

account of the progress of the embassy, and of the conferences and negotiations with a court and people, who had hitherto been supposed to hold so high a rank among the civilized nations of the world; but of whose true character we had but, at the most, a doubtful portrait, must be considered as curious and interesting. This document is important in another point of view,—it will convey more instruction to any future embassador, with respect to the conduct of his mission, than he will be able to glean from all the volumes which have been written on the subject of China. In the authentic Account of the Embassy to China, Sir George Staunton has very ably shown the necessity which gave rise to the mission; the views and objects proposed by the measure; the progress of the embassy from England to China; and its return to the former place. He has sketched, with a masterly pencil, a picture of the manners, customs, genius, and character of the Chinese, and supplied much important and interesting information respecting their public revenues, the state of their agriculture, their trade and manufactures. Nor has he omitted to trace the progress of the negotiation and its result; to state what was done and what was attempted to be done; all of which he collected and digested from the papers of lord Macartney, from his own observations, and those of some of the gentlemen in the train of the embassador. But though the Journal, now published, was a material document in the hands of Sir George Staunton, in furnishing him with facts and occurrences, yet, in every other respect, it may be considered as a new and valuable addition to our stock of knowledge with regard to the genius and character of the Chinese nation. It not only tells us what was done on different occasions, but also what was said. The principal characters in the piece are brought before us, and introduced to our acquaintance. It not only conveys to us a general description of the manners and character of the court; but presents us, at the same time, with accurate sketches of individual portraits. It possesses, besides, a very material advantage, in one respect, over a regular composition intended to meet the public eye; all the observations it contains were made upon the spot, and immediately committed to paper in the shape they now stand; nothing comprehended in the whole compass of this Journal was afterwards inserted on the ground of recollection; observations made on this ground, lord Macartney justly remarks, are apt to vary their hue considerably.—From the concluding paragraph of the Journal may be collected precisely its nature and aim.—"I now," says he, "close my "China Journal, in which I have "written down the transactions "and occurrences of my embassy, "and my travels through this "empire, exactly as they passed, "and as they struck me at the "time. My sole view has been "to represent things precisely as "they impressed me. I had long "accustomed myself to take minutes of whatever appeared of "a curious or interesting nature, "and such scenes as I have lately "visited were not likely to obliterate my habits, or to relax "my diligence. I regularly took "notes and memorandums of the "business I was engaged in, and the

" the objects I saw, partly to " serve for my own use and re- " collection, and partly to amuse " the hours of a tedious and pain- " ful employment, but I will not " flatter myself that they can be " of much advantage or enter- " tainment to others."

The Cape of Good Hope was a situation in which a governor had it in his power to do a great deal of good, or a great deal of mischief; but it afforded only a very limited field for the display of brilliant talents. Whatever degree of prosperity followed the capture of this settlement, whatever new or accurate information of its value and importance to the British empire was obtained, they were the result of lord Macartney's administration. What the amount may be of our additional knowledge of this angle of Southern Africa, procured by his direction, it would ill become the writer of the present article to form the estimate. It is before the public, and he can vouch for nothing more than its authenticity and accuracy; for the means of collecting the materials, he is wholly indebted to the distinguished favour of lord Macartney.

But the place, in which the great powers of lord Macartney's mind were called forth in all their energy, was India; and in the proceedings of his government there, the statesman may find the finest lessons of wisdom and virtue. The minutes, on various subjects, which he found it necessary to lay before the select committee, are masterly performances; and the whole correspondence, with the hostile and counteracting government of Bengal, is characterised by a clearness, closeness, and cogency of argument, and by a firmness and moderation which distinguish it, in a very striking manner, from the loose, the peurile, and fanciful reasoning, and the haughty, harsh, and acrimonious language of the letters from Bengal. Both are now consigned to the archieves of the East India company, and both are doomed, in all probability, to undergo, with many other documents of great importance, the common fate of neglect and oblivion.

If that part of them, employed in the foregoing pages to exhibit an illustrious example of great talents, directed solely for the public welfare, of integrity superior to the temptation of wealth and power, of unwearied zeal in every cause for his country's honor, and disinterestedness in every public transaction, may have the good effect of carrying conviction to the mind of any future governor of the presidencies in India, that a steady perseverance in honourable and upright conduct will secure him the esteem and regard of all whose esteem and regard is valuable, and afford him that peace of mind, and heartfelt satisfaction, which no wealth nor power, however great, can bestow, the present Sketch of the public Life of Lord Macartney will not have been written in vain.

An Account of the Customs of various Tribes of People in the Mysore Country. From "DR. BUCHANAN'S JOURNEY THROUGH MYSORE, CANARA, AND MALABAR." *Performed under the Orders of* MARQUIS WELLESLEY, *for the express purpose of investigating the State of Agriculture, Arts, and Commerce, of these Countries; and the Religion, Manners, and Customs of their Inhabitants.*

In this place are settled a kind of shoe-makers, called Muchaveru; they are Rajputs, and in their families retain the Hindûstanee language, as having originally come from the country which the Mussulmans call Agimere. Like all the persons of an unmixed breed from that country, they pretend to be of the Kshatriya cast; but this high rank is denied by the Bráhmans to even the highest of the Rajputs, those whose profession is agriculture and arms, and who, the Brahmans say, are merely the highest class of the Súdras, like the Nairs of Malabar, or Kayastas of Bengal. These shoe-makers are not allowed to eat, or to intermarry, with the Chitrakaru, nor with the weavers who come from the same country; and much less with the Rajputs, properly so called, who are by cast the cultivators and defenders of the soil. They came into this country with Cossim Khán, the general of Aurungzebe, and settled chiefly here, and at Sira. They follow no other profession than that of making shoes. The proper gurus of this cast are the Nairágis, who read to them, and receive their charity. The Panchánga, or astrologer, attends their marriages, and gives them a kind of Upadesa. None of them can read. They are worshipers of Vishnu, and do not pray, nor offer sacrifices to the Saktis, nor to Dharma Raja; but contribute their share of the expense of the sacrifices, and festivals, which the village, as a public body, performs in honor of these gods. They are allowed to eat mutton and fish, but not to drink spirituous liquors. They are allowed to marry several wives, and confine them after the custom of their own country. They have chiefs, who determine matters relating to cast; but their office is not hereditary, they are elected in an assembly of the people.

The Telega Uparu are a tribe of Telinga origin, as their name expresses; and retain in their families the language of their original country. They can give no account of the time when they came to Colar. Their proper occupation is the building of mud walls, especially those of forts; but some of them are farmers, and some farmers servants, or batigaru; they act also as porters. They have hereditary chiefs, called Tjyamàna, who possess the usual jurisdiction. None of them can read or write. They are allowed to eat venison, mutton, fowls, swine, and fish; but cannot avowedly drink spirituous liquors. They are allowed a plurality of wives, who are very laborious, and each costs five pagodas, (1*l.* 16*s.* 7½*d.*) which are presented to her parents. The girls continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty; but a widow cannot take a second husband. They bury the dead. They never take the vow of dáseri, or of dedicating themselves to the service of the gods. The god of their cast is Vishnu; but

but they pray to Dharma Râja, and offer sacrifices to the Saktis. They have no knowledge of a future life, and pray only for temporal blessings. Their gurus are the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavan Brahmans, who, on the richer of the cast, bestow Upadésa and Chakrantikam. The Panchanga, or astrologer, attends only at marriages.

A Smartal Brahman, reckoned a man of learning, but who seems to be very unwilling to open such stores as he possesses, denies all knowledge of the worshippers of Fain, Budda, or the Singa, farther than that he has heard them mentioned. The doctrines of all other sects, but his own, he considers as contemptible, and not worthy of notice.

He believes in a supreme god, called Narayana, or Para Brahma, from whom proceeded Siva, Vishnu, and Brahma; which still, however, are all the same god. His sect pray to Siva and Vishnu, with many of their wives, children, and attendants, among whom are the Saktis, or destructive powers. Siva, however, is the principal object of their worship; for they consider him as the most powerful mediator with Narayana, who is rather too much elevated to attend to their personal requests. They abhor bloody sacrifices; but do not reprehend their followers of the Súdra cast for using that manner of worship. They say, that it is the custom of the Súdra; and that what these low people do is of little or no consequence. When a good Bráhman dies, his spirit is united to god; but a bad one is first punished in a purgatory, and then, by passing through various other lives, as an animal, or as a person of some of the low casts, till at last he becomes a Bráhman, and has another opportunity, by his good works, of gaining heaven.

Springa-giri, south from Hyder Nager, is, by this person, considered as the chief throne of the Bráhmans. There god assumed the form of a Bráhman, named Sankara Achârya, and, having become a Sannyasi, established his mata, or college, at the place at which there has ever since been a succession of Sannyasis, who are the gurus of the order, and are called Swamalus. In different places of India, these have established agents, or deputies, who are also Sannyasis, and assume the title of Swamalu. Originally these agents were all sent from the college at Sringagiri; but now, although they acknowledge the superiority of the representative of Sankara Acharya, they all educate young men in their own matas, or colleges, and from among them appoint their successors. In the chief college at Sringagiri there are many disciples, who are all of Vaidika families, who never marry, and who are carefully educated in such learning as the Brahmans possess. They are called Brahma Cháris; and from among them the guru, when he is about to die, selects the one that appears to him most deserving, and reveals to him the Upadesa peculiar to his rank, by which the favourite becomes his successor. The inferior Swamalus (properly Swámyálu) educate, in a similar manner, their successors. Should the Sringagiri Swamalu die without appointing a successor, the deputies, or agents, assemble, and select from among the Brahma Charis the most deserving person, and, revealing to him the Upadesa, constitute him their chief. Till he is on the point

point of death, a Swamalu is very unwilling to deliver the Upadesa to a successor; as, immediately on getting possession of it, his power becomes equal to his own; and if he should recover, the new Swamalu might remove to another college, and act independent of his authority.

Besides the Vedas, and eighteen Puranas, supposed to have been written by Vyasa, which are common to all Brahmans, the Smartal sect follow, as peculiar to themselves, four Sastrams, or books, called Mimasa, Tarka, Vyakaranam, and Vedanta, which are said to contain a system of logic, metaphysics, and grammar, that is necessary to explain the doctrine of the Vedas; and the Sankara Bhasha, a commentary which explains the doctrine of the Sutras.

The gurus of the Smartal sect seem to act chiefly in an episcopal capacity; that is, as superintendents of the manners of their followers. They would not appear to perform any ceremony for the sect, which, as being followers of Siva, does not admit for Chakrantikam; and among the Smartal, it is the Purohita who gives Upadesa. When a Smartal commits any fault, if the guru, or his deputy, be near, he assembles ten learned men of the sect, and, with their advice, punishes the delinquent. If, however, the fault be of such a nature as to deserve excommunication, which is the highest punishment, the guru must, for the purpose, assemble a Trimatasteru, or council, composed of the most learned men of the three sects, Smartal, A'ayngar, and Madual. These councils may be held, and may punish delinquents, without the presence of either guru, or deputy. The faults that occasion the loss of cast, and for which no pardon can be given, are, I. Sexual intercourse within the prohibited degree of consanguinity. II. Sexual intercourse with any prohibited cast. III. Eating forbidden food, or drinking intoxicating liquors. IV. Stealing. V. Slaying of any animal of the cow kind, or of the human species; but a Brahman is permitted to kill his enemy in battle. VI. Eating in company with persons of another cast, or of food dressed by their impure hands. VII. Eating on board a ship food that has been dressed there. VIII. Omitting to perform the ceremonies due to their deceased parents. For smaller offences, the guru, or his deputies, punish in various ways; by commanding pilgrimages, or fasts, by fines, by holding burning straw to the body of the delinquent, which is sometimes done with such severity as to occasion death; by shaving the head, so as to occasion a temporary separation from the cast; and by giving large draughts of cow's urine, which is supposed to have the power of washing away sin. Ordeals are also in use; and a most barbarous one is applied to those who, having had sexual intercourse with a person of another cast, allege that it was by mistake. If the criminal be a woman, melted lead is poured into her private parts; if it be a man, a read-hot iron is thrust up. Should they be innocent, it is supposed that they will not be injured. A male Brahman, however, even if married, may with impunity have connexion with a dancing girl, all of whom in this country are dedicated to the service of some temple.

The low casts, that are followers of the Smartal Brahmins, seem to engage

engage very little of the guru's attention; they occasionally give them holy water, and the ashes of cow-dung, to make the mark of Siva on their foreheads, and receive their contributions; but they leave the punishment of all their transgressions against the rules of cast to their own hereditary chiefs; at whose desire, however, they reprimand and impose fines on obstinate offenders. They seem to have no wish to constrain other casts to any particular dogmas, or mode of worship: the only things they think, in which a Súdra ought to be instructed to believe, is, that the Brahmans are infinitely his superiors; and that the only means of gaining the favour of the Gods, is by giving them charity. With regard to all sects that refuse to acknowledge these grand doctrines, and even among themselves, concerning points of faith, no man can be more intolerant, nor violent.

If the fines imposed by a guru appear to his council to be immoderate, they have the power to reduce the amount. If any one offers charity, that, considering the man's circumstances, the guru thinks too small, he has no power to extort more; but he may reprimand the person for his want of the great virtue of charity.

This man says, that the Brahmans are separated into two great divisions; one of which occupies the countries towards the South, and the other the countries towards the North. He holds in great contempt those from Kasi or Benares, as being men from the north; and would not even admit them to the honour of eating in his house. These Brahmans, he says, eat fish, offer bloody sacrifices, and commit other similar abominations. The northern Brahmans are, however, at least as proud as those of the south, and allege several reasons for holding them in contempt; among which the most urgent is, that the women of the southern Brahmans are allowed to appear in public.

None of the southern Brahmans can, without losing cast, taste animal food, or drink spirituous liquors; and they look upon the smoking of tobacco as disgraceful. All those who have been married are burned after their death, and their wives ought to accompany them on the pile; but this custom has fallen very much into disuse, and instances of it are extremely rare; whereas, in Bengal, it still continues to be common. A woman can on no account take a second husband; and unless she is married before the signs of puberty appear, she is ever afterwards considered as impure. They are not at all confined, and can be divorced for no other cause than adultery. When a Brahman divorces his wife, he performs the same ceremonies for her, as if she had died.

Although all the southern Brahmans can eat together, yet they are divided into nations that never intermarry; and, although they have long been living intermixed, they generally retain, in their families, the language of the country from whence they originally came.

Each nation has its Vaidika, who subsist by charity, and dedicate their lives to study and devotion, its Lokika, who follow worldly pursuits; and its numbi, or priests, who officiate in temples, and debase themselves by receiving monthly wages, and by performing menial duties to the idols. The Lokika and Vaidika may intermarry;

intermarry; but, in accepting of his daughter for a wife, a poor Vadika does honor to the greatest officer of government; and still more in giving him a daughter in marriage. The Lokika are never admitted to become Sannyasis; this, however, is not considered as arising from any invincible rule of cast, but only from their want of the proper qualifications.

Each nation, again, is divided into the sects of Smartal, A'ayngar, or Sri Vaishnavam, and Madual, but in one nation one sect is more prevalent than in another. A difference of sect does not properly constitute a difference of cast; as the son of a Smartal may become a worshipper of Vishnu; and, on the contrary, an A'ayngar may become a follower of the Sringa-giri college; but such changes are not common. The Smartel, and Madual, eat together, and intermarry, although the one worships Siva, and the other Vishnu; and, on such occasions the woman always adopts the religion of her husband, which seems to be a proof of the great degradation of the sex, who are not considered as worthy to form an opinion of their own on a point of this importance. The Sri Vaishnavam, or A'ayngar, will not marry, nor eat, with a Madual, although they both worship Vishnu; and still less will they have any communication with a Smartal; which arises, however, not from any difference in cast, but from a hatred to the doctrines entertained by these sects.

The Brahmans of every nation are divided into certain families, called Gotrams; and a man and a woman of the same family never marry together. The connection of Gotram is entirely in the male line; and the Brahmans, who speak English, translate it by our word cousin, and sometimes by brother, or, what is analagous to it, by the Mussulman word Bhai. The son of their mother's sister they consider as a more distant relation than any person of the same gotram.

12th July.—In the morning I went four cosses to Calura, said to be the residence of an Amildar; but in the list of Talucs, or districts, which I procured from the revenue officer at Seringapatam, I see no such place mentioned. In all probability, therefore, it is only a sub-division called a hobly, and its chief, in order to augment his importance, calls himself to me an Amildar. He has retained his station for thirty years, and has acquired a name by digging a colam, or tank. It is about half a mile from the town, is surrounded by a fine Mango grove; and the road from it to the town has on each side a raised walk, with an avenue of Mango and Tamarind trees reaching the whole way.

For more than one-half the way from Colar, the country is, at present, entirely depopulated. Formerly there has been much cultivation; and the broken fragments of the hedges, by which the dry fields were inclosed, remain, to show its once flourishing state. The remainder of the country is in a better condition; but, at least, one-half of what has been formerly cultivated, is now waste. I here passed two large villages, well fortified, with mud walls, and surrounded by strong hedges. The country contains many detached, naked, rocky hills; and many places seem to be fit for palm gardens, of which, however, I saw none. The mist frequently rests on the tops of the hills, while the country below is clear.

The

The Woddas, or Woddaru, are a tribe of Telinga origin, and, in their families, retain that language, although they are scattered all over the countries where the Tamul and Karnataca tongues are prevalent. They dig canals, wells, and tanks; build dams, and reservoirs; make roads, and trade in salt, and grain. Some of them are farmers; but they never hire themselves out as batigaru, or servants, employed in agriculture. Some of them build mud houses; but this is not a proper occupation for persons of their cast. The old, and infirm, live in huts, near villages, and dig and repair tanks, or wells, or perform other such labour; while the vigorous youth, of both sexes, travel about in caravans, with oxen and asses, in pursuit of trade. In these caravans they carry with them all their infants, and their huts, which latter consist of a few sticks and mats. They follow armies, to supply them with grain, and, in the time of peace, take, to the lower Carnatic, grain, tagory, and tamarinds, and bring up salt. In Hyder's government they were very numerous; but, having been forced, by Tippoo, to work at his forts, without adequate pay, a great number of them retired to other countries. As they are a very useful set of people, they are encouraged, and fast returning. There are no distinctions among them that prevent intermarriages, or eating in common. They eat fowls, sheep, goats, swine, rats, and fish; but reject carrion. They are allowed to take all manner of things that intoxicate, and are, in fact, much addicted to spirituous liquors. They marry as many wives as they can get, and the women seem to be more numerous than the men, as no person is without one wife, and the generality have two; several go so far as eight. A man, in general, is more restricted from taking many wives, by the expense of the ceremony, than by any difficulty in supporting the family; as the women are so industrious, that the more wives he can get, the more he lives at his ease. A lazy woman is immediately divorced by her husband; but, if she can find a man willing to take her, she is at liberty to marry again. The girls continue marriageable from seven years of age, until their death, and a widow is not prevented from taking another husband. Formerly, when the cast was richer, a man gave a hundred fanams (3l. 7s. 1d.) to the parents of the girl whom he wanted to marry; but this is now reduced to two fanams (1s. 4d.) to the father, a piece of cloth to the mother, and a hundred cocoa-nuts, as emblematical of the original price. The marriages are made in an assembly of the tribe; and the ceremony consists in the bridegroom and bride, walking thrice round a stake, which is erected for the purpose. Next morning they give another feast, and present the company with betel. The Panchanga, or astrologer, does not attend, nor are there any prayers (mantrams) read on the occasion. In case of adultery, the custom of the cast is to put the woman to death; but this severity is not always used. In case of a man's treating his wife very harshly, she may retire to her mother's house, and live there; but, without his consenting to divorce her, she cannot marry again. The custom of the cast is to bury the dead; and, although

although the women are very harshly used by their husbands, while drunk, and although the widows are not prevented from marrying again, yet it is said, that perhaps one widow in a hundred throws herself into a pit filled with fire, and burns herself near the grave of her husband. The Brahmans do not officiate at funerals: but on those occasions money is distributed among them and other mendicants.

The guru of the cast is Tata Acharya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans, who live at Peru-conda. They go either to him, or some of his relations, who live in different parts of the country, and receive Chakràntikam, and advice to wear the marks of the god Vishnu, and, according to their abilities, give, in return, from one to three fanams. They are allowed to attend at the festival of the great gods, although their claim to be of a Sùdra, or pure descent, is rather doubtful. Many of them can read and write accompts; but they attempt no higher kind of learning. Although the Waddaru pray to Vishnu, and offer sacrifices to Marima, Gungoma, Viraepashima, Durgama, Pultalima, and Mutialina, yet the proper object, or worship, belonging to the cast, is a goddess, called Yellamd, one of the destroying spirits. The image is carried constantly with their baggage; and, in her honour there is an annual feast, which lasts three days. On this occasion they build a shed, under which they place the image, and one of the tribe officiates as priest, or pugúri. For these three days offerings of brandy, palm-wine, rice, and flowers, are made to the idol, and bloody sacrifices are performed before the shed; the Woddas abstain from eating the bodies of the animals sacrificed to their own deity; but eat those which they sacrifice to the other Saktis. This cast frequently vow Daseri, or dedicate themselves to the service of God; which does not prevent, from trading, those who are rich or industrious; those who are idle, live entirely by begging. The duty of a Daseri requires that he should daily wash his head, and take care, when he eats in company with the prophane, that their victuals do not intermix with his. On Saturday night, after having washed his head, and prayed for some hours, he must cook his victuals in a clean pot. He learns, by rote, a set form of prayers in the poetical language, or audray; and, while he repeats it, he rings a bell, and at intervals blows on a conch. The hereditary chiefs of this cast possess the usual jurisdiction. The fines imposed by them never exceed three fanams (two shillings) and three cocoa-nuts; and are always expended in drink.

The Whallias, or Whalliaru, by the mussulmans also called Daedh, and Ballagai jat, as forming the most active combatants on the right hand side, are nearly the same with the Parriar of the people, who speak the Tamul language, and with the Malivanlie of those who use the Telinga dialect. Like the Bramans, the Wallians of all nations can eat together; but two persons of different countries never intermarry. Although this cast be looked upon as the very lowest of all others, they are desirous of keeping up the purity of the breed; and never marry but with the daughters of families, with whose descent, from long vicinity, they are well acquainted. Like the Sudra, they are divided into several ranks that do not intermarry. The

The highest are here called Morasu Whalliaru, and are cultivators of the ground, weavers, and smelters of iron ore. Inferior to these are Maligaro Whalliaru, or musicians; Naindaru Whalliaru, or barbers; and Asaga Whalliaru, or washermen. These, again, are quite distinct from the musicians, barbers, and washermen of the pure tribes, who, though lower than the cultivators, are all of Sudra cast. All the different ranks of Whalliaru, though they do not intermarry, eat together, and join in their public ceremonies.

The Whalliaru are not permitted to build their huts within the walls of towns or villages; but, if there be any hedge, they generally inhabit between it and the ditch. In very large places their huts form streets, and into these a Brahman will not deign to put his foot; nor in a place so impure will a Sudra build his house; in like manner, as a Brahman is very unwilling to occupy a house in a street which the Sudra inhabit. A Brahman, if he be touched by a Whallia, must wash his head, and get a new thread; and a Sudra, who has been similarly defiled, is obliged to wash his head. A Brahman of this country will not give any thing out of his hand to persons of lower birth, of whom he is not afraid; but throws it down on the ground for them to take up. He will receive any thing from the hand of a person of pure descent; but when a Whallia delivers any thing to the Brahman, he must lay it on the ground, and retire to a proper distance, before the Brahman will deign to approach. Europeans, from their eating beef, are looked upon by the natives here as a kind of Whalliaru; and nothing but the fear of correction prevents them from being treated with the same insolence.

The proper business of the division of Whalliaru, called Morasu, is the cultivation of the ground, in which both men and women are very industrious; but they do not appear to have ever formed a part of the native militia, like the Sudra cultivators, nor to have been entrusted with arms, until they began to enter into the company's service. From among them several families hold, by heditary right, the low village offices of Toti and Nirgimty, or of watchmen and conductors of water. Some few of the cultivators are farmers; but by far the greatest part are yearly servants, or batigaru. Some of them weave coarse cloth, and some smelt iron ore. They have chiefs, called Gatugaru, who, with a council as usual, settle all disputes and matters of cast.

The garu of the Whallias is called Kempa Nullari Einaru, and lives at Tripathi. He is married, and wears the mark of Vishnu. They do not know of what cast he is; but he does not intermarry with the Whalliaru; and my interpreter says, that the gurus of this low tribe are all of the people called here Satánana. The guru occasionally comes round, lives in the huts of his followers, and receives their contributions. He puts the mark of Vishnu on their foreheads, and exhorts them to pray to that god, and to those of his family. They have no priests that attend at births, marriages, burials, nor at the ceremonies performed in honor of their deceased parents; nor do they ever receive Upadesa or Chakrántikam. They pray to Dharma Raja, and offer sacrifices to Marina, Caragadumma, and Gungoma. The Pújari,

jàn or priest who officiates in the temple of this last destructive spirit, as a Whallia; and her's are the only temples into which any of this tribe are ever admitted. They eat the sacrifices offered even to this deity, peculiar to their cast. Their guru never joins in any of these sacrifices; none of them can read or write. They are allowed to drink spirituous liquors, and to eat beef, pork, mutton, fowls, and fish; nor have they any objection to eat an animal that has died a natural death. Their marriage ceremony consists in a feast, at which the bridegroom ties the bridal ornaments round the neck of his mistress. Except for adultery a man cannot divorce his wife; and if she has children he cannot, during her life, take another; but if a man, in a reasonable time after marriage, have no children by his first wife, he may take a second. Widows are not permitted to marry again; but it is not expected they should burn themselves, nor preserve celibacy with great exactitude. Many of this cast take the vow of Desari.

The Togotas, or Togotaru; are a class of weavers of Telinga origin, and in their families retain that language. They follow no other trade than weaving, and have hereditary chiefs called Jiyamana, who possess the usual authority. Many of them can read and write accompts; but none attempt any higher kind of learning. Idle stupid fellows that cannot get a living by their industry, take the vow of Daseri, and go about praying, with a bell and conch. They have no tradition concerning the time when they came into this country. They all eat together, but intermarry only with such families, as by long acquaintance know the purity of each others descent. They cannot lawfully drink spirituous liquors, but can eat fish, fowls, and mutton. It must be observed, that, throughout the southern parts of India, fowls are a common article of diet with the lower casts; whereas in Bengal their use is confined entirely to Mussulmans. In Bengal again, ducks and geese are commonly used by the Hindûs; but in the southern parts of India these birds are not at all domesticated, except by Europeans. It is not usual for the weavers of this cast to take more than one wife, unless the first prove barren; but there is no law to prevent them from taking as many as they please. Parents that are poor, take money for their daughters, when they give them in marriage; those that are in easy circumstances do not. Widows cannot marry again, but are not expected to kill themselves. A woman can only be divorced for adultery. The gurus of these weavers are hereditary chiefs of the A'ayngar, who, in return for the contributions of their followers, bestow Upadésa and Chukrantikam; of course they are worshippers of Vishnu. The Panchanga, or village astrologer, whether he be a follower of that god, or of Siva, attends at births, marriages, funerals; at the ceremonies performed in honor of their deceased parents, and at the building of a new house; and on each occasion gets a fee of one fanam, or eight pence. On other occasions, when a weaver wants to pray, like other Sudra, he calls in a Satanna, who reads something in an unknown language, and gives the votary some holy water, which he consecrates by pouring it on the

head of a small image that he carries about for the purpose.

A similar ceremony when perormed by a Brahman, from the charity that accompanies it, is called Dhana, and is supposed to be much more efficacious in procuring the favour of the gods.

Manners and Characters of the Chinese.—By the Earl of Macartney.

(From the Appendix to Barrow's *Life of that Nobleman.)*

If I venture to say anything upon the manners and character of the Chinese, I must begin by confessing, that I am very far from being a competent judge of them. Though assisted by an honest and able interpeter; though possessed of many advantages, from the intercourse which my station afforded me, with persons of the first rank and abilities, and from the extent of my travels through the country of China; yet I am sensible, that it was impossible to avoid falling into frequent mistakes. From my not knowing the language, from sometimes misconceiving those who did; from misinterpreting looks and gestures, where our hands and our eyes were to perform the offices of our tongues and our ears, I may have formed wrong judgments, and have deceived myself; but, as I do not mean that others should be deceived, I fairly own my disadvantages, and give previous notice of the nature of the information that may be expected from me. It will be chiefly the result of what I saw and heard upon the spot, however imperfectly, not of what I had read in books, or been told in Europe.

It should never be absent from our recollection, that there are now two distinct nations in China, (though generally confounded together by Europeans) the Chinese and the Tartars, whose characters essentially differ, notwithstanding their external appearance be nearly the same; and whose minds must naturally be differently bent by circumstances which respectively govern them. They are both subject to the most absolute authority that can be vested in a prince, but with this distinction, that, to the Chinese, it is a foreign tyranny; to the Tartars, a domestic despotism. The latter consider themselves as, in some degree, partakers of their sovereign's dominion over the former, and that imagination may, perhaps, somewhat console them under the pressure of his power upon themselves; like the house-servants, and house-negroes, belonging to a great landlord in Livonia, or planter in Jamaica, who, though serfs themselves, look down upon the peasantry, and field negroes of the estate, as much their inferiors.

If opinions were solely to be formed of China, and its inhabitants,

tants, from the accounts of the first travellers, and even of later missionaries, they would often be inadequate and unjust; for those writers, although they probably did not mean to deal in fiction, yet, when they do tell the truth, they do not always tell the whole truth, which is a mode of narration that leads to error almost as much as falsehood itself.

When Marco Polo, the Venetian, visited China, in the thirteenth century, it was about the time of the conquest of China by the western, or Mongal Tartars, with Kublai Khan, a grandson of Gengis Khan, at their head. A little before that period the Chinese had reached their highest pitch of civilization; and, no doubt, they were then a very civilized people in comparison of their Tartar conquerors, and their European contemporaries, but, not having improved and advanced forward, or having rather gone back, at least for these hundred and fifty years past, since the last conquest by the northern, or Mantchou Tartars, whilst we have been every day rising in arts and sciences, they are actually become a semi-barbarous people, in comparison with the present nations of Europe. Hence it is, that they retain the vanity, conceit, and pretensions that are usually the concomitants of half knowledge; and that though, during their intercourse with the embassy, they perceived many of the advantages we had over them, they seemed rather surprized than mortified, and sometimes affected not to see what they could not avoid feeling. In their address to strangers, they are not restrained by any bashfulness, or *mauvaise honte*, but present themselves with an easy, confident air, as if they considered themselves the superiors, and that nothing in their manners or appearance could be found defective or inaccurate.

Their ceremonies of demeanor, which consist of various evolutions of the body, in elevating and inclining the head, in bending or stiffening the knee, in joining their hands together, and then disengaging them, with a hundred other manœuvres, they consider as the highest perfection of good breeding and deportment; and look upon most other nations, who are not expert in this polite discipline, as little better than barbarians. Nevertheless, having once shown off and exhausted all these tricks of behaviour, they are glad to relapse into ease and familiarity, and seem never so happy as when indulging in free conversation with those whom they do not distrust; for they are naturally lively, loquacious, and good-humoured. They were certainly much surprised to find us so mild, sociable, and cheerful.

The court character is a singular mixture of ostentatious hospitality and inbread suspicion; ceremonious civility and real rudeness; shadowy complaisance, and substantial perverseness;—and this prevails through all the departments connected with the court, although somewhat modified by the personal disposition of those at their head; but as to that genuine politeness, which distinguishes our manners, it cannot be expected in orientals, considering the light in which they regard the female world.

Among the Chinese themselves, society chiefly consists of certain stated forms and expressions, a calm

calm, equal, cold deporment, studied, hypocritical attentions, and hyperbolical professions.

Where women are excluded from appearing, all delicacy of taste and sentiment, the softness of address, the graces of elegant converse, the play of the passions, the refinements of love and friendship, must of necessity be banished. In their place, gross familiarity, coarse pleasantry, and broad allusions, are indulged in, but without that honesty and expansion of heart which we have sometimes observed to arise on such occasions among ourselves. Morality is a mere pretence in their practice, though a common topic of their discourse, Science is an intruder, and gaming the resource.

An attachment to this vice accompanies even the lowest Chinese wherever he goes; no change of country divests him of it. I have been assured that the Chinese, settled in our new colony at the Prince of Wales's Island, pay not less than ten thousand dollars per annum to the government for a licence to keep gaming houses, and sell opium.

Every Chinese who aspires to preferment attaches himself to some Tartar of consequence, and professes the utmost devotion to his service; but such is the strong and radical dislike in the client to the patron, that scarcely any benefits can remove it and plant gratitude in its place. As the nature of dependance is to grow false, it cannot be wondered at if these Chinese are not strict observers of truth. They have indeed so little idea of its moral obligation, that they promise you every thing you desire, wtihout the slightest intention of performance, and then violate their promises without scruple, having no motive for making them that I could perceive, unless it were that they imagined what they said might be agreeable to you just at the moment. When detected or reproached, they make light of the matter themselves, and appear neither surprised nor ashamed; but, nevertheless, it was evident that they particularly remarked our punctuality and our strict attention to truth in all our transactions with them, and respected us accordingly.

Although the difference of ranks be perhaps more distinctly marked in China than in any other country, yet I often observed that the Mandarines treat their domestic servants with great condescension, and talk to them with good nature and familiarity; but in return an unremitted attention and obedience are expected and never withheld.

A Chinese family is regulated with the same regard to subordination and economy that is observed in the government of a state; the paternal authority, though unlimited, is usually exercised with kindness and indulgence. In China children are indeed sometimes sold, and infants exposed by the parents, but only in cases of the most hopeless indigence and misery, when they must inevitably perish if kept at home; but when the thread of attachment is not thus snapped asunder by the anguish of the parent, it every day grows stronger and becomes indissoluble for life.

There is nothing more striking in the Chinese character, through all ranks, than his most respectable union. Affection and duty walk hand in hand and never desire a separation. The fondness of the father is constantly felt, and always increasing;

ing; the dependance of the son is perfectly understood by him; he never wishes it to be lessened. It is not necessary to coax or cheat a child into the cutting off an entail, or charging his inheritance with a mortgage; it is not necessary to importune a father for an irrevocable settlement. According to Chinese ideas there is but one interest in a family; any other supposition would be unnatural and wicked. An undutiful child is a monster that China does not produce; the son, even after marriage, continues for the most part to live in the father's house; the labor of the whole family is thrown into one common stock, under the sole management of the parent; after whose death the eldest son often retains the same authority, and continues in the same union with his younger brothers.

The houses of the better sort exhibit a certain show of grandeur and magnificence, and even of taste and elegance in their decorations; but at the same time discover, at least to our eyes, evident marks of discomfort and inconvenience. There is a want of useful furniture. They have indeed lanterns of gauze, and paper, and horn, and diaphanous gum, most beautifully colored and disposed, and they have tables, couches, and chairs, loosely covered with rich carpeting, with gold and silver damasks, and other silks; but they have no bureaus, commodes, lustres, or looking glasses; they have no sheets to their beds, neither does their bedding itself seem well adapted or agreeable. They do not undress themselves entirely as we do, when they go to rest; but lay themselves down upon alcoved benches, which are spread with a single mat, or thin mattress, and adjusted with small pillows and cushions. Their apartments are not well contrived or distributed, according to our ideas of utility and propriety, having seldom any doors that shut with locks or proper fastenings; but in lieu of them screens and curtains, which are removed or drawn back as occasion requires. In the cold weather they are warmed by flues under the floor; for there are neither stoves, fire places, nor fire grates, in the rooms; but sometimes brasiers, filled with charcoal, are brought in and occasionally renewed.

The people, even of the first rank, though so fond of dress as to change it usually several times a day, are yet in their persons and customs frowzy and uncleanly. Their outward garment of ceremony is richly embroidered with si lk of different colours, those of the highest class of all with golden dragons, and their common habit is of a plain silk, or fine broad cloth; but their drawers and their waistcoats, of which they usually wear several according to the season, are not very frequently shifted. They wear neither knit nor woven stockings; but wrap their legs round with a coarse cotton stuff, over which they have constantly drawn a pair of black satin boots without heels; but with soals nearly an inch in thickness. In summer every body carries a fan in his hand, and is flirting it incessantly.

They wear but little linen or calico; and what they do wear is extremely coarse and ill washed, the article of soap not being employed by them. They seldom have recourse to pocket handkerchiefs, but spit about the rooms without mercy, blow their noses in their fingers, and wipe them,

with

with their sleeves, or, upon anything near them. This practice is universal; and, what is still more abominable, I one day observed a Tartar of distinction call his servant to hunt in his neck for a louse that was troublesome to him.

At their meals they use no towels, napkins, table cloths, flat-plates, glasses, knives, nor forks; but help themselves with their fingers, or with their chop sticks, which are made of wood or ivory, about six inches long, round, and smooth, and not kept very cleanly. Their meat is served up ready cut in small bowls, each guest having a separate bowl to himself. Seldom more than two sit together at the same table, and never above four. They are all foul feeders, and eaters of garlick and strong-scented vegetables, and drink mutually out of the same cup, which, though sometimes rinsed, is never washed or wiped clean. They make use of little vinegar, no olive oil, cider, ale, beer, or grape wine; their chief drink is tea, or liquors distilled or prepared from rice and other vegetables, of different degrees of strength according to their taste, some of which are tolerably agreeable and resemble strong Madeira.

They almost all smoke tobacco, and consider it as a compliment to offer each other a whiff of their pipes. They also take snuff, preferring that of Brazil when they can get it, but in small quantities, not in that beastly profusion which is often practised in England, even by some of our fine ladies.

They have no water closets nor proper places of retirement; the necessaries are, in general, quite public and open, and the ordure is continually removing from them, which occasions a stench in almost every place one approaches.

They have no wheel carriages for travelling built on a better construction than that of a higgler's cart; the best of the kind are set upon four clumsy wheels, and drawn by five horses, or mules, two abreast in the shafts, and three leaders abreast before them. They are without springs, and consequently very uneasy. The saddles, bridles, and accoutrements of their horses are inelegant and ill-contrived, much heavier than is requisite, and equally inconvenient to the beast and his rider. Although so much prejudiced in favor of their own customs and fashions, they could not, after some time, withstand the superiority of ours in a variety of instances. The lightness, neatness, and commodiousness of my post chaise, in which I travelled to Gehd, they were quite delighted with; but the fearlessness, and celerity and safety, with which my postilions drove it along, almost petrified them with astonishment. The elegance and finishing of our saddles, and other parts of horse furniture, particularly struck the Tartars, some of whom I should think are not unlikely to adopt them by degrees.

Our knives, forks, spoons, and a thousand little trifles of personal conveniency were singularly acceptable to every body, and will probably become soon of considerable demand, although the government is certainly averse to all novelties, and wishes to discountenance a taste for any foreign article that is not absolutely necessary; but luxury is stronger than law, and it is the prerogative of wealth to draw from abroad what it cannot find at home. One great advantage indeed of the embassy is the opportunity it afforded of shewing the Chinese to what a high

high degree of perfection the English nation had carried all the arts and accomplishments of civilized life; that their manners were calculated for the improvement of social intercourse, and liberal commerce, that, though great and powerful, they were generous and humane; not fierce and impetuous like the Russians; but entitled to the respect and preference of the Chinese above the other European nations of whom they have any knowledge. This favourable impression of the English character may be confirmed and improved in them by a continuance of our own attention and cautious conduct. The restriction and discipline of our seamen, at Canton, are among the proper regulations for this purpose, not to mention some other arguments that will be naturally made there, in consequence of the ground we now stand upon.

The common people of China are a strong hardy race, patient, industrious, and much given to traffic, and all the arts of gain; cheerful and loquacious under the severest labor, and by no means that sedate, tranquil people they have been represented. In their joint efforts and exertions they work with incessant vociferation, often angrily scold one another, and seem ready to proceed to blows, but scarcely ever come to that extremity. The inevitable severity of the law probably restrains them; for the loss of a life is always punished by the death of the offender, even though he acted merely in self defence, and without any malice aforethought.

Superstitious and suspicious in their temper, they at first appeared shy and apprehensive of us, being full of prejudices against strangers, of whose cunning and ferocity a thousand ridiculous tales had been propagated, and, perhaps, industriously encouraged by the government, whose political system seems to me, to endeavour to persuade the people that they are already perfect, and can therefore learn nothing from others; but it is to little purpose: a nation that does not advance must retrograde, and finally fall back to barbarism and misery.

A Chinese boy, who was appointed to wait upon young George Stanton, would not, for a long time, trust himself to sleep in the house with our European servants, being afraid, he said, they would eat him. The Chinese however, at all the sea ports were we touched, were quite free from these foolish notions, and I flatter myself that the embassy will have effectually removed them in all the provinces through which it passed.

The lower sort most heartily detest the mandarines, and persons in authority, whose arbitrary power of punishing, oppressing, and insulting them, they fear; whose injustice they feel; and whose rapacity they must feed. The mandarins themselves are equally at the mercy of their superiors, the ministers and colaos of the court, are punishable by confiscation, and even death, not only for their own offences, but for what others may do amiss within the jurisdiction of their department. They are responsible for whatever happens in the place where their authority extends; accident is construed into intention, and unavoidable error into wilful neglect But this is not all, for the penalty is often inflicted on the offender's whole family, as well as on the offender himself. The ministers and coloas too, are liable

liable to any indignity which the caprice of the emperor may chance to dictate. The bamboo is one of the grand instruments of discipline, from which no rank nor elevation is exempt or secure. The emperor's nearest, relation even his own sons, are subject to it; and there are two of them now living upon whom it is well known to have been inflicted: but this is an argument of obedience which will probably one day refute itself.

Although the emperor, as the father of the people, affects and professes impartiality, and wishes to have it understood that he makes no distinction between Tartars and Chinese, neither Tartars nor Chinese are imposed upon by the pretence.

The care taken to preserve the Mantchoo language among all the Tartars settled in China, forms one unequivocal line of demarcation, exclusive of the others which I have occasionally taken notice of in these sheets. After a short residence in the country, I found no difficulty in distinguishing a Tartar from a Chinese, although their mode of dress, and forms of behaviour, are precisely the same; but there are always something (I know not well how to describe it, quod sentio tantum) that indicated the difference in a moment.

In any attempt at a general sketch of the manners and character of a nation, candour and experience will naturally suggest a number of exceptions, and christian charity will make large allowances. The composition of mankind, in all countries, is a mixture of the same materials, though blended in different proportions; but there is usually one particular essential ingredient that pervades and leavens the whole mass, as from a preponinating feature results the general cast of the countenance.

If, therefore, the majority of the people, whom I have been describing, should be less perfect than might be wished, it is not very difficult to conjecture the cause. The Tartars perhaps imagine that their own selfish government derives a good deal of its vigour even from the unwholesome state of the juices in the body of the nation; and as a healthy constitution might be the consequence of a proper fermentation of them, the interested physician, who wishes to keep the patient as long as possible under his hands, will be in no haste to cure a disease whose duration he thinks may be long protracted without becoming fatal. The fault, therefore, is less in the people than in those who have the care of them.

If among others, with whom we were conversant, we met with a few superior characters, their merit is entirely their own, [and to themselves, not to education or examples, they chiefly owe those virtues and good qualities by which we distinguished them; for, notwithstanding the high-flown eulogium to be found in books of Chinese morality, it is in general of a very flimsy texture, and little understood; the tincture is more relished than the essence; the frame is more admired than the picture; the parade of duty almost stifles the duty itself.

It so happened that of our four principal connections, the colao Sun-ta-gin, the viceroy Chan-ta-gin, and our constant companions, Van-ta-gin and Chou-ta-gin, two were Tartars, and two Chinese; and although their respective nationalities could not escape us, yet they seemed perfectly united in their friendly and honourable con-

duct towards us, and made us, therefore, the more regret our ill fortune in having known so few others that resembled them.

As my knowledge of the female world in China was very limited, I have little to say upon the subject; but it may not be improper to say that little.

The women of the lower sort are much weather-beaten, and by no means handsome. Beauty is soon withered by early and frequent parturition, by hard labour and scanty fare. They have, however, a smart air, which arises partly from their manner of tying up their hair on the crown of their heads, and interpersing it with flowers, and other ornaments. In the neighbourhood of Pekin I met some ladies of the higher ranks in their carriages, who appeared to have fair complexions, and delicate features. They were all painted, as indeed are many of the inferior classes.

There is no law to prohibit intermarriages between the Tartars and the Chinese, but they very seldom intermarry. The Mantchoo and Mongal Tartars chiefly marry together, and scarcely ever with any of the other Tartar tribes. The Mantchoos often give large portions with their daughters; the reverse is the case among the Chinese, where the parent usually receives a consideration, or handsome present, from his son-in-law.

The Tartar ladies have hitherto kept their legs at liberty, and have not submitted to the Chinese operation of crippling the feet, though it is said that many of their husbands were desirous of introducing it into their families. I made many inquiries relative to this strange practice, but with little satisfaction. Chou-ta-gin admitted that no very good reason could be given for it. Its being an ancient custom was the best he could assign, and he confessed that a religious adherence to ancient customs, without much investigation of their origin, was a principal feature in the Chinese character. He added, however, that it possibly might have taken its rise from Oriental jealousy, which had always been ingenious in its contrivances to secure the ladies to their owners; and that certainly a good way of keeping them at home was to make it very painful and troublesome to them to gad abroad. The rendering useless and deformed one part of the human body that is connected with the rest, is little less strange than the practice of totally cutting off another; and yet we express no disgust nor surprise at the operation of circumcision, which prevails among a large portion of mankind, and the Italian opera has long reconciled us to the indecency of castration.

It is inconceivable from whence arises the dissatisfaction at our natural form, that seems to be felt by the whole human species, from the politest nations of Europe to the most barbarous islanders of the South Seas. Boring the ears, painting the face, and dusting and plastering the hair with powder and grease, are equally fashionable in London and Otaheite; but this perverseness, and disfiguration, are not confined to ourselves, but extended by us to the inferior creation. A noble lord, of my acquaintance, in Ireland, contrived to put out all the eyes of Argus, and extinguish the brilliant plumage of his peacocks, and to propagate, in their stead, a breed of whites, grays, and cream colours. The good wives of Dorking have

added a supernumerary claw to all the chickens of their hatching; and our jockeys, by their docks and crops, their fan tails, short tails, and no tails at all, make their horses as little like what God made them, as can possibly be imagined; we find beauty in defects, and we create defects where we do not find them.

I by no means wish to apologize for the Chinese custom of squeezing their women's pettitoes into the shoes of an infant, which, I think, an infernal distortion; yet, so much are people subject to be warped and blinded by fashion, that every Chinese, above the vulgar, considers it as a female accomplishment not to be dispensed with. Nay, a reverend apostolic missionary, at Pekin, assured me that, in love affairs, the glimpse of a little fairy foot was to a Chinese a most powerful provocative. Perhaps, after all, we are not quite free from a little folly of the same kind ourselves. We have not yet indeed, pushed it to the extreme, which the Chinese have done, yet are we such admirers of it, that, with tight shoes, high heels, and ponderous buckles, if our ladies' feet are not crippled, they are certainly very much contracted, and it is impossible to say where the abridgement will stop. It is not a great many years ago that, in England, thread paper waists, steel stays, and tight lacing, were in high fashion; and the ladies' shapes were so tapered down from the bosom to the hips, that there was some danger of breaking off in the middle, upon any sudden exertion. No woman was thought worth having, who measured more than eighteen inches round at the girdle. At present, a contrary mode prevails: Prior's comeliness of size is exploded, and protuberance is procured, wherever it can be fitted. But the Chinese ladies, like other Asiatics, never alter the costume of their dress; and I suppose the gowns they now wear are much of the same cut as those of their ancestors before the flood; but, though the habit is the same, they are, perhaps, a little more changeable, and coquetish, than their ancestors were, in the choice and disposition of their ornaments.

The shift is of silk netting, the waistcoat and drawers are usually of silk, and trimmed, or lined, with furs in cold weather; over all they wear a long satin robe, made full and loose, which is gracefully gathered round the waist, and confined with a sash: these different members of their apparel are usually each of a different colour; and, in the selecting and contrasting of them, the taste and fancy of the wearer are usually displayed.

They adorn and set off their hair with ribbons, and flowers, with bodkins, mock pearls, or real ones, below a certain size; but wear neither powder nor pomatum, diamonds nor feathers. Many of the mysteries of an European toilette they have never heard of, though perfectly versed in all those of their own, to which they devote no small portion of their time. They have not yet been initiated in the secrets of captivation, by false pretences, and love swindling, or of eking out a skeleton figure, by a cork rump, a muslin bosom, and a buckram stomacher; for, though they reckon corpulence a beauty in a man, they think it a most palpable blemish in their own sex; they, therefore, pay particular attention

attention to the slimness of their shape, and have the art of preserving it in all its ease and delicacy without effort or compression.

Though a Chinese has properly but one wife at the head of his family, the number of his concubines depends on his own opulence and discretion So far, in this point, Chinese and European manners seem pretty much alike; but they differ widely in another; the mistresses of a Chinese live in tolerable harmony together, in the same house, and even under the authority of the wife, who adopts and educates their children; and these children inherit, from the father, equally with her own.

I have been the less reserved in what I have said upon this subject, because I was willing to convey an impartial idea of some things in China which, to our local vanity and prejudice, appear monstrous, or incredible. Nor was I sorry to have this opportunity of remarking how little right we have to despise and ridicule other nations, on the mere account of their differing from us in little points of manners, and dress, as we can very nearly match them with similiar follies, and absurdities of our own.

The Moral Character of the Hindus,—*from a Pamphlet, lately published, entitled,* "*A Vindication of the Hindûs, from the aspersions of the* Reverend Claudius Buchanan,"

(By a Bengal Officer.)

In the course of a long residence in India, I have had numerous occasions of contemplating the Hindû character; have mixed much in their society; have been present at their festivals; have endeavoured to conciliate their affections; and I believe not without effect: and I must do them the justice to declare, that I never met with a people exhibiting more suavity of manner, or more mildness of character; or a happier race of beings, when left to the undisturbed performance of the rites of their religion. And it may truly be said, that if Arcadian happiness ever had existence, it must have been rivalled in Hindûstan.

In order to shield this eulogium from the possible imputation of partiality, I shall interpose the decision of Abulfazel, whose situation and pursuits furnished him with more ample means of appreciating the Hindû character.

"Summarily," says he, "the "Hindûs are religious, affable, "courteous to strangers, cheerful, "enamoured of knowledge, fond of "inflicting austerities upon them-"selves; lovers of justice; given "to retirement; able in business, "grateful, admirers of truth, and "of unbounded fidelity in all their "dealings. Their character shines "brightest in adversity:—they "have great respect for their tu-"tors;—they make no account of "their

"their lives, when they can devote them to the service of God."

Cease, then, worthy missionaries, to disturb that repose that forms the happiness of so many millions of the human race; a procedure that can only tend "to set man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law," nor unhappily cause, by an indiscreet, though perhaps venial zeal, that, "a man's foes shall be they of his own household."

Mr. Buchanan informs us, that "the moral state of the Hindûs is represented as being still worse than that of the Mohammedan's. Those who have had the best opportunity of knowing them, and who have known them for the longest time, concur in declaring, that neither *truth nor honesty, honor, gratitude, nor charity*, is to be found *pure in the breast of a Hindû*. How can it be otherwise? *The Hindû children have no moral instruction.* If the inhabitants of the British isles had no moral instruction *would they be moral?*"

"The Hindûs have no moral books. What branch of their mythology has not more of falsehood and vice in it, than of truth and virtue. They have no moral Gods. The robber and the prostitute lift up their hands with the infant and the priest, before an horrible idol of clay, painted red; deformed and disgusting as the vices which are practised before it."

Here, within a very limited space, we see compressed, a series of charges, which, if capable of being substantiated, would sink the character of the Hindûs very low indeed.

To these charges, however, I must, in the first place, oppose the opinion of the enlightened *Abulfazel* as already exhibited in the early pages of this pamphlet;—and to which, accordingly, I must beg leave to refer the reader.

To this, if I could presume to add my own humble testimony, an experience of seven and twenty years would enable me, at least, to do justice to their unexampled honesty and fidelity.

Will it be believed, in Europe, that a gentleman, having twenty servants in his house, shall entrust them with the care of his liquors, plate, money, jewels, &c. of all which, *the keys remain in their hands?*—shall leave his house, perhaps for a month, or more; and, on his return, find every article as he left it—undissipated, untouched, and unimpaired?

"What can we reason, but from what we know?"

I have myself been in this predicament;—I have had in my house, at one time, more than eighty dozen of wine; three or four hundred pounds in gold or silver; besides plate, linen, &c.—all under the care of my Hindû servants; who kept the keys of every article: and those keys, instead of being kept in any degree of security, usually lay under the pillow of the head servant, or one of his tribe; or, perhaps, carelessly thrown on the humble mat, or carpet, which, spread on the floor of the veranda, or common hall, served him as a bed; and, although those keys lay thus exposed to the view or knowledge of all the other servants, who might easily have taken them at any hour of the day or night

night, and with one or other of whom indifferently they were often left in charge, yet I cannot, with a safe conscience, charge any of those servants with ever having purloined a single bottle of wine, the smallest article of plate, or so much as a rupee from the money thus deposited.

Let me then ask the candid reader, let me ask Mr. Buchanan himself, who, uninfluenced by the prospect of professional advantage, had possibly been less willing to villify the Hindûs;—let me ask, I ay, whether, in great Britain, under such obvious circumstances of temptation, the master's property would have been safe for a single day; and yet I have more than once made an excursion of more than fifteen hundred miles, while my property has been daily thus exposed to the mercy of a people, who, Mr. Buchanan assures us, "are destitute of those principles of honesty, truth, and justice, "which respond to the spirit of "British administration."—"and "who have not a disposition which "is accordant with the tenor of "christian principles."

But I trust that, while sobriety, honesty, temperance, and fidelity, are held estimable among mankind, the humble possessor of these virtues, among the Hindûs, will, be deemed not unworthy even of christian emulation.

When it is considered that the people of whom I here speak are of the lower classes of the Hindûs,—when we reflect on Mr. Buchanan's assertion, that they have no moral instruction, nor any moral books, whence proceed, then, may we ask, those happy effects already indicated, which we must consistently rank among the virtues of morality?

Are the Hindûs intuitively virtuous? that they are so, we should conclude, from a due consideration of all the premises:—for, Mr. Buchanan asks, "if the in-"habitants of the British isles had "no moral instruction, would they "be moral?"—If every effect thus necessarily includes a cause, the Hindûs must either have the benefit of moral instruction, or be intuitively gifted with the virtues we have described.

Of their moral books we shall be better able to judge, when we have due expositions of their scriptures; but, while we have the *institutes of Menu*, the *Geeta*, and the *Heetopades*, it would be injustice to deny their claim to some small portion of morality, and yet, Mr. Buchanan assures us, that "they have no moral gods."

Mr. Buchanan is a divine, a man of learning and research, and should know these things better than a simple layman: yet, I must confess that, before I perused his book, I had always regarded, as moral gods, the Indian triad, *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Seeva*; who are usually considered as personifications of the divinity, in the respective attributes of *creation*, *preservation*, and *destruction*.

It also appeared to me, that the active power of those divinities, respectively manifested in the persons of *Sereswatia*, *Lutchmee*, and *Doorga*, could be considered in no other light, than as types of virtue. Thus, for example, when *Doorga* Bahvanee, consort of *Seeva*, mounted on her tremendous lion, rushes forth to combat *My Kassoor*, the Indian minataur, in the form of a Buffalo, is it not a speaking picture of good sense, representing the good and evil principle contending for supre-

macy—

macy — virtue warring against vice? and when, having cut off the head of the buffalo, the evil spirit springs from the headless trunk, a human form appears upwards from the waist, and renews the combat, does it not seem to typify the Proteus-like versatility of sin, which, however often repressed, is ever ready to assail us in some new shape?

This is, perhaps, one of the most obvious tales of their mythology; and the pictures which represent it may daily be seen at Calcutta, in their temples, in their houses, and for sale in their Bazars; and, doubtless, this exposition of the text must have escaped the accuracy of Mr. Buchanan's investigation; he would otherwise not have demanded, "what branch of their mythology "has not more of falsehoods and vice in it, than of truth and virtue?"

But if there be any one point in which I can more clearly answer him than another, it is perhaps in this: for, having somewhat looked into the subject, I have no hesitation in declaring, that no branch whatever of their mythology, so far as I understand it, appears to merit, in the smallest degree, the harsh charges of vice and falsehoods, with which Mr. Buchanan so inconsiderately brands it.

Wherever I look around me, in the vast region of Hindû mythology, I discover piety in the garb of allegory: and I see morality, at every turn, blended with every tale: and, as far as I can rely on my own judgment, it appears the most complete and simple system of moral allegory that the world has ever produced.

Having thus endeavoured to vindicate their mythology, I must not suffer to pass unnoticed, the following strain of turgid declamation; which, to the uninformed European, at the distance of half the globe, has an imposing appearance, as flowing from the pen of a christian divine, in whose representation a statement of facts, unwarped by prejudice, and supported by veracity, might naturally be expected to appear.

"The robber and the prosti-"tute," says Mr. Buchanan, "lift "up their hands, with the infant "and the priest, before an hor-"rible idol of clay, painted red, "deformed and disgusting as the "vices which are practised be-"fore it."

Among those who present themselves in any country at the altar of the divinity, it must argue great powers of discrimination to be able to separate the righteous from the ungodly; so as to ascertain who is the robber, who the prostitute, and who the virtuous votary: God, alone, truly knoweth the hearts of men; and, accordingly, the preacher saith, "Woe unto him who cal-"leth his brother fool; for he "shall abide the judgment." But, if the robber and the prostitute approach the altar; is not the door of grace open to the repentant sinner? and is there not "more joy in heaven over one sinner who repenteth, than over the ninety and nine who had not gone astray?"

Would Mr. Buchanan, then, step between them and the altar; and, assuming the authority as heaven's vicegerent, deny the grace that they solicit?

If they prostrate themselves before idols, what are these, as *Abul-fazel* says, but "representations of celestial beings, to whom they turn themselves while at prayer, to prevent the thoughts from wandering

dering;" but their ultimate research is the divinity himself;" for, "they, one and all, believe in the unity of the Godhead." And this is the declaration of an enlightened Mohammedan, (Abulfazel) whose means of appreciating the Hindû character were, at least, equal to those of Mr. Buchanan.

Of the nature of the "disgusting vices practised before these idols," I am entirely ignorant; for, though I have visited many temples of celebrity, in Bengal, Benares, Mutra, Canonge, and Hurduar, and a hundred places besides; yet I have never witnessed any exhibition at their shrines, that bore the appearance of indecency.

Unless we can charge Mr. Buchanan with a want of information of his subject, his view in thus villifying the Hindûs, must be sufficiently obvious: the higher the colouring, the more striking the picture: the lower the moral character, the greater the necessity of a radical reform; and as he assures us that this can never be effected "by any other means than by the principles of the Christian religion," the necessity of a church establishment, for the accomplishment of this great work, would hence appear to be unquestionable.

But, I fear, there is often in the human mind too ready a bias to depreciate whatever may appear hostile to the object of its research.

It is therefore, perhaps, indecorous, thus "to ring the changes" on the assumed degraded state of the Hindûs; the vices of their character, their senseless idolatry, the falsehood and moral turpitude of their Gods. If his cause be otherwise good, his public object may be attained; and, perhaps, the accomplishment of his private views, without recurring to assertions, equally disputable and injurious, and unworthy the dignity of a member of the church.

That there are some great points, in the general superstitions of the Hindûs, which we might wish to see retrenched, is not to be disputed; but, individually, and in private life, I see little to condemn; and justly to say of any people, that they are mild, modest, and obsequious; patient, obedient, and attentive; hospitable, charitable, and benevolent; honest, sober, temperate, and faithful; I conceive to be no small praise.—Whenever, therefore, the Christian religion does as much for the lower orders of society, in Europe, as that of Brahma thus appears to have done for the Hindûs, I shall cheerfully vote for its establishment in Hindûstan.

> "For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
> "His can't be wrong whose life is in the right."

But we are assured, by Mr. Buchanan himself, that these people "have not a disposition which is accordant with the tenour of Christian principles." Why, then, would Christians force upon them those principles, if by principles he means religion? "Because," says he, "it is a solemn and imperious duty, exacted by their religion and public principles. It being by no means," he adds, "submitted to our judgment, or to our notions of policy, whether we shall embrace the means of imparting Christian knowledge to our subjects or not, any more than it is submitted to a Christian father, whether he shall chuse to instrust his family or not."

The Hindûs are certainly your subjects, and so far they are your children; but, having forced your-self

self on them, as a father, would you now force instruction on them, for the regulation of their consciences? Should they reject your instruction, remember the "imperious duty exacted by your religion;"—*coerce this contemptuous spirit of our native subjects, and chastise the enormity of their superstition at the fountain head.*" But should they, like the Mohammedan, "*grasp the dagger,*" fear it not; it is your duty to proceed in the pious work: you are, professedly, a people militant in the ways of conscience; "nor is it submitted to your judgment," whether you shall recede or not: proceed on, therefore, to the last; till, in the pious struggle against Hindû vice and superstition, you obtain that glorious crown of martyrdom, that, at the same moment, deprives you of the country and of life.

It is, doubtless, very allowable in Mr. Buchanan, to exhibit every reasonable argument, tending to evince the necessity of establishing a specific code, for the complete civilization of the Hindûs; and the suppression of obnoxious usages, either sanctioned by custom, or countenanced by their religion. Like a wise champion, he has availed himself of the negligence, or the error, of his opponent, and entered the lists, with obvious advantage of the ground. A few great leading points stand conspicuous in the foreground of his argument, and, by the converging rays of their influence, he may hope to challenge credit for those of inferior consideration.

"He that is first in his own cause, seemeth just," saith the preacher: "but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him."

In a few of those points, I trust, we have been not altogether unsuccessful.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

For the Year 1806.

[The Editor has the satisfaction this year of being able to fill the whole of this department with articles entirely original, and never before printed.]

A Narrative of a JOURNEY *from* MIRZAPUR *to* NAGPUR, *by a route never before travelled by any European, in* 1798-9.—*By a member of the Asiatic Society, eminent for his extensive acquirements in every branch of oriental literature and science.*

Towards the close of the year 1798, I received the commands of the governor-general of India, the earl of Mornington, (now marquis Wellesley) to proceed to the court of Nagpur, on a public mission.

With his excellency's permission, a route was chosen, which had been lately opened by the inland traders, between Benares and Berar.

The route through Catac, Sambhalpur, and Chetesgerh, and another by the way of Ramgerh and Serguja, were inconvenient, because preparations for the journey were already made at Mirzapur, my usual place of abode. The direct road from Mirzapur to Nagpur, through the territories of the rajah of Rewa, is the shortest, and most frequented of any, between the banks of the Ganges, and the capital of the rajah of Berar's dominions. The computed distance little exceeds four hundred miles; and by this route alone cotton is imported from Nagpur to the British territories. But the rajah of Rewa was at this time threatened by Ali Behadur; and the road was infested by banditti, from Bundelcund; a province, which Ali Behadur had long since invaded, but not completely reduced. To avoid interruption, that might be well apprehended on a road which native travellers and merchants disused as insecure, it appeared expedient to take a circuitous route; and, instead of proceeding along the banks of the Ganges and Jamuna to Calpi, and thence to Sagur, it seemed advisable to traverse the forests that lie between Bijeygerh and Serguja, because this route presented the advantage of passing through no intermediate territories between the British dominions and the provinces tributary to the rajah of Berar.

Having chosen this route, and completed the requisite preparations for marching through a desolate country, by roads impracticable for wheel carriages, I begun the journey from Mirzapur on the 4th

January, 1799, and ascended the Gortola pass on the following day. The road lay over the Bind'h hills, from the ascent of them, within sight of the Ganges, to Nagpur, which is situated among hills that in reality belong to the same cluster of mountains. It may not then be here improper to premise some general observations on the mountainous tract over which I travelled.

Bind'h, in Sanscrit named Vind'hya, constitutes the limit between Hindustan and the Deccan. The most ancient Hindû authors assign it as the southern boundary of the region, which they denominate 'Aryá bhúma or 'Aryáverta. Modern authors, in like manner, make this the line which discriminates the northern from the southern nations of India. It reaches almost from the eastern to the western sea; and the highest part of the range deviates little from the line of the tropic. The mountainous tract, however, which retains the appellation, spreads much more widely. It meets the Ganges in several places towards the north; and the Godaveri is held to be its southern limit.

Sanscrit etymologists deduce its name from a circumstance to which I have just now alluded. It is called Vind'hya,* says the author of a commentary on the Amercosh, because people think (d'hy a yanti) the progress of the sun is obstructed (veindd'ha) by it. Suitably toth is notion, the most elevated ridge of this tropical range of mountains, is found to run from a point, that lies between Chhota Nagpur and Palamu, to another that is situated in the vicinity of Ougein. But the course of the Nermadá river better indicates the direction of the principal range of Bind'h hills. From Amracuta where this river has its source, on the same spot with the Sone and the Hatsu, to the gulf of Camboga, where it disembogues itself into the sea, the channel of Nermada is confined by a range of hills, or by a tract of elevated ground, in which numerous rivers take their rise; and by their subsequent course towards the Sone and Yamuna on one side, and towards the Tapati, and Oodaver on the other, sufficiently indicate the superior elevation of that tract through which the Nermada has forced its way.

I shall have subsequent occasion to mention the lofty ridge that connects Amracantac with the spot to which the sources of the Damodar may be traced.

If it be true, as appearances strongly indicate, and as tradition partly confirms, that the sea once washed the foot of the Himalaya mountains, Hindustan was then submerged, and the Deccan must have been an island, the northern shore of which was the vind'hya range.

The uniform flatness of the country, the shallowness of the soil, and its sandy bases, in the whole tract from Janeser, along the banks of the Saraswote and Yamuna, to both seas, appear to warrant this conjecture, which is rendered still further probable by the sands and fens that lie between Sindhu and Gurjasa, and by the forests in which the numerous mouths of the Ganges meet the sea.

The legend of Bhagirat'ha assigning a channel to the Ganges, is

* Derived from vi, denoting opposition, and d'hyai to think. This meaning of the name of Vind'hya, or tropical mountain, is confirmed by a verse in an epic poem on the death of SISUPALA, (6. 4. 2.) where mount Raivate is described as emulating Vind'hya again to check the course of the sun.

is evidently founded on a tradition, which supposes Hindustan to have been once submerged; the legends concerning Parasu Rama's extorting the shores of the Cocana and Malaya from the ocean, are, in like manner, evidences of a tradition that the sea has receded from the coast of Malabar; and there is direct evidence that it has retired from the eastern coast.

But whether the conjecture, that has been just now hazarded, be well or ill founded, the notions which it suggests are conformable with a just idea of the northern bounds of the Vind'hya hills. Their southern limit, as already observed, is the river Godaveri.

The vast extent of this mountainous tract, contrasted with the small elevation of these hills, viewed from the plains of Hindustan, has furnished grounds for a legend, to which the mythological writings of the Hindûs often allude: Vind'hya having once prostrated himself before his spiritual guide, *Agaslya*,* still remains in that posture by command of the holy personage. This humiliation is the punishment of his presumption in emulating the lofty height of Hemalaya and Meru. According to this legend, Vind'hya has one foot at Chunar; and hence the real name of that fortress is said to be Cherenadri.† His other foot is, I think, placed, by the same legend, in the vicinity of Gaya. The vulgar, very inconsistently, suppose the head of the prostrate mountain, near the temples of Vind'hy Vasini, four miles from Mirzapur.

If the goddess Bhawani have, in the present age of the world, fixed her abode on Vind'hya chula, as the priests of those temples affirm, quoting Puranas to prove her predilection for this mountain, she has made choice of an inhospitable region. The vast tract of mountainous country, to which the name of Vind'hya appertains, is mostly covered with forest, or is inhabited by mountaineers, as well as the woods, which they have imperfectly cleared. In few places, within the skirts of the eastern portion of this mountainous region, have the Hindûs, and still less the Muzlems, intruded much on the possessions of these uncivilized tribes; or where they have done so, they have become almost as savage as the people among whom they have settled. A bad soil, and the want of navigation, are the chief discouragements to the progress of arts in the eastern portion of that vast tract to which the name of Vind'hya appertains.

From these general remarks, I proceed to more particular observations, made in the progress of my journey, and during my stay among the hills of Bind'h.

In sight of Mirzapur, at the distance of about five miles from it, my fellow‡ travellers and myself ascended the Gortola, or Gortotwa pass, and encamped about two miles from it, under a dismantled stone fort, near a small village. The pass is steep and difficult; and the road, on the brow of the hill, leads through a forest of leafy butea:‖ indeed, the whole range of

* Even the name of Agaslya is, by some etymologists, derived from terms which bear allusion to this legend.

† From Cherena, a foot; and Adri, a mountain.

‡ Capt. H. Lennon accompanied me in the command of the escort; and Mr. D. Turnbul, as surgeon of the residency.

‖ Butea frondosa, named Palas, or Dhac.

of hills, near Chunar and Mirzapur, exhibits the same appearance. The ascent is every where steep, and the verge of the hill is either bare rock, or lies near the surface; quarries are easily worked, and they afford excellent stand-stone, which is carried to Benares, and more distant places. It is mostly quarried in the small hills, detached from the Vind'hya range, which are near to the river, and more accessible to carts.

On the table land, the soil is very poor, and, therefore, sparingly cultivated, for eight or ten miles from the brow of the hill. Proceeding from the village, where we encamped above the pass, we immediately struck into a forest, consisting chiefly of butea, and of emblick phyllanthus.* We saw no signs of culture for eight miles, except near the depopulated village of Sunri. After traversing a cultivated country of equal breadth, and again passing a forest similar to the first, we reached Gherawel in three days. Thence the road lay through a cultivated country, by the way of Shahgenj and Adilgenj, to Roap, near the head of the Ecpowa pass.

In this tract we remarked much rice had been reaped; we saw fine crops of wheat on the ground, as well as linseed, chiches,† pigeon peas,‡ and tares:|| we noticed many fields of sugar-cane; and, near the large towns, orchards of mango-trees; but the soil is in general poor; it requires frequent fallows; and, after all, it is said to yield but scanty crops in the best seasons.

On the edge of the forest, towards the cultivated country, peacocks and brown partridges abound; black antelopes range the open country; white-footed antelopes are found in the deepest woods;—and tigers infest the skirts of the forest: we found, however, little encouragement to pursue game, during several halts it became necessary to make, for the purpose of giving time to the dealers in corn to collect supplies, before we crossed the Sone, to strike into a desolate forest on the southern banks.

We took advantage of the last halt made on this account, at the head of the Ecpowa pass, to visit the fort of Bejeygerh, which is twelve miles distant from Roup.§ This fortress, famous for the siege conducted by lieutenant-colonel, now major-general, Popham, is situated on the highest pinnacle of an extensive range of peaks, which rise considerably above the general level of the table land: the rock on which the fortress stands, is so steep, even on its most accessible side, and when the contiguous hills approach nearest to the same elevation, that Bejeygerh seems almost impregnable, unless by famine, provided it be defended by a spirited garrison. On the northern and western sides, the precipice overhangs the plain; to the east, a valley disjoins Bejeygerh from the range of hills lying in that direction. On the southern side, contiguous hills, much inferior, however, to the level of the fort, permit the approach of besiegers within range of cannon; and furnish footing, whence the fort might perhaps be escaladed, after damaging its defences. The place is fortified by a wall, built up from the edge of the precipice,

* Emblick Myrobalan, in Hindû called Aunla. † Chana, aeir arietenum.

‡ Arher, Cytisus cojan. || Masúr, Ervum bis permum.

§ Bejeygerh bears S. E. by E. from Roup, seems distant 8 or 9 miles horizontal distance; but the road between these places is circuitous

cipice, with a narrow rampart, whence musketry, or wall pieces, might be discharged by persons in a sitting posture; there is no room for artillery, and it does not, indeed, appear to have been ever the intention of any possessor of this fortress to defend it by cannon. The wall runs along the extreme verge of the hill, enclosing the whole summit of it; hence it has been often necessary to begin the outer part of the wall forty or fifty feet below the parapet. This, while it gives a stupendous appearance to the edifice, does, in fact, considerably weaken it, and the wall is giving way in many places. Following all the windings of the hill, the fort has some irregular bastions: but, in general, although the parts of the wall do not well flank each other, yet, from the difficulty of access to it, the place can scarcely be taken by a regular siege.

Within the wall is a house built in the Indian style, and adapted for the abode of women; another building, formerly allotted for stores and ammunition; the ruins of some temporary edifices, three ponds or cisterns cut in the rock; and a small house near the tomb of a Muslem saint, Zeineé Lâbden, who is said to have died there three or four centuries ago. Two of the cisterns are named after Rama and his brother Lacshman; as usual, there is also a Silacund. The fort has a good gateway on the western side, and a small wicket on the southern.

We breakfasted in an apartment over the gateway; and thence contemplated with pleasure the extensive landscape before us. Close to the foot of the hill, a very small rivulet winds among woods: the Khagher, a more considerable stream, passes at the distance of a mile or two. A bridge, consisting of eleven equal arches, has been built over it; and forms a contrast with the wildness of the woods contiguous to this rivulet. Towards the north, the country is cultivated. A lofty edifice at Casuma, six miles distant, and some well-built houses near other villages north of the fort, relieve the eye, when fatigued with viewing the barren peaks that bound the western horizon, or the hills covered with forest towards the south. The weather was not clear enough to afford a view of the distant fort of Agari, beyond the Sone, nor of the river itself, where it approaches nearest to Bijeygerh. In that direction, nothing but mountain and forest was visible, excepting a few spots where the mountaineers have cleared small fields for cultivation.

The prevalence of forest renders Bejeygerh a very unwholesome spot. The garrison, placed in it after it was captured by the British forces, was for this reason gradually reduced to a small party of Sepahis, under the command of a hawaldar, or native serjeant. At length it was found necessary to withdraw this also; and the place is now guarded, for form sake, by a dozen Matchlockmen, under the orders of an honorary Keladar, who resides on his own estate a few miles distant from the fort.

I have formed no certain information of the ancient history of this fortress. It would no doubt be chosen, for its natural strength, as a strong hold, by the first Hindû, or mountaineers, that settled in the neighbouring plains. Its name does not evidently indicate the founder: Vijeya signifies victory, and is a title of Arjuna, the friend of Crîshná, and also the name of a demigod, who is one of Siva's attendant

tendants. The modern history of the place is connected with that of Agori, which we also visited, as will be forthwith mentioned.

At noon we returned from Bejeygerh to our encampment near Roup; and the next morning descended the Caimur hills, by the Ecpowa pass. Notwithstanding the change of name, we had not found an intervening valley, nor any other line of separation, to distinguish these from the hills we ascended at Gortowa. In fact, the double range of mountains, which confines the narrow valley through which the Sone runs, is only a portion of the extensive Vind'hya, though one lofty ridge obtains the name of Caimur.

Two miles from Roup we came to the head of the pass. The descent was very steep and unsafe for about a hundred yards: the rest, for a mile and a half to the foot of the pass, was gradual, and sufficiently safe; except one very dangerous spot near half way from the brow of the mountain. Here the road turns abruptly, twice, on the brink of the precipice; and being very narrow, is awefully dangerous: but the whole length of this perilous spot, not exceeding fifty yards, might, at a very moderate expense, be rendered securely passable, by splitting a few rocks with gunpowder.

We recommended this expedient to the Raja of Agori, who had met us on the frontier of his estate near Gherawel, and who still accompanied us. He was professedly anxious to encourage the new commerce opened between Mirzapur and the Deccan, by a route which traverses his estate. But the expedient proposed to him for making the Ecpowa pass less dangerous, was deemed impracticable without the aid of an engineer; because the stone cutters near Chunar and Mirzapur, being accustomed to quarry with iron wedges, are unacquainted with the mode of splitting rocks with gunpowder. It appears, however, that this method is well-known, and much practised in the Deccan. An expedient as efficacious in the opinion of Hindûs at least, for obviating the dangers of a road, which turns abruptly on the edge of a precipice, had been already adopted. A few stones on the brink of the precipice had been daubed with minium, and thus converted into an idol, representing Bhawáni of Ecpowaghàt. A Brahmin stood there, ready to receive the oblations made to the goddess by votaries willing so to purchase a safe passage for themselves and their cattle.

Whether owing to the oblations which our Hindû attendants made there, or to our own good fortune, I will not undertake to determine: but the elephants, camels, horses, and oxen, all reached the foot of the pass in safety. We thence looked up with some awe to the brow of the mountain, whence rocks seemed almost to overhang the road, at the elevation of a quarter of a mile above it.*

The rock, so far as may be judged from the fragments near the road, and in the bed of the Khagher, which we twice crossed at the foot of

* By a measurement taken from the opposite bank of the Sone, with a good sextant, and with separate observations for two measured basis, one of 50, the other of 400 yards, I found the height of a conspicuous peak called Mangeswar to be 480 yards above the bed of the river; and two miles distant from the place where the observations of its altitude were made.

of the pass, is quartz. Large masses of milky quartz lay in the bed of the rivulet, and exhibited an appearance, which was novel to us, and therefore interesting. The overhanging rocks on the brow of the mountain, and the perpendicular wall, which forms the precipice below them, are discoloured and have almost the common appearance of the exterior surface of milky quartz, when it has been long exposed to the atmosphere.

The banks of the rivulet, and the sides of the road where it did not approach too near the precipice, are covered with thick woods. I did not then remark the different sorts of trees that composed them; but the forest, that occupies the greatest part of the valley, in the midst of which the Sone runs, contains Pterocarpus sisoo, sol, &c. Swietenia, frebriruga Dyospyros, Ebenus, Sterculiamens, Nanelia orientulis, Mimosa catechue, butea frondosa nyetanthes, arbor, tristis, asen cah wa macuphul, bombax keptaphyllum, bombax, gossypenem, ficus, recenosa, bignonia chelnoides, phylluthus, emblica, rychnas, novomica, with many other trees of various sizes from the Indian figtree, to the rhammes jajubar.

We encamped near a very small village, at the foot of the pass. The rajah of Bijeypur, who had accompanied us from the neighbourhood of Mirzapur, encamped with the rajah of Agari, and the respective attendants, on the other side of the village. In the evening we were suddenly alarmed by a noise from their camp, that indicated loud and violent contention, among hundreds of persons. We sent to enquire the cause, and were soon relieved from the apprehension of a quarrel having arisen among the attendants of these Rajeput chiefs. The two rajahs are allied by frequent intermarriages between their families. It is the custom among Brahmins, and Rajputs, belong to the sect called Madhyandina,* to exchange contumelious language by way of sport, at the celebration of a wedding. This pastime was now renewed, as is often done at the entertainments of persons allied by affinity.

The contumelious language, here alluded to, consists chiefly in addressing to each other, terms signifying relation by affinity. Such terms convey an insult, because they imply the boast of favours, received from the female relations of the insulted party. It is almost needless to add, that, in the homely language of the vulgar, the same reproach, by way of boast, or of menace, is expressed in gross and explicit phrases. But I must not conceal, that the atrocious practice of destroying female children, which prevails among some tribes of Rajputs, has its source in fastidious pride, which cannot brook appellations absurdly deemed contumelious.

The next day, while the baggage proceeded to Canech, on the banks of the Sone, we made an excursion to visit the fort of Agari, at the distance of seven or eight miles from our last encampment. The guides conducted us by a pathway, which crosses obliquely, that lies between the Sone and the hills. Leading from village to village, the path winds greatly through intermediate woods, for it rarely meets cultivated spots, which are but thinly scattered in a valley overspread by forest. The fatigue of

* Their religious ceremonies are conducted according to the rule prescribed by Myádhandain. School of the Yajurveda.

of our excursion was rewarded by much pleasure, in viewing the picturesque situation of Agari, The citadel is a fortified house, on the summit of a small hill, that rises from the southern bank of the river. Walls built around it, on the declivity of the hill, constitute the fort. This contains a hall of audience, between the citadel and the gate; and communicates, by a double wall, with a large well at the foot of the hill. Within the gate stands the remains of an old building, which is said to have been once a lofty edifice. CHET SINH pulled down the upper stories, and was proceeding to demolish this building, with the rest of the fort, until an inscription was found, which contained a solemn imprecation on the person, who should destroy the place. Superstition compelled the rajah of Benares not only to desist from his intention, but to repair the fort.

The place is only fortified against musketry; being commanded by a hill whence shot would plunge into the fort, it is not tenable against artillery. But that hill, covered with wood, adds to the picturesque beauties of the spot. A continued range of mountain, in no place very distant from the river, and the Sone itself flowing majestically between banks covered with forest, complete the beauty of the scenery. The Nilotica Misnosa,* and shrubby Lythrum,† cover the hill, both within and without the walls of the fort. They were now in full bloom; and the contrast of colour, together with the fragrance of the Acacia, enchanced the pleasure received from viewing a romantic landscape.

By the route of Agari, we were told, major Crauford brought the timely reinforcement, which he led from Ramgerh, to assist in quelling the rebellion of Chet Sinh. His seasonable arrival turned the flight of the rebel, who was already discomfited by the British forces. The expulsion of an oppressive prince, and contumacious tributary was effected. And while Chet Sinh received the reward of his offences; the ancient rajahs, whom he had driven from their possessions, were restored to their estates.

Agori, with the pergunah of Berher, now belongs to rajah Renbehadur, who claims descent from a family of Chandel Rajputs which long flourished in Bundilcund. His ancestor, rajah Permalic, reigned at Mahoba, the then capital of Bundil, but having been much weakened by a war, in which he had engaged with a tribe of Chohaus near Delhi, he was expelled in the reign of Sultan âla uden Gauri, and retired to the banks of the Sone.‡ Here his descendants built the forts of Berdi, and Agori. The elder branch of the family still enjoys a principallity, of which Berdi is the capital. The youngest branch flourished at Agori, and obtained possession of Bijeygerh, with the adjoining districts, which became the separate allotment of a younger brother of this branch of Chandels. By sharing the tribute of Sinhraula, the rajahs of Berdi and Agori, still retain a trace of their common descent from the Chandel prince, who first subjected that chiefship to his own domination. While Berdí retained a virtual independence, the rajahs of Agóri and Bijeygerh

* Babul, Misnosa nilotica. † Dhau; Lythrum frute cosum.

‡ The Chohaus, expelled from Dehli, by the Muslems, sought refuge in the same mountaineous region, and again became the neighbours of their ancient rivals.

Bijeygerh became subject to the Moghul government. They paid neither revenue nor tribute, until they were dispossessed by Belwent Sinh, but their heirs were restored by Mr. Hastings, after the expulsion of Chet Sinh, and now hold their respective estates, as Zemindars, with their hereditary jagirs allotted to them.

Belwent Sinh, and his successor Chet Sinh, had pursued the same policy throughout the province of Benares, expelling all the rajahs, and prescribing the very name of Zemindars; Mr. Hastings, on considerations of prudence and justice, reinstated the rajahs; and Mr. Duncan, under the order of lord Cornwallis, restored the Zemindars, conferring on them the rights of landholders.

The rajah of Bijeygerh, who accompanied us to the foot of the Caimúr hills, is another instance of tyranny on the part of Belwent Sinh, and equity on that of the British government. Raja Ramghulam Sinh is the descendant of Jubraj, from whom, as first by birth and rank among the rajahs of this province, Belwent Sinh himself received symbol of his inauguration as a rajah.* He nevertheless expelled the son of Jubraj, and the heirs were not reinstated until after the discomfiture and flight of Chet Sinh.

This very ancient family of Gherwar rajputs deduces its origin from Jeychend, who reigned at Canary, and was dethroned during Taimur's invasion of Hindûstan. He retired to Benares, where his posterity flourished for several generations, until one of his descendants, being defeated by the Muslems, was compelled to embrace their faith, for the sake of preserving his life. He was permitted to hold the district of Kera mengror, near Benares. His children retained their religion, and maintained, their possession of a tract of country, south of Ganges, This territory, which extended from the neighbourhood of the fort of Chunar, to the river Tawns, but which was subsequently reduced within narrower limits, was shared by three rajahs of the Gerwar tribe. Aiswarya Sinh, the heir of one branch of this family, holds Mara; another branch of it lately possessed the district of Daya, both in the province of Ilahabad, and subject to the Nawab of Ayud'h. Ramghulam Sinh, the heir of the elder branch of Gherwars, has the dismantled fort of Bejeypur, together with a part of the estate of his ancestors, and a jagir granted by the British government.

From this brief abstract of traditions, preserved by Chandel, and Gherwar rajputs, and parts confirmed by the general voice, which acknowledges the royal descent, and great antiquity of these houses, I return to the narrative of the journey.

Again crossing the Sone, we returned to the high road; and, after once more passing the Khugher, and several times crossing low but steep hills that stand detached from the Caimur range, we reached our encampment at night, drenched by rain, which overtook us on the way. The weather cleared up for a few hours the following day; and we took advantage of that intermission of rain to cross the Sone and encamp at Cot'ha. As the river abounds with dangerous quicksands, precautions had been taken to ascertain a ford where the bottom was sufficiently firm to bear elephants. The cattle past

* Acirelet on the forehead in the symbol: and it is with his foot, not his hand, that an ancient Hindû prince exalts a plebeian to equal rank with himself.

past without accident and almost without alarm.

The day was followed by a tempestuous night, and, though the weather was clear the next morning, we were obliged to protract the halt, that the tents might dry. At this dismal spot, close to the edge of a vast forest, we received the melancholy tidings of the massacre at Benares. Grief for the loss of friends, from whom we had so lately parted, prepared us to commence our journey next day, through a desolate forest, in a very gloomy temper of mind.*

Before we proceed on this dismal portion of the journey, I must pause to remark that the Soné is not here deemed navigable, in any season of the year, for boats larger than canoes. Rocks are the reputed impediment to its navigation. The valley, through which the river runs, is thus deprived of carriage for its productions. Encouragement for the resort of settlers, and for the industry of the few peasants, who already inhabit it, is wholly wanting. Excellent timber stands useless in the valley, and on the southern range of mountains. Even the more valuable productions of the hills and forests are but sparingly gathered. Lac, honey, and gevens of various sorts, the manures and seed Bambus; the starch of Ticór, (Tikhor) ginger, and root of long pepper, the nuts of Chironji, and many other drugs and condements, red bole, white chalk, and ore of iron, abound in the forest, and near the banks of the Sone, but little is exported to the markets of Benares.

For the sake of forming an opinion on the stones, that compose the mountains which the Sone has washed before it reaches Agórí, numerous specimens of pebble were collected from the sand of the river. The sand itself consists of larger particles of quartz, than are found in rivers flowing through a Champaign country; the pebble were much worn and rounded. Numerous specimens, variously coloured, were silicious, and struck fire with steel: none were obedient to the magnet, even when reduced to dust. Other specimens, also variously coloured, appeared to be fragments of argillaceous stones, that have a laminated texture. Small pieces, either of talc or mica were noticed among the sand.

Resuming our journey after a halt of one day, we struck into the forest within a mile of the Sone; and in three days reached the village of Bihser near Dúdhí, Pelwa (Doody Pula of Rennels map) situated at the distance of a few miles from the banks of the Canhás river. The road was a continued ascent and descent of hills, through a forest; in some parts thick, in others intermixed with grass, but no where exhibiting any signs whatsoever of cultivation, recent or ancient. We twice encamped in the forest, on the edge of rivulets, the course of which was already stopped by the dryness of the season. Later in the year, it would have been necessary to take another route by the banks of the Canhár for the sake of water, and which cannot be procured in this forest after the beginning of the hot season.

* In the preceding year an European adventurer, but of what nation is not known, took this route towards the Deccan, probably with the design of seeking his fortune in the service of native Princes. He was assassinated in the middle of the forest, a few miles beyond the limits of the British territories. The circumstance, had it been then known to us, would have added another gloomy tinge to the aspect of the forest.

season. Tigers are said to infest this tract: accordingly, the guides cautioned us against moving any part of our cattle and attendants before day-light. We did not however, observe the signs of any animal whatsoever, not even birds, in the desolate tract which we here traversed.*

The rock which constitute the hills on this side of the Soné, is not so much exposed as on the northern side of the river. It appears to be quantzore, but exclusively so; for argillaceous stones occupied the surface of the hills, and even the beds of water courses in many places. Among the very numerous kinds of trees, which compose the forest, the most conspicuous were the sala and boswellia. The fragrant gum, afforded by this last tree, resembles olibanum; and is, I suspect, sold in the markets of Hindûstan for that drug. Sterculia uren, common on the northern side of the Sone, yields a gum which has been mistaken for Tragacanth. Specimens of it, which were submitted in the preceding year to the inspection of very skilful persons, were pronounced to be exactly similar to the gum of the Astragalus Tragacantha. But the doubts, which were still retained, have been since confirmed by experience of merchants, who exported the gum of that Sterculia to the markets of Europe.

In our first day's march through this forest, and very soon after quitting the banks of the Sone, we crossed the boundary of the province of Benares; and entered the territories of the Jágírdár of Utharí. The limits indeed are not well defined: but the raja of Agorí, as a zemindar of the province of Benares, claims a very small portion of the forest; and seems disposed to acknowledge the rights of the Jágírdár.

At Bihrer a vakil met us on the part of Bhawani Sinh, who had recently succeeded to his father, Bud'h Sinh, Jagirdar of Ut'hari. Besides that Jagir in the district of Ramgerh, Bud'h Sinh acquired, by grant or purchase, the Tapesh of Dúdhí and Bérch, from the chief of Sirihraula, and from the Raja of Sérgúja. He also enjoyed a lease in perpetuity of Rampúr in Pergannah Belonjá, and formerly rented the Chaela of Bendú, in Sircar Rohtas. All these adjoin, and constitute a very singular and almost independent property, in a country remote from all commercial intercourse, and thinly inhabited by uncivilized mountaineers.

Round the village of Bihrer, and in other cultivated spots, which we viewed, as we approached the village, from the brow of a hill that overlooks it, the crops, then on the ground, consisted of wheat, barley, and chiches. Rice and flour were purchased in the village; much dearer, however, than might have been expected in so requestered a place. In the further progress of our journey through the forests of Serguja, rice and tares (Masúr, or Ervumbispermum) were the only sorts of grain which could be purchased. The supplies which we

* Birds are very scarce in the forests which we passed during this journey. Even in the most cultivated tract, and in the woods contiguous to them, neither the species of birds, nor the individuals, are so numerous in Berár, as in Bengal and Hindûstan. It is not improbable that tigers may abound in this vast forest. However, none were seen in the whole journey, except one half-grown tiger that crossed the road near Cóthí; and the elephants indicated once only that they smelled the ferocious animal, which they dread and abhor.

we brought from the banks of the Sone, could not suffice for all the camp followers, and the want of flour was felt as a serious inconvenience by the servants and porters, who were all accustomed to feed on rice.

From Bihrer we proceeded in four days through the Tapehs of Dud'hi and Berch, to the village of Cot'hi, belonging to Bijey Sinh, a disaffected chieftain of Sergúja. Very small villages are thinly scattered in this tract, at distances of four, five, and six miles from each other. In the last day's march, we proceeded sixteen miles without seeing an inhabited place, or any but slight traces of former culture in a single spot. The intermediate tract is a deep forest; through which a narrow road winds over hills that are accessible, or round such as are particularly steep. Wherever the road leads to a commanding eminence, the prospect of an undulated country, covered with majestic forests, is strikingly magnificent. In the valleys, the gloomy confined view is not un[illegible]ful.

The tract which we here traversed, is thinly inhabited by mountaineers; the inhabitants of Tapeh Dud'hi mostly belong to the tribe of Gonds; those of Berch are Kherwars and Paraiyahs; forests of Sergúja are occupied by Cóls Chórós, Kherwars, Bhuyniàrs and Ranees. Concerning these and other tribes of mountaineers, little information could be gained. Almost secluded from intercourse with civilized people, they are ignorant and suspicious. In one instance, they even showed a disposition to oppose our encamping near their habitations. And, after we had succeeded in conciliating the chief of the village, they still retained their suspiciousness; and remained, with their wives and children, peeping at our encampment from the top of a hill, which overhung the village. Even those who conversed most cheerfully with us, could not readily apprehend our questions, nor answer them distinctly in the common dialect of India.

Their own dialects are peculiar to their own tribes, or common to two or three tribes only.

The Bhuyniars are particularly entitled to the name of mountaineers; they frequent the highest spots, and deepest forests, neglect husbandry; and employ themselves in gathering the produce of the woods, especially the resin of the sál, which they exchange for grain and other necessaries of life. The other tribes follow the practice of agriculture. The Gonds appear to be most advanced towards civilization; and they imitate the manners, and practise the religious observations of Hindûs. The Ranees are said to be Mohammedans. Other tribes of mountaineers are not restricted from any particular diet, nor do they seem to hold any animal unclean. They refrain, however, from the flesh of kine.

In answer to enquiries concerning his religious notions, a Kherwar affirmed, that he often prayed to Narayan; but he added, that he worshipped a neighbouring hill, called Paspahr; and he showed us the monument, as well as the hills above named: he acknowledged, that he sacrifices goats on solemn occasions.

By a tacit consent among their various tribes, which are habituated to different pursuits of industry, the Bhuyniárs exclusively practice the gathering of the resin of sal. In the beginning of the rainy season,

son, they wound such trees, as have been selected by them, for the purpose; and take off the bark, two feet above the ground, leaving the wood bare the breadth of six or eight inches. The resin exudes with the descending sap, and accumulates in this ring. It is gathered in the winter; and the tree, no doubt, perishes in the same season. So improvident a mode of collecting the resin accounts for its containing few besides young sal trees. This fact was particularly remarked by us; and the cause became obvious, when we were made acquainted with the motive for barking the trees. After passing the boundary of Sergujá, we observed great numbers of sál so barked; and we gathered specimens of the resin, for the sake of verifying a fact, which has been contested. After inspecting these recent specimens, I can safely affirm, that the resin, called Dammer from the Hindí name Dhúná, is the produce of the sál.

The Kherwars practise, but not exclusively, the preparation of starch from the root of Ticor, which they collect from the forest, without previous culture. The root is ground, and its pulp is mixed with water: and, without further manipulation, the starch settles at the bottom of the vessel, The water is poured off, and the starch is dried in the open air. From eight parts, by weight, of the root, one part of starch is obtained: and is commonly sold for an equal weight of salt.

The gummy resin, improperly called Terra Japonica, is prepared by the mountaineers from the Mimosa Catechu, (should be Cat'h) which abounds in these forests. Gum lac and wild silk are collected in the woods. Crude iron smelted at numerous petty iron works in Serguja; Myrobalans and the Cheronje nut are gathered in the forest. These, with other articles, which have been already hinted, are the objects of the little traffic that is carried on between Sergújá and Benares. We were informed by carriers, whom we met at different times, that they obtain those returns for salt and tobacco, which they bring from the province of Benares.

From Cóthi, the first village within Bijey Sinh's jurisdiction, we marched in three days to Herikerpúr, the southern limit of his possessions: the third march was employed in ascending and descending the Sim[illegible] pass. At our encampment below the pass, I received a visit from the son of Bijey Sinh. This chieftain belongs to the tribe of Gonds, and bears the title of Pówá, peculiar to that tribe; but he has adopted the manners of Hindú, and is treated as such by the Hindús of Sergújá. Though disaffected to the administration of the uncle and guardian of the minor rajah, he has not thrown off his allegiance. He pays contributions in lieu of revenue, but resists all other interference within his jurisdiction. From subsequent information it appeared, that he is not needlessly on his guard against the violence of the rajah's guardian.

Throughout Bijey Sinh's territory, as in that of Bhawni Sinh, which had been previously traversed by us, inhabited spots are thinly scattered in a vast forest. The villages however are rather more populous, and the cleared spots, are somewhat less confined, than in Bîrch and Duḍ'hí. The road winds excessively, through deep woods, and over very uneven ground, close to the foot of lofty eminences.

The

The road is stony, and the live rock is in many places exposed. From the banks of the Sone, to the Simset pass, we crossed numerous rivulets and water-courses, the stream of which is invariably directed to the westward. This fact indicates, that the ground is more elevated on the east towards the frontier of Blamú. In one rivulet, I remarked rocks of granite: in the banks of another, talc was found: mica, in dust, or cemented in concrete stones, was common in many places, both on hills and in the valleys. On which the summit of the Simset pass, and on its steep declivities, large pieces of talc, either detached, or combined with fragments of silicious stones, were abundant, but quartz is the most common rock throughout the whole of this mountainous tract.

From the 24th of January, when we encamped near the limits of Birch, to the 28th, when we traversed the Simset pass, the cold, which had gradually increased since we quitted the Sone, became intense. A hoar frost remained on the ground after sunrise, on the 25th and 26th. On the 27th, at sunrise, the thermometer stood at 24° of Fahrenheit's scale, and ten minutes after sunrise, it had only risen to 26°. Water had frozen in brass vessels; the pools were frozen in many places; and it remained on them, and, in the shade of the forest, for more than an hour; and on grass and trees, for more than two hours after sunrise. At noon, the thermometer had risen to 62°; and at ten o'clock at night had fallen to 31°. A thermometer, which had been exposed all night, was covered with isicles on the morning of the 28th; and stood, after sunrise, at 21°. Another, taken out of its case, exhibited $22\frac{1}{2}°$ and rose to 24°, when exposed for a few minutes to the air. Water had frozen in a leathern bag; and the grass and trees were covered with ice. Even after our march through the Simset pass, we found ice still unmelted at nine o'clock in the forenoon. This intense cold, between the latitudes of 23° and 24°, confirms a received opinion, that the climate of uncleaned countries, is colder than that of cultivated regions. Though we now travelled in a mountainous country, the elevation is quite insufficient to account for so great cold near the tropical limits.

At Heriherpur we met a numerous band of travellers proceeding to Benares. We had already met several other parties in different places. They were mostly pilgrims, from various parts of the Mahratta dominions.

The insults, and even personal danger, to which travellers were, at this time, exposed on all the other routes from the Deccan to Benares, compelled the pilgrims to choose this road, which is secure, though very circuitous and inconvenient.

After halting one day, to refresh the cattle and people, who were much fatigued by ten successive marches, we moved to Khergánwán; a village situated a mile south of the Máhánodí river. We this day traversed a cultivated country. Some spots indeed were waste; but even there the forest was thin, and seemed to have been formerly cleared and tilled. It exhibited the reverse of the picture which we had lately viewed, in forests, where the few cultivated spots that are found, are half filled with the stumps of trees, recently cut down.

Rice is the chief object of tillage in this tract. Barley and pulse were seen near the villages; but most

most of the tilled ground had already yielded its harvest, which had evidently consisted of rice.

The natural production of the forest, from which we had now emerged, are the same that have been already enumerated on the occasion of our reaching its northern skirt. Among trees, not already mentioned, are semercarpus, anacardium, bassia latifolia, and cratæva marmelos, which are said to grow wild in this forest. Among useful plants, are rubia, manjét'h, and genticina charayta, which the natives affirm to be common in these woods.

We were obliged to halt two days at this place, in consequence of a message received from the guardian of the minor rajah of Sergúja. My escort and retinue had been magnified by common rumour to a potent army; and the rajah's guardian feared, or pretended to fear, hostile designs. Absurd as were such apprehensions, yet a similar alarm had been taken by the chief of Sinhraula; and the Meksil chief of Chegerh also, whose country lay on the eastern side of our route, had armed to repel an expected invasion. In the present instance, the suspicions of the guardian were aggravated by the visit, which I received from the son of his enemy, Bijey Sinh. I therefore sent a confidential servant to conciliate the rajah's guardian, and to convince him of the absurdity of the apprehensions which he entertained. This was easily accomplished; and, after a delay of two days, we proceeded to Persá, and thence, on the subsequent day, to Sergúja.

The country which we traversed, was populous, and in general well cultivated; but in marches we past over a considerable tract of forest ground. Persa is a large village, and a mart for grain; and the first place, on the south of the Sone, to which either term is applicable. It was here that we fell into the route which was formerly travelled by Mr. Chapman, when proceeding to the court of Nagpúr, on a public mission. Mr. Chapman took the route of Ramgerh; pursuing a tract which was then, or but few years earlier, constantly beaten by merchants exporting silk from Bengal to Nagpúr. This traffic has now taken a different channel: and Mirzapúr is become its mart.

For a short time preceding and following the route in which we travelled, the traders who exported silk, spices, and other valuable merchandise to the Deccan, followed the same tract which we pursued. But commerce is now returning to the shorter and more convenient route of Ragheli'hand.

A fever, with which I had been some days afflicted, rendered it necessary to prolong our stay at Sergúja. This disorder did not assume the worst shape of what is denominated the forest fever; and very few persons besides myself, experienced any sickness of this kind, during our progress. It may, therefore, be safely pronounced, that a journey through the deepest forest is attended with little danger in the dry season. But in the rains it is highly dangerous. In two successive years, I received supplies of necessary articles of consumption by this route. The servants, and porters, having been each time dispatched from Mirzapúr, at too late seasons, were overtaken by the rains, and all suffered attacks of the forest fever in its worst form. It became a subject of much regret to me, that several persons

persons lost their lives by sickness, contracted in my service, through accidents, which disappointed the precautions I had taken to obviate a danger, of which I was sufficiently aware.

The continuance of sickness, during my stay at Serjúga, prevented the enquiries, which I intended to make at this place. The productions and commerce of the country, with other objects of research, upon which I could expect accurate information at no other place, were therefore uninvestigated. A few observations only can be here subjoined.

Sergúja is tributary to Berar. It belongs to a [illegible]put family, the heir of which is now a minor. The death of his father and predecessor, is said to have been hastened by the uncle, and present guardian of the rajah; and the same fate is supposed to await the young chieftain, at the hands of his unnatural kinsman. Serjuga is chiefly inhabited by tribes of mountaineers. Hindûs are settled in the province, but in no great number; and a few Afghan horsemen find service at this place. They fetch their horses from the annual fair, Beeser, on the Ganges; and the yearly tribute, amounting to the sum of 3,500 rupees only, is partly made good by delivering, at Retapur, horses imported from that fair. It was affirmed, that an increase of tribute had been lately demanded; and the claim was resisted, on the ground of uniform custom. If such a demand was really made, it has not been since enforced. Serjuga, situated in the midst of mountains, is naturally strong. It could not, indeed, resist the power of the government of Berar; but the inhabitants of Serjuga, without facing the Mahratta troops, would abandon their huts, and seek refuge, as they had formerly done, on similar occasions, in the recesses of the forest. The complete subjugation of the country might be ultimately effected; but at greater cost than the conquest is worth. Annual tribute, and the acknowledgment of subjection, but with imperfect obedience, are, for this reason, accepted by the rajah of Berar; or rather by his brother, on whose principality it is dependent.

After four days, the fever, by which I suffered, being then checked, I received a visit from the chief of Serjuga and his guardian, and we proceeded on our journey the following day. In five marches we traversed the southern part of Serjuga; and, the fifth day, proceeded towards Retapur. For more than thirty miles, the country was populous; the villages were frequent, and surrounded with arable land; but forests intervened in some places. The tops of the hills appeared to be wholly waste; and the vallies generally well cultivated. The road mostly followed the windings of the valley; it once or twice crossed a ridge of hills.

At our second encampment, the tents were pitched near a pond, which tradition makes to be the scene of a celebrated legending Dasarath, through an unhappy mistake, slew the son of a blind ascetick, while drawing water from a pond for his helpless parents. The name of the place, And'hala, is said to be founded on this event.

The third day we encamped within three or four miles of a very conspicuous hill, named Ramgerh, which had been seen and remarked from Serjuga, and which remained in sight even after we crossed

crossed the boundary of Chetesgerh. Annual fairs are held there, which invite a great resort from very distant places. Though esteemed a place of much sanctity, it is uninhabited, and is not even become the abode of a single devotee, or recluse, nor been honoured with a temple or any other edifice. The images of the Gods, as we learnt from enquiry, for we did not visit the spot, are left exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

In our fourth march, we found the road extremely bad. For nearly five miles it led us over rugged hills, but afterwards through a cultivated valley. Thence we again entered a forest, and encamped on the banks of a rivulet. The fifth march, we traversed a steep and difficult pass. The whole tract was mountainous, and the road, through uninterrupted forest, was even more fatiguing to our people and cattle, that the worst part of the route between the Sone and Serguja.

We that day pitched our tents within the limits of Chetesgerh, near a small village, in a very confined valley; and thence, in two marches, reached Chhuri, a populous town three miles south of the Hetsu river. The intermediate day, after crossing very craggy hills, and then passing an equal tract of less rugged country, which is, however, very sparingly cultivated, we encamped on a small hill, at the foot of a more lofty and conspicuous one, named Chendi. It is remarkable for a figure rudely delineated, either by nature, or by art, on a perpendicular precipice, and bears a real or fancied resemblance to a cock. This figure is worshipped under the title of Chendipet. From this place to Chhuri, the first half of the way is a stoney road, through thick forest, in a very narrow valley, the remainder of it traverses a well-cultivated country, interspersed, however, with some barren land, thinly covered with stunted forest.

Throughout the whole of our journey, we crossed numerous rivulets and water courses. But the Hetsu, or Nend-Hetsu, is the first that we saw, which could be dignified with the name of river. Its course, from the west to the east, demonstrates that the highest land lies to the westward. In fact, it has its source on the same spot, whence two celebrated rivers, the Sone and Nermada flow; one towards the n[illegible], and the other towards the west. Amercantac, in which are the fountains of these three rivers, must evidently be the highest ground in the Vind'hya range of mountains. The course of the Nermada shows the direction of the highest range towards the west. At the Simset pass, we crossed that range extending towards the east, and again another branch of it on the confines of Chetesgerh, and Serguja.

The place where we crossed the Hetsu, cannot be more than forty miles horizontal distance from Amercantac. At Retunpur, which is further from that mountain, the computed travelling distance, on a very winding road, was stated at eighteen gondi cos, or thirty-six gao cos, equal to sixty-five miles of road distance. The mountain is said to be surrounded by forest for several days journey. The extreme cold, which was attributed to it by the persons from whom we made enquiries concerning that mountain, is a further indication of its great height. It is sometimes visited by pilgrims, but the fables, which are recounted concerning the place, are too absurd

for repetition. Serpents of the Boa kind may really abound there, but the size to which they are said to grow is too extravagant for belief. It is pretended, that the fountains of all three rivers have been inclosed within one bason of masonry, from which the infant streams are allowed to flow. Whatever credit we might have been disposed to give this asseveration, was completely forfeited by subsequent gradations of anility. It is strange, that the absurdest fables should be current even among a credulous vulgar, at a short distance from the spot. The only fact which I will venture to affirm, on the authority of answers to enquiries here made, is, that the boundaries of three provinces, which had, until lately, three different masters, meet at Amercantac. They are Garah, Sohagpur and Chetesgerh.

The Hetsu does not become navigable, so near its source, for boats larger than canoes: yet the vicinity of the river has probably contributed to render Ch'huri, and the surrounding districts, a populous and well-cultivated country. Here, for the first time since we crossed the Sone, we obtained supplies of flour, chich peas, and other meal and pulse, which our servants and attendants, being natives of Hindûstan, unwillingly forewent, while traversing a country, in which nothing could be procured besides rice and tares. Clarified butter, instead of oil of Bassia, which the mountaineers abundantly supplied, was a change that seemed more indifferent to them. That oil, when recent, is a good substitute for butter, in cooking, at least, if not for other uses.*

Ch'huri is one of the thirty six towns and forts, which give name to the province of Chetésgerh. It is a mart, not only for corn and various productions of industry, but also for gum lac, and other produce of the forest. In fact, the district dependent on Ch'huri, though a well-cultivated country, when compared with that which we had before past, contains much forest.

The trees that compose the woods between Serguja and this place, belong to the same kind which were noticed in the former part of the journey. Some have been already enumerated; others, the botanical names of which have not been ascertained, would be needlessly mentioned by appellations which they bear in the vernacular dialects, or even in the Hindû language. The most common trees were the Sal Boswellia and Piyal: many noble climbers, mostly belonging to the convolvulus kind, add greatly to the beauty of the forest.

On the hills, which we past after entering the limits of Chetesgerh, argillaceous grit seemed to be the most common stone. But, after crossing the Hetsu, we found on its southern bank, low hills, that consisted of micacious rock. Within the limits of Serguja, the prevailing stone is pure quartz, and fragments of it are often found in concrete stone combined with micabyan argillaceous cement. Not a single specimen of calcarious stone was observed.

It was found necessary to halt at Ch'huri for the sake of refreshing the people and cattle, and to collect supplies of grain. During two days that our encampment remained there, the curiosity of the inhabitants

* It is probably the same which Mr. Park found in the internal parts of Africa; and which he names the shea, or butter tree. His description of the fruit corresponds exactly with the drupe of the Rassia.

inhabitants seemed unsatiated. A crowd of spectators continually surrounded the tents. The sight of Europeans must have been more novel and extraordinary to the mountaineers in the former part of our journey. Yet they rarely approached the encampment. Their fears probably overcame their curiosity. But at populous places, such as Serguja, Persa and Ch'huri, the inhabitants gathered confidence from their numbers, and ventured to view us at leisure.

From Ch'huri we reached Retupur in three days. The first days we travelled through a cultivated country interpersed with tracts of waste land, covered with grass, and with stunted trees. Among these, the leafy butea was most conspicuous. The practice of annually burning the grass, during the dry season, for the sake of obtaining younger shoots for the pasture of cattle, is the probable cause that the forest is here stunted. The effects of fire were plainly marked on the trunks of the trees. In open plains, covered with grass, when fire is communicated to standing hay, in the dry season, and whilst a strong wind blows, the flame rages with so much fury and rapidity, that persons, travelling in narrow paths, are exposed to great danger.

At different places, in the course of the journey, the baggage and attendants were, from this cause, endangered. In one instance the peril was imminent, but followed by a happy escape.

The second day, we traversed an extensive forest, over ground very stoney and uneven. A chain of lofty hills, which we observed the preceding day on our right, and another, less elevated, which we noticed on the left, are connected by a low ridge, which we this day crossed. The stone was quartzoze, with some silicious grit. A few specimens of this last sort had been also noticed in the valleys of Serguja.

The third day, we travelled over a well-cultivated, and populous plain. We were welcomed by the Subahdar of Retunpur, who met us at the distance of three or four miles from the town, and we encamped on the skirts of it, at the foot of a small hill, which bears the name of Ramtec, from a temple erected upon it by the late Bimbaji, in imitation of one that stands near Nagpur. The image of the founder has been placed in a building similar to the temple. The figure stands in a praying posture, opposite to the idols of Ram Lashinan, and Sita. This method of placing a marble representative, to continue the devotional practice of the principal after his decease, has been adopted by Mahratta ladies and chieftains, in many other places.

Bimbaji was uncle of the present rajah of Berar, and had, for his appanage, or separate allotment, Chetesgerh, and other eastern provinces, in the same manner that Vincaji, the rajah's brother, now holds them. Bimbagi made Retunpur his constant abode, and his widow still resides here. We received from her, and returned, compliments and civility, and paid a visit to her, at her abode within the fort, which very ill deserves to become the habitation of a prince.

Retunpur is the chief town of the northern half of Chetesgerh, as Rayapur is of the southern portion of the same province. It was formerly held by an independent prince to Hacheya, or Harho tribe of Rajputs. One branch

branch of the family held Retunpur, another Rayapur. Both were subjugated by the Mahrattas about the time when these were accustomed to make annual incursions into Bengal. One branch of that ancient family is extinct; the other enjoys a very small provision for its maintenance, and has sunk into obscurity. The former proprietors of Retunpur have left manifest traces of their religious devotion, in the numerous temples erected by them, and the ponds excavated, for the gratification of piety, rather than for public use. No fewer than seven hundred ponds are reckoned in the vicinity of Retunpur.

The town is not large, but is populous in proportion to its precints. It contains edifices of masonry; some of which are dwelling-houses, but none are temples. It is entirely surrounded, at the distance of one or two miles in every direction, by very low hills, which, in some places, do not exceed twenty feet, in none seem to rise above sixty. A chain of similar low hills takes an easterly direction. The whole province of Chetesgerh is mountainous; and, though some tracts are well-cultivated, it is too remote from great markets, for its produce to find a profitable vent.

The husbandry, in the immediate vicinity of the town, exhibited traces of a crop of rice. The standing fields consisted of wheat, chich pease, linseed, and some coriander. At the distance of a few miles, several sugar mills were noticed.

More birds were found near Retunpur, than in the former part of the journey. In the forests, scarcely a single bird of any kind was ever seen. But here, snipes, wild ducks, teal, gallinulles, and other sorts of water fowls, were found in the ponds, or on the edges of them. Quails abounded in the fields: a single bustard (otis India) was seen. Kites and crows were sufficiently numerous near the town.

On the edges of the ponds, we noticed many rude furnaces, or boiling places. There exists an economical practice, which I have not seen in any other part of India: namely, the washing of clothes in boiling water. Every where else, linen is washed in cold water, and beaten on stones or boards. The example of Retunpur might be advantageously copied in other Indian towns.

Necessary arrangements detained us three days at Retunpur. Resuming our journey, we reached Déocaar in seven days, including one half, after a forced march. The road passes the towns of Tekhtpur, which are reckoned among the thirty-six forts or towns that give name to the province. The country is a plain, gently undulated, and is watered by numerous rivulets, which all flow in an easterly direction.

A chain of hills, on the right, gradually recedes from the road. The country is open, and, by comparison with other tracts, which we traversed, may be termed populous, and well-cultivated. But the waste ground, covered with grass, and, in some places, with stunted trees, much exceeds the arable land. The soil is clayey: argillaceous stones were remarked in the banks of the rivulets. In a few spots, on the plain, the base rock, consisting of silicious grit, was exposed to view; in one rivulet, calcareous stones were remarked: and small pieces of talc were found in the beds of most

rivulets,

rivulets, both in this tract, and in that which we had before traversed.

The population consists chiefly of mountaineers, belonging to tribes which have adopted the manners of Hindûs. and have even assumed the sacerdotal thread. In the wilder parts of the province, the mountaineers are said to retain their original manners. The industry of the peasant is employed in cultivating wheat, linseed, chiches, pidgeon pease, kidney beans, and tares. All these were now on the ground. Rice had been reaped in its season; and also mays, panic, Indian millet, and other sorts of grain. Some sugar-cane, tobacco, and safflowers, were noticed near the villages. We here remarked, with pleasure, that the harvest is transported on carts, from the field to the village. The same practice prevails near Nàgpur. It is unaccountable, that it should be universally neglected in Bengal, and in Hindustan.

Scarcely a single plant of cotton was seen. But we twice met, on the road, carriers conducting loads of raw cotton towards Catalu, a mart near Catac. They had provided the loads at places not very distant from the spots, where we met them, but situated in the hilly parts of the province. It is strange, that they should load cattle with raw cotton, which, by their own account, will only account, when cleared of seed and dirt, one-third its weight in cotton wool. They stated the prime cost of each load at six rupiyas, the charge of transport at five, and their expectation of the market at twenty. The profit would be still greater upon cotton wool.

The produce of cotton in Chetesgerh cannot be considerable, for great quantities of cotton wool are annually transported from Nagpur. At this last-mentioned place, it is sometimes laden on canoes and small boats, to descend the Mahanada: but the navigation is not so advantageous as to render the practice of it general.

Chetesgerh exports to Nagpur rice and wheat by land carriage; but the charges of transport are so great, that the traders cannot afford a large price to the peasant. Grain is very cheap in this part of the province. But the exactions of rent, if the peasants may be believed, are exorbitant. According to information received from them at Newagerh, Mungeli, and other places, confirmed too by subsequent enquiries at Nagpur, the rents are here regulated by the number of ploughs: and no land measure of any kind is employed, or even known. Four oxen are allowed for each plough; and a tax is levied at rates varying between ten and sixteen rupiyas for the plough. Near Nagpur, the rate of the tax is more considerable, but is regulated in the same manner. We were already acquainted with this mode of adjusting rents, for it also prevails in Serguja, and in Dudhi and Birch.* But the tax, in these last-mentioned districts, was stated at no more than one rupiya for each plough.† In answer to enquiries concerning the produce of land tilled by one plough, the peasants at Newagerh stated

* It prevails also in the northern provinces of Bengal, on the frontiers of Asam, Bhotan, and Moran.

† The Vakil of the proprietor, while he furnished this information, added, in a significant manner, that the peasants abscond, whenever it is attempted to raise the rent, or impose new assets and taxes.

stated the quantity of seed usually sown at four measures, and the produce at sixty. The measure contain about a hundred avoirdupoise pounds.

The other exports, besides grain, are oil, clarified butter, starch of Tickhor, gumlac, resin, wax, and honey. We met carriers returning with unloaded cattle; which, as they informed us, had conveyed resin and lac from Ch'hun to Nagpur. Another, and more numerous party, was returning with unloaded oxen to Murzapur. They had conveyed a very valuable adventure of silk.

At Tekhtpur we met a very large caravan of pilgrims, on their way to Benares. Many covered litters conveyed females, belonging to respectable families. Others, of less rank, rode on ponies. It is, however, common, though we did not then observe a single instance of the custom for ladies of high rank, amongst the Mahrattas, to ride on horseback. The caravan came from Poonah, but was augmented by the junction of some pilgrims, at Nagpur. In the subsequent years, caravans, still more numerous, past Nagpur, in their way to Benares, by the route of Serguja; and many pilgrims from Nagpur itself, took the same road. The annual resort of devout persons, from all parts of the Deccan, and especially from the Mahratta territories to Benares, Ilahabad, and Gaya, is great. Other roads being now unsafe, this route, though circuitous, is preferred by most pilgrims, as well as Hindûs, from the Deccan to Benares, as Mohammedans, from Bengal towards Surat, on their road to Mecca.

It had been intended, in conformity with the advice received at Retunpur, to proceed by the way of Dhemdha; but for the sake of pursuing the shortest route, if it should be found practicable, we were induced to continue in the direct tract towards Nagpur. We accordingly proceeded from Deocar to Khairagerh. This employed two days. In the latter part of the first day's march, the chain of hills, which disappeared near Newagerh, was again in sight. The second day we gradually approached the same range.

At Khairagerh it forms an amphitheatre, turning from a southwesterly to a southerly direction. The country is cultivated and populous; not, however, without some tracts of waste land covered with grass, interspersed with leafy butea jecube, and rhammes. Khairagerh, like Mungeli, and Newagerh, is surrounded with accacia. But the gum and bark do not become objects of trade; they are only used on the spot. As we approached Khairagerh, we found fields of cotton. The plant was intermixed with the pigeon-pea, and palma-christi. On the edge of the rivulet, that runs by Khairagerh, we remarked the culture of melons; and on its banks, ogg plants. A small field, the somniferous-poppy had been noticed at Mungeli.

The choice of four roads was now offered to us. The shortest was not deemed the most eligible; because steep passes, and a wide forest intervene. By the advice of a person who met us at this place, on the part of the Amil of Lanje, to whose jurisdiction Khairagergh appertains, we chose the route which was described as most practicable, and consequently most expeditious, though somewhat circuitous. It was further recommended, by the example of the

mother

mother of the raja of Berar, and his brother, Vincaje Bhoonsla, who were then proceeding, by that very route, to Retunpur, on their way to the temple of Jagannath, in Cuttac.

We moved from Khairagerh on the 3d of March, and fell into their tract, at Bergaon, on the 5th. They had encamped at this village three days earlier; and we found, in our subsequent progress, their march imprinted by *the desolation of all the small villages through which they had passed.* The inhabitants had fled from the depredations of their camp followers, and from the oppression of compulsory labour. This must be imputed to their attendants only; but military execution against some Zemindars, of Chetesgerh, for a trivial offence, and confiscations against eminent chiefs, in Cuttac, on a flimsy pretence, were subsequent acts, for which the prince himself, or his royal mother, must exclusively answer. In the pride of grandeur, and blindness of superstition, these personages have, perhaps, never reflected, that the guilt of the oppressor must outweigh the merits of the pilgrim, in the presence of the protector of this world.*

The highest extremity of the hills, which took a southerly direction from Khairagerh, bore due north from our encampment at Bergaon; detached hills occupied the western horizon, and on the south, a distant range of mountains could be perceived; and its direction was judged to be south-east.

Several chains of rocks cross the plain; they were, at this time, decorated by numberless trees of bombax-gossypium, in full blossom; and the yellow hue of these flowers was beautifully contrasted with the flame-coloured blossom of butea frondosa, equally abundant on the plain. The boswella added, by its own beauty, and by the fragrancy of its gum, to the delight which the elegance of the scenery afforded; and which consoled us for this approach to another forest, after marching three days through a populous and well-tilled country.

Proceeding from Bergaon, we crossed a low range of hills by a stoney, but very practicable pass, and marched three days through a forest, which is intersected by several rivulets, but rarely interrupted by culture. The few villages that were scattered in it, had been recently desolated, as already mentioned. The face of the country is undulated; but the road is covered with soil, and has few loose stones. However, the additional fatigue now sustained by the cattle, made us experience, with accumulated weight, the consequence of the hardships which the cattle had borne, in the very difficult roads before travelled by us. Two elephants had been left lame at the different places; four were disabled, by the galling of their backs, from carrying their usual burdens; several camels had died; and most of the rest were now either lame, or galled by their saddles. By assigning a part of their loads to the healthy cattle, and by fresh aid of hired oxen, we were enabled to proceed notwithstanding these increasing difficulties. We overtook in the forest, carriers, conducting towards Nagpúr, numerous droves of oxen, loaded with grain, especially linseed, sesamum, and wheat.

At

* Jagannath imports this meaning.

At Deim Cishari, where we encamped, on the third day from Bergaon, several large droves of cattle were detained for the adjustment of a *petty duty* of custom, levied then at the rate of one áná per load. Similar duties are collected at many other stations.

The loss of time, and the vexations, not to mention undue exactions, to which traders become thus exposed, are far more burdensome than the amount of the taxes so collected. No intermediate customs should ever be exacted within the territories of the same sovereign, between the place where the merchandize is purchased, and the market where it is sold. This obvious principle of finance is unknown to the government of Berar, and to most other native governments in India; and the carriers are exposed to exactions, more or less heavy, once, or even oftener, in every day's journey.

On the skirt of the forest we met traders going to Rayapúr, to load with cocoa-nuts for Nagpúr. The nuts are brought from the neighbourhood of the sea, where this sort of palm thrives better than in mountainous and inland countries. At Rayapúr they are laden on oxen, at the cost of twenty to twenty-five rupiyas for the load, and are sold at Nagpúr for twenty-seven to thirty rupiyas. Such, at least, is the statement that was given by these traders.

At Deuri Cishori we halted an additional day, for the double purpose of giving rest to the cattle, and allowing the Muslems, in our camp, to celebrate the great festival;* which they did, by erecting a temporary aidgah, where a couple of chapters of the Koran was read, for their edification, by one of my attendants, who had used foresight and precaution in obtaining the necessary instructions and authority from the cazi of Retunpúr.

Leaving Deurí Cishori on the 10th of March, we traversed the remainder of the forest, and encamped near a small village, at the foot of a pass, which was crossed by us the next morning; and we thence proceeded to Sundrygaon, passing numerous villages, intermixed, however, with patches of forest.

Here, and in the whole tract from Bergaon to this place, the great Tectona,† is a common tree; and the inhabitants of the province are well acquainted with the value of its timber. Besides this, we found many old acquaintances among the plants of the forest.

At Sundrygaon we took leave of the hills, and proceeded to Sangerh, over a gently-undulated country, well tilled, with only a few patches of forest interspersed. Here, as at Sundrygaon, and at several intermediate spots, large ponds have been formed by a simple expedient, which will be more fully noticed in another place. On the edge of the pond, and almost surrounded by its water, stands the fort of Sangerh, an old building, and, seemingly, in bad repair. It is contiguous to a large village, which contains some neat houses; and the roads that lead in various directions,

* So the festival that follows the Mohammedan lent is called. The people assemble at a place allotted for the purpose, where the head of the law reads two chapters of the Koran, the first, and another; and afterwards recites the usual orison.

† Sagun, Tectona-grandies, called teak by Europeans in India. From what language this name was borrowed is uncertain. The Hindû name, Sagun, prevails in the Deccan, and on the western coast of India.

directions, were thronged with carts and carriages, and exhibited an active scene, which excited a pleasing sensation arising from the thought, that we had at length emerged from deserts and forests into an inhabited and civilized country.

Here we were welcomed by a person of rank, deputed for that purpose by the court of Nagpur. He accompanied us during the remainder of the march. The same person, Sikh Mohammed Alí, had executed the same office on former similar occasions. It was, he said, his privilege to welcome British ministers to the court of Berar. This venerable old gentleman was (he is since deceased) more than eighty years of age, but active and capable of undergoing much fatigue. On this, and on examples of longevity in his family, he confidently relied for a much longer life; but, in the subsequent year, succumbed under the fatigues of a winter campaign against a marauding partisan.

At this time, notwithstanding Mohammed Ali's hopes of long life, he did not neglect the means usually employed, by very old men, to atone for the sins of their youth, and to reconcile themselves with heaven, on the brink of the grave. The shekh, to the punctual recitation of the five daily prayers, added frequent repetition of passages from the Koran. On horseback, in a chair, or wherever placed, he muttered the holy sentences, without hindrance to conversation. He readily stopt the recital, to make a lively remark, or to return a prompt answer; and as readily resumed his devout muttering. But his devotion, nearly exempt from bigotry, had not damped his cheerfulness, which maintained its uniform tenor, notwithstanding a copious dose of opium, swallowed by him twice in each day.

The venerable shekh conducted us, on the 13th of March, to Lakhni, where we were tempted, by the shade of a large and well-grown orchard, to halt a second day, for the sake of giving repose to our jaded cattle. This was the first shelter which we found since the weather had grown sultry. In the forest, the underwood prevents the traveller from taking shelter under the trees; and in the cultivated tracts, through which we had since passed, orchards, and even single fruit-trees, were almost wholly wanting. This want indicates the deficiency of encouragement for agriculture and population. Wherever peasants become confident of transmitting their farms to their posterity, their earliest care is to plant trees for the benefit of their children. Both reason and religion dictate this duty to a Hindû peasant: when it has been uniformly neglected, the administration of the country must have been uniformly faulty.

We were here entertained with an exhibition, common in the Deccan; a series of pictures, (if pictures they may be called) figuring the fabulous horses of the Bharat. The exhibition was accompanied with unmelodious song, and with the music of a drum, and of an instrument consisting of a brass plate, on which a waxed stick is held perpendicularly, and rubbed, to excite vibrations on the plate.

Leaving Lakhni, on the 15th of March, we forded the Banganga, and encamped near the fort of Bandhara, after passing some hilly and unequal ground, and subsequently traversing a very open and well-tilled country. The towns and villages

villages are populous, and surrounded with fruit-trees, especially engenia jombos. Fields of kidney-beans (doliches) of safflower, and of sugar-cane, indicate the varied husbandry of populous districts. I noticed, as a singular mixture of crops, kidney-beans and chiches, in fields of sugar-cane.

The next day we found good shelter in an orchard, near the village of Merore, contiguous to a garden of plantations, and a field of tobacco. We here noticed, for the first time, a very simple contrivance, which is adapted to all deep wells in this part of the Deccan.

It consists of a hose adapted to the bottom of the bucket, and drawn over a roll into a trough. By duly proportioning the height of the pully above the well, and the length of the ropes which pass over the pully and roller, none of the water is wasted; and no other attendance is required, but that of a driver to guide the oxen in their alternate walks to and from the well.

On the 18th of March, having rested the preceding day in a garden at Umri, and traversed an open country, which is grazed by wild antelopes; though not ill-cultivated, we encamped on the banks of the Nag, in sight of Nagpur, and at the distance of two miles from it. The son and grand-children of our Shekh, and the principal officers of the corps of Arab infantry, which he commanded, visited him at this place. The joy with which they welcomed the return of the patriarch, after his short absence, pleasingly demonstrated the affection which they bore to an indulgent parent, and a mild commander.

The next morning, agreeably to a previous appointment, and conformably with arrangements now concerted, I paid my first visit to the rajah of Berar; his eldest nephew welcomed me in my tents, which were purposely pitched in a garden contiguous to the town. He himself received me in his own palace.—I reserve the description of the edifice, and of the style and manners of the court, for another place; and I shall here close the journey; adding, that three days after my arrival, at the pressing instances of the rajah, I took up my abode in the place allotted to me; a garden and summer-house, which belonged to his deceased brother, Chimnajé.

Having received letters of recall on the 8th of May, 1801. I expedited the preparations of the journey homewards, and taking leave of the court of Nagpúr on the 18th, moved, the next day, to Comté, on the banks of the Caudhán river, the junction of the Colár, and half a mile below that of the Peck. On this holy spot, for the Hindûs attribute some sanctity to the places where even unhallowed streams meet, Vincáje Bhoonsla has built and endowed a temple, dedicated by him to Siva. The unfinished building contains a sacred type of that deity, fetched from the Nermadá, a river which, like the Gandhac, has the happy privilege of furnishing idols, shaped without the aid of a sculptor's hand; for, near Omear, it possesses an inexhaustible treasure of stones, abraded by the stream to the form assigned for the type of Siva. An Omcár Maheswara has been translated by the piety of Vincájé, to the banks of the Cand'hán.

A second day was past at the same place, assembling the camp-followers and attendants, who are always

always tardy in a first march. On the 21st, we proceeded to Ramtec, the Ramagiri of the Indian thiogenies. Here, Rama, with his wife Sita, and brother Lacshmán, halted in their way from Ayud'h towards the southern promontory; and here, Lacshmán, influenced by the soil, became enamoured of his brother's wife. The ground is more truly classic, as the spot which the anonymous author of the Még'haduta, chose for the scene of his poem. A celestial spirit of an inferior order, banished upon earth, and separated from a beloved wife, makes this hill his abode; and here he vents, to a passing cloud, his tender regrets and amorous impatience. The chaste love, which is the subject of that beautiful little poem, constrasted with the incestuous desires of Lacshman, and all the licentious legends of the voluminous Púráns, may suggest, that preference is due, (and assuredly it is,) to the profane before the sacred poetry of the Hindûs.

The hill of Ram is the highest among a chain of peaks, which is continued with a few breaks, both in the easterly and westerly directions. Its summit is covered with temples and other buildings consecrated to Ram, and the accustomed associates of the worship paid to that deified hero. Opposite to it, on a rival peak, is the tomb of a Mohammedan saint; and the foot of this hill is connected by a long dyke with another immense dyke about a mile distant. The lake, formed by this dam, covers many hundred acres in the early months after the rains, but was now almost dry.

On the 22d, we traversed a forest, and encamped at Dungertál, a village which it takes its name from, formed by a wall of masonry, across a very narrow gorge between steep and rocky hills. The scene is picturesque: but the sight of a decaying village detracts from the pleasure with which the landscape might be viewed. Since the province of Gárah has been reunited to the dominions of the rajah of Berar, the frequent passage of troops, and of persons belonging to the brigade, stationed in that province, subjects the villages, situated on the side of the road, to almost daily calls for compulsory, and sometimes gratuitous, labour. The practice of pressing people, for the conveyance of baggage from village to village, would not be tolerated by a well-regulated government. Its effects were seen by us, in every subsequent march, demonstrated by the evident decay of many villages, and the total desertion of others.

Dungertál was the first acquisition of a Patán family, which now holds an extensive jagir, reaching from this place to the confines of the province of Gárah. The present possessors of the jagir, descend, in the fifth degree, from Rája Khan, an adventurer from the north of India, who obtained service with the then chief of Déogerh, and left to his posterity this estate with the title of diwan. A substantial house, the ancient residence of the family, yet remains; but the more eligible abode of Shínní and Ch'hepára has drawn the descendants of Raja Khan to the banks of the Bán Gangá.

From Dungertal, we proceeded, in two days, to Mehgaon, traversing a forest which is rarely interrupted by tillage, and ascending a very steep and rocky pass. An undulated country, clothed with thick and lofty woods, exhibited much

much beautiful scenery, which reminded us of our former journey. The forest contains leafy butea, and long-leaved bassia; some sal and catechu mimosa; the three sorts of myrabalan; the great tectona; chelonoid bignonia, and fistular cassia; the fragrant boswellia; a beautiful climbing banhinia; the Indian, and religious fig-trees; and many other conspicuous plants.

The stone is every where silicious. In some places, the road is reddened by the decomposition of a silicious grit; but the rocks seem mostly quortzose. However, specimens of a sand-stone, both red and white, were noticed in several spots. These observations, with the preceding remarks on the plants of the forest, are not restricted to the woods and hills between Dungertál and Mehgaon.

The last-named village is neatly built, and has a constant market for the supply of the wants of travellers. It stands on table land, gently undulated, and which is sufficiently wooded, with majestic trees scattered on the plain. Several other villages, in sight of Mehgaon, indicate extensive culture.

We were here compelled to halt one day to refresh the cattle and people; some of whom having missed the way, added needless fatigue to a forced march. Our good fortune exempted us from a frequent repetition of the same accident, to which we were much exposed. At most seasons, the night is the proper time for travelling in India; the intense heat of the weather made it now peculiarly necessary to avoid marching in the day.* Long stages were expedient, because the commencement of the rainy season was at hand. To reach the Ganges, even by forced marches, was almost hopeless; but to make every exertion for that object, was indispensable. A single fall of rain would fill the rivers, and render even brooks and rivulets impassable. To halt until the torrents had past, would then become unavoidable. With every such interruption, the season would advance, and our difficulties would increase; entangled among forests, in a mountainous country covered with woods, we should soon be surrounded with disease; for, in the rainy season, the air of such countries is pregnant with the seeds of a fatal distemper,—*the fever of the forest.* It was, therefore, our constant and anxious wish to make as long marches as the people and cattle could perform; but it was not found easy so to regulate the stages.

At an advanced period of the dry season, when pools and rivulets are mostly dry, convenient stages would not always bring us to a spot where water could be procured. Shade was, in this very sultry weather, almost as necessary as water, for the attendants and camp-followers. Fodder for numerous cattle, and supplies of grain for a large camp, always require provident care. The difference of a smooth or rugged road makes the same distance an easy journey in one case, and a laborious one in the other. In regulating our stages by all these considerations, we fully experienced the uncertainty of estimated measures, the unit of which is too large. The road measure of this part of the Deccan is the *gondi cós* reckoned equal

* During the middle of the day, a thermometer, in the shade, varied from 100° to 105° of Fahrenheit's scale.

equal to two, (others say three,) *megheli or gao cós*, which are a little shorter than the *benjari* cós. Four, if not five, different measures, bearing the same denominations, become the source of constant perplexity; and, in so large a unit, as the equivalent of four or five miles, the error or uncertainty of a *fourth* part must be apprehended in the computed distance of one day's journey. We sometimes experienced the variation of a *third*, and often found the journey of the day exceed, or fall short of the expected distance in the proportion first mentioned. Throughout Hindûstan, where distances are generally reckoned by the *common* cós, computed distances are not found to differ so widely from actual measurements.

I resume the narrative.—From Mehgaon we proceeded through a well-cultivated country, by a good road, to Nariara. We crossed one running stream, and many dry beds of rivulets, and left on our right the town of Siuni, where the jagirdar, Diwan Mohammed Zeman Khan usually resides.— His house is a large and lofty edifice, which was a conspicuous object from the road, though distant four or five miles from it.

A second march brought us to Ch'hepárá. We traversed a forest of thinly-scattered trees, crossed many beds of rivulets, and descended several declivities into the valley, in which the Ban Ganga runs. This valley is well tilled, and, jointly, with the rest of the jagir, furnishes Nagpur with much wheat, and other grain, conveyed thither upon oxen.

The town of Ch'hepara is large and populous. The Ban Ganga passes, (I cannot say flows,) through the middle of it; on the banks of the river, whose stream was now suspended by the dryness of the season, stands a large house, the abode of the younger branch of the Jagirdar's family. The town contains few other buildings of masonry; but many spacious, though unsubstantial houses, thatched, as is usual in the Deccan, even for the smallest cottage, with roofs, instead of those gable ends which disgrace similar buildings in Hindûstan, and which are ill-palliated in Bengal, by bending the roof to the shape of a hog's, I would rather say an elephant's, back.

Ch'hepara is adorned by two cypress gardens; it was at this time decorated by temporary buildings, in which the wedding of the Jagirdar, who espoused the daughter of his uncle, had been celebrated a few days before, with much splendour. This nobleman, the head of a numerous clan of Patans, settled on his jagir, maintains the princely state of a grand feudatory; and, an ancient baron in the fœdal days of Europe, renders military service to the paramount. He had just received a summons to repair to Nagpur, with his forces, for the purpose of assisting in quelling a dangerous mutiny of the Rajah's regular troops; and a few months earlier, he relieved the necessities of the Bhonsla, by a benevolence of three lacs of rupiyas.

Having

* They had mutinied on account of great arrears. When the mutiny was, at length, quelled, these arrears were deemed forfeited, the whole of the effects belonging to officers, and men, confiscated, and the ring-leaders put to death. The conduct of the government in the first withholding the pay of its troops, and then punishing, with the utmost rigour, a mutiny occasioned by distress, and *countenanced by frequent precedents*, cannot be too much reprobated.

Having exchanged compliments with him, but declined his offer of a visit, and his invitation to an entertainment, because the progress of my journey would have been thereby delayed, for one or more days, I moved on the 28th to Lachnodon.

The road rises by several steep and rugged ascents, from the valley to the top of the hills.

Many rivulets, among which the Bijna was distinguished as the only stream not yet exhausted by the draught of the season, intersect the mountainous interval.

Near the Bijna are two villages; every where else, forest and rock occupy both the brow of the hills and the declivity. Tygers are said to infest this forest: it certainly shelters a less noxious animal,—the bear; for one crossed the road before us, on the edge of the forest, as we emerged from the woods into the undulated plain, in which Lachnodan is situated.

This village stands on a small eminence, one side of which, being entirely bare of soil, singularly exposes the naked, in the whole extent of a gentle declivity. The surrounding plain, sparingly cultivated, is as sparingly wooded with the leafy butea. However, a plantation of very lofty bamboos (the only such plantation seen by us in the Deccan) adorns the bank of a rivulet, which here marks the boundary between the Jagir of Ch'hepara and the province of Garah. We afterwards passed several villages, and encamped at Dhuma, having travelled over a country gently undulated, and almost wholly clear of rock and forest.*

From Dhuma, a rugged way led us to the deserted village of Raichor, at the foot of a steep and stoney pass. The sides of the road exhibited, for most part of the way, signs of recent tillage: a pond, and the ruins of a large temple, indicate the past prosperity of Raichor. But *teizing oppressions* have driven the peasants from the neighbourhood of a road continually travelled by an *unbridled soldiery*: and Pepareya,† to which we marched next day from Raichor, is the only inhabited place upon the road between Dhuma and the banks of the Nerbada, although orchards and plantations of fruit trees, in several breaks of the intermediate forests, shew that other spots were once the cheerful abodes of men.

In these two marches we crossed several hills, steep and stoney; and another, on the third day, near the banks of the Nerbada.

The summit of the hills are thinly clothed with forest, and their sides are channeled by the beds of torrents.

On the first of June, we proceeded from Pepareya to Jebelhur, crossing the Nerbada midway. The river is here confined by very steep banks, about two hundred yards apart; but the breadth of the stream was at this time a few yards only; and its depth, fewer inches: yet this humble current, receiving the tribute of numerous rivers in its course, at length swells to

* Near this place is said to have been fought a memorable battle between the forces of the first Raghojee and those of the rajah of Mendala. It decided the fate of the Gond prince.

† So thinly is this village inhabited, and so little is the value of tillage here, and in the vicinity, that Pepareya, in conjunction with eleven other villages, south of the Nerbada, pays the annual revenue of 180 rupees only.

to the majestic beauty which the Nerbada exhibits as it approaches the sea.

At a small distance from the northern bank, the road passes through an avenue of hills, which have been deprived of their soil either by rain or by inundation. The skeleton alone remains, consisting of vast rocks heaped on each other in strange disorder.—By day light the view must be sublime; we saw it by the pale light of a gibbous moon. With this disadvantage, we could not sufficiently observe the circumstances of these hills, nor choose the fittest specimens of the rock. However, a sandy road, and the worn base of the rocks, suggest inundation as the probable cause of the nakedness of these hills: and the specimens, taken from the several rocks, exhibit two sorts of stone; one sandstone, the other compounded of quortzose fragments, loosely connected by an argillaceous cement.

Leaving these naked hills, we passed through the large and populous town of Garah; and, after crossing a plain well-wooded with fruit trees, we skirted Jebelpur, and encamped a mile beyond the town, on the banks of a large pond lined with masonry, and embellished by the beauties of the lotas. This flower, which it can be sin to worship, was now in full bloom. It abounds in the numerous lakes and ponds of the province of Garah; and we had the pleasure of comparing several varieties; single and full, white, and tinged with deep or with faint tints of red. To a near view, the simple elegance of the white lotus gains no accession of beauty from the multiplication of its petals, nor from the tinge of gaudy hue: but the richest tint is most pleasing, when a lake, covered with full blown lotas, is contemplated.

The pond, near which we encamped, near Jebelpur, is overstocked with fish. Yet I can hardly censure the taste of the Indians, who banish from a consecrated pond the net of the fisher, the angler's hook, and the fowler's gun. Shoals of large fish, giving life to the clear water of a large lake, covered with flocks of aquatic birds, afford to the sight a gratification, which would be ill-exchanged for the momentary indulgence of appetite.

From our encampment, looking towards the town, we contemplated the pleasing tokens of human industry. A large tract of ground, appropriated to the culture of pot herbs and sugarcane, was conspicuous by numberless lofty poles, that overhang hundreds of wells, allotted for watering a most extensive garden.* As sugarcane is here cultivated for extemporary use, not for the extraction of sugar, the vast extent of garden ground may be fairly taken as the sign of a populous town.

Jebelpur, (in truth a large and populous place,) becoming the abode of the Subahdar of the province, and the station of a large body of cavalry, has drawn numerous inhabitants from the neighbouring

* The method of drawing water from small depths by means of a pole balanced with unequal arms on a part that serves for the prop of the leaver, is common in Bengal, and many other places. To the short arm a weight is suspended; from the long one, a pot or a bucket; and a person standing on the edge of the well, determines, by the addition of his own strength applied to the pole, the alternate preponderance of the empty bucket, and of the weight that is its counterpoise when full.

bouring town of Garah, yet without greatly depopulating it, for the distance is so small, that the towns are rather divisions of one city, than avowed rivals to each other.

The thriving condition of the province, indicated by the appearance of its capital, and confirmed by that of the districts which we subsequently traversed, demands from me a tribute of praise to the ancient princes of the country. Without the benefit of navigation, (for the Nerbada is not here navigable) and without much inland commerce;* but under the fostering hand of a race of Gond princes, a numerous people tilled a fertile country; and still preserve, in the neatness of their houses, in the number and magnificence of their temples, their ponds, and other public works, in the size of their towns, and in the frequency of their plantations, the undoubted signs of enviable prosperity. The whole merit may be safely ascribed to the former government, for the praise of good administration is rarely merited by Mahratta chieftains; and it is sufficient applause to say, that the chief of Sager, in twenty years, and the rajah of Berar, in four, have not much impaired the prosperity which they found.

The Gond princes, just now alluded to, reigned at Mendala, a fort, the walls of which are washed, and almost surrounded by the Nerbada, and which, jointly with the town of Garah, gives name to the province. The last independent chieftain of that race was Nizam Shah, whose name appears in the English maps of Hindustan, constructed about thirty years ago; but he had perished earlier, gallantly defending his independence, against the insatiate ambition, and unprovoked hostility, of the first Raghojee. His son became tributary to the Bhonsla; but the chief of Tejgerh revenged some real or supposed injury, by inviting a Mahratta army from the eastern confines, and guiding the invasion of Garah.

The Gond chieftain was made prisoner, and is said to be still alive, in confinement, at Tejgerh. The country submitted to the arms of Moraje, a fierce and sanguinary tyrant, whose undiscriminating rage, more than once, sentenced an humble peasant, and a proud ascetick, to be dragged at the neck of a camel, and trampled to death.

Twenty five or thirty years have elapsed since this conquest: and the provinces of Garah and Mendala continued dependent in Sager, paying, however, a quit-rent to the Bhonsla, until the present Raghojee obtained from the court of Poona a recognition of his right to take possession of the province. The chieftain of Sager did not readily acquiesce in the Peishwa's award. But Raghojee's forces found little difficulty in wresting from him the open country, and in reducing some petty forts. Two years ago, being oppressed by an army of marauders, which was headed by Mukhan, a famous partisan, the chief of Sager yielded the fort of Mendala as the price of the aid which he solicited from the Bhonsla.

The whole province is now completely reduced: a brigade of ill-disciplined infantry, and another of

* For want of particular information I shall not attempt to state what the trade of this province consists in. I can only affirm, that it receives salt from the mines of Sambhar, the ancient Sacumbhari.

of horse, remain to protect, or to oppress, the country: and the whole authority, civil and military, is entrusted to a subahdar, who is invested with the highest honours of the state, the privilege of a flag made of gold brocade. The office was now held by a venerable old gentleman, whose grave demeanor, and mild countenance, are the promise of a gentle administration.

After receiving a visit from Nana Ghatia, the Subahdar of Garáh, and halting one day to refresh the people and cattle, the journey was resumed. Two roads were offered to our choice. One by Chandiya Couriya, across the elbow of the Sone, to Mekendpur, near Rewa; the other by Cunwa Couriya, through a corner of Bundel, to the city of Rewa itself.

The first, though circuitous, and impeded by steep hills, had been preferred by travellers, ever since anarchy has prevailed in Bundel. Some of my own attendants had recently travelled that very road, and met me, opportunely, on their return, at this place. Their report was not unfavourable; but the other route, to which the only objection was the character of the Bundelah chief, whose territory it traverses, was preferred, as most expeditious; and because a part of the retinue of the late resident at Puna, returning by land to Hindûstan, had joined my camp: the wheeled carriages, which now embarrassed the march, could not have proceeded in the narrow path which traverses the forests near the Sone, and would have found difficulty in crossing the rocky bed of that river.

We proceeded, on the 3d of June, from Jebelpur, through Penager, (where the two roads meet) to Ghuselpur, a flourishing village belonging to the successors of an Hindû ascetick, to whom it was granted by the then raja of Mendal, at the instance of his minister. Grants of land, made for pious purposes, seem to have been respected by the Mahratta conquerors of Garah; but pensions and corrodies, which the piety or superstition of Gond princes had assigned to numerous Brahmin asceticks, and which were confirmed by the chieftain of Sager, are now withheld by the more frugal Bhonsla.

The place of encampment at Ghuselpur was on the edge of a beautiful pond, lined with masonry, and adorned with temples and other buildings. The natural inequality of the ground, planted with trees elegantly disposed, and the form of the pond, which has not the usual uniformity of an oblong square, would not be disdained in the embellishments of an English garden. At Burager, a few miles short of Ghuselpur, we past another beautiful piece of water. It occupies the middle of a valley between two chains of hills, that extend about three miles from the head of the valley to the gorge, which is closed, as usual, by a dam. In the rainy season, it must form a considerable lake: when viewed by us, it was a large and very fine piece of water.

The landscape between these places is beautiful: numerous eminences are scattered on a wide plain; and on every eminence stands a village surrounded with orchards. The plain consists entirely of arable land; but sugar-cane was now the only produce vegetating on the soil. Rice and wheat had been gathered in their seasons; and barley, which is un-

known to the southward of the Nerbada, is among the articles of culture on the northern side of the river.

The road is mostly good; especially between Burager and Ghuselpur. It is naturally formed from the substance of the hills, and red silicious stones containing argill. This stone crumbles under pressure; but the fragments of it, like gravel, are rendered adhesive by moisture. Nothing can more perfectly unite all the requisites for the construction of good roads. But the same qualities render it less fit for edifices. The temples at Ghuselpur, built thirty or forty years ago, are already far advanced in their decay.

At this place we visited a temple consecrated to Parswanath; the idols are worshipped by an heterodox sect of Hindus, and are acknowledged by these supposed atheists: for an image of Paravate was shewn to us in this temple.

From Ghuselpur we proceeded to Chunwa, passing through the town of Siohar, and village of Filwa, and crossing the river Heren, and low hill near Cunwa. Here the rock peeps through the soil in gentle acclivity of the hill, and the country around is entirely waste. The remainder of this day's march traversed a populous and well-cultivated tract. At Tilwa we viewed with pleasure, a magnificent pond, with superb temples on the edge of it. These are among the many monuments of the piety of Biswaram Sink, the minister.

While carefully noting these conspicuous works, I must not omit the humbler, but no less useful, construction of wells lined with masonry. They are numerous, not only in the towns and villages, but also at intermediate places; and the grateful traveller may daily thank the munificence which has thus provided for his refreshment. The wells are here commonly constructed on a plan not unfrequent in Hindustan, with stairs either on one side, or within the well itself; but the square form is a peculiarity of structure, which prevails in the province of Garah, and which I have seen in very few other places; it probably originates in the practice of lining wells with timber or with thick planks. The traces of this practice were formerly noticed by us in the forests between Khairagerh and Sundregaon, and recently in the jagir of Siuni Ch'hepara, as well as afterwards in the province of Bhaghelchund.

The next stage of the journey was Bilehri, a flourishing town, almost surrounded by hills, and situated at a small distance from the river Khatnai. A stone fort, which needs repairs, adjoins to the town, and the domes of numerous temples rise above the humble elevation of the houses. The vicinity is well wooded with fruit-trees.

We here met a drove of oxen laden with silk and with sugar for Nagpur; and overtook another carrying cotton towards Mirzapur. These are the three chief articles of the trade between the places just now named. The commerce is conducted by merchant adventurers, among whom, not a few belong to a monastic order, which is more devoted to merchandize than to religion.* The owners of the goods hire oxen from carriers; adjust with contractors a fixed sum to defray the duties payable on the way; and, if cautious, insure the value

* The Gosains, or Goswanis.

value of the merchandize with a banker. Large oxen carry a load of 500lb. avoirdupoise; small oxen, two-thirds of that weight: the first are expected to complete the journey in two months; the smaller cattle reach their destination in three: but, by allotting to oxen each load, the journey may be much expedited in this manner; it may be completed by large oxen in less than forty days; and the valuable article of silk can afford the additional expense. The common rate of hire is thirty rupeyas for a full load carried alternately by two large oxen, and fifteen to twenty for an equal load allotted to a single ox, with some spare cattle to provide for casualties. The hire of small oxen is much less in proportion; viz. from seven to nine rupeyas for each ox; but their slow progress is often inconvenient, and the saving in the price of carriage does little more than compensate the disproportionate rate of the duties. These amount to twelve or thirteen rupeyas for a full load of cotton, and nine to ten for the small load; such at least is the sum usually paid to contractors. A stranger would be liable to greater exactions; but the people who are accustomed to contract for defraying the duties, obtain indulgences at the several customhouses, and thus gain an ample profit on the contract.

Our halt at Bilehri was prolonged to a second day, for some arrangements which were rendered necessary for the desertion of porters. During this halt, I received a visit from Mad'horas, the faujdar of the district. He held the same office before the province was transferred to its present possessor; and he mentioned to me, as a singular circumstance, that, though now serving the Bhunsla, he had not yet had the honour of making his obeisance to his new master. His service has not been confined to the administration of the district, intrusted to him; a few months before we past, he led an army towards Pernah* in Bundelcund, for the ostensible object of supporting the heir of the dispossessed sovereign, but, probably, for the disguised purpose of enlarging the limits of the Bhunsla's dominions. The object has not been yet effected, and the forces have been for the present, withdrawn; and with them, Cesho Sinh, the heir of Bundel, has returned to Bilehri.

The youth (he has not yet reached his twelfth year) lost his parents and inheritance in his earliest childhood. The Bundelas, who successfully opposed the meridian power of the house of Taimar, were unable to resist the daring force of an illegitimate descendant of a Mahratta usurper. Alibehadar, the son of a peishwa's bastard, obtained permission, from the namesake and remote successor of his ancestor, to use the Mahratta name in waging private war, to carve a principality for himself, out of the territories of rajput princes. Soldiers of fortune, partizans, and adventurers, flocked to a standard erected under such happy auspices. The hopes of immediate plunder, and of an ultimate establishment in a conquered country, enticed needy adventurers, and men of desperate fortunes. So tempting a bait was scarcely necessary in Hindûstan, which is peopled by

* Jernah Pernah, or Jenah Pennah, are celebrated for their diamond mines.

tribes devoted to the profession of arms, and where a numerous army may be levied almost in a single day.

With such forces Alibehadur shamelessly invaded the territories of a peaceful and unoffending prince. The power of the Bundelas was already weakened by the impolitic practice, so prevalent among Hindû princes, of allotting provinces. D'hucal Sinh was the head of numerous kindred princes, rather than the sovereign of a realm: and the seeds of dissension, which are always procured by such a system, had taken deep root: he was not only unable to call forth the strength of the country against the unprovoked aggressions of the invader, but he was even assailed by a part of the forces, which should have fought in his defence. Had the Bundelas been united, Alebehadur would have been repulsed. The difficulty of his enterprise is demonstrated by the slow progress of his arms. He has not yet completed the reduction of the country; and slight aid from a foreign power might even now enable the Bundelas to expel the lawless invader, and to recover their ancient independence.

D'hucal Sinh, whose spirit and conduct were not adequate to the arduous defence of his dominions, against foreign and domestic foes, was only driven to send his son and his wives to a place of safety. He entrusted them to a kinsman by affinity, the raja of Bijeypur; and I found them at that post, when I first took charge of the district of Mirzapur, to which it belongs. The next year, D'hucal Sinh, disposing of his fortunes, solicited shelter in the dominions of the nawab vizir; but his request was denied. He then visited his family at Mirzapur; and being restricted by the orders of the British government from remaining there longer than consisted with a visit, he returned to the scene of warfare, carrying with him his wives, his son, and his despair. Shortly afterwards he died of disease; and his faithful wives* all burnt themselves with his corpse. The child was left to the care of a grandmother, and after various adventures had now found an asylum at Bilehri.

Leaving my new and old acquaintances at that place, I proceeded to Canhwara, having passed the boundary to Bundelcund and a few miles from the village of Chaca, which had been recently deserted. Quitting Bilehri, the road ascends a hill, the elevation of which is inconsiderable; but its northern acclivity, for nearly two miles, being destitute of soil, and covered with loose and sharp stones, is not less difficult than the steepest pass. The remainder of the road, excepting the vicinity of Pusra, lay through a forest of thinly-scattered butea, intermixed with few trees of other kinds. This is not the only place where I have had occasion to remark, that the confines of territories belonging to different powers, are abandoned to wild and spontaneous vegetation. However, the owner of the fort of Canhwara, though it is situated on the Bundela's side of this wild line of demarcation, professes allegiance to the raja of Berar.

The fort of that name may be given to an irregular wall of masonry, surrounding

* Sate. the term used to denote this final proof of conjugal affection, signifies a faithful wife.

surrounding a few buildings on a small hill, belongs to a Rajhpût of the Bag'hel tribe, descended in the eighth degree from a younger branch of the family to which Rewa appertains. For so many generations Prehlad Sinh, and his ancestors have held the fort of Canhwara, with a hundred villages in the vicinity of it. The chief of Mehir claims tribute and feodal service from him: but the Rajput, countenanced by the Faujdar of Bilehri, and trusting to the courage, rather than the number, of his kindred and adherents, has shaken off his dependance on a chieftain, whom he detests with all that cordial hatred which is usually borne by feudatories to their lords; and which in this instance is embittered by reciprocal injuries.

Prehlad Sinh endeavoured to dissuade us from prosecuting the journey by a route which would lead us near the abode of his enemy. He affirmed, that the chief of Mehir had collected forces, either to oppose our passage through his territories, or to extort money as the price of a free passage, which, nenevertheless, would not be a safe one; for the camp would be still liable to depredations. Intelligence, otherwise received, partly corroborated this information, which was sufficiently consistent with the general character of Durjen Sinh. I was induced therefore to listen to the proposal of crossing by a bye-road, from Benjari through Amerpur to Ramnager, into the route by which it was at first intended to proceed from Garah to Reeva, the Rajput himself acting as a guide, with his brethren as an additional escort, until we should reach the contiguous territory of another Baghel, whom I knew to be friendly. But a letter received from Durjen Sinh, with assurance seemingly cordial, and a report from my own messengers, that they saw no untoward appearances, made me postpone the choice of either route, until after the next march.

In the evening of the same day, I received a visit from Prehlad Sinh. He was accompanied by his kindred and warlike retainers.

The unpolished, but cheerful manners of the high-spirited race of warriors, always excite a lively idea of ancient times. In the strong holds and fastnesses of mountainous and ill-cultivated country, the Rajputs preserve the pride, the independence, and the unaltered manners of their ancestors. Exactly such as we now see the remote descendants of Indian kings, were their earlier descendants, who formerly ruled the wide and rich dominion of India. Splendid courts, and refined manners, were, doubtlessly, found at Ujjayin, at Indr-presth, and at other capitals. Great feudatories might copy the manners of the imperial court; but petty princes, holding provinces, districts, I almost said villages, as immediate lords, lived in the simple style, which hereditary habits still preserve, and which is yet scarcely alloyed by intercourse with successive conquerors of India.

The Thacur (so Rajput chieftains are called)* was naked from the waist upwards, except the sacrificial thread, or scarf, on his shoulder, and a turban

* The much-abused title of raja, or king, properly belongs to the paramount only; or, at least, to the head of the tribe: as Ajet Sinh, head of the Baghels, and raja of Rewa; Cesho Sinh, head of the Bundels; but now an exile; Ajet Sinh, head of the Chandels, and raja of Berdi; Ramghulum Sinh, head of the Gherwars, and raja of Bijeypur.

turban on his head; his two sons, both youths, were dressed with equal simplicity; and so were most of his kinsmen. Others were clothed in the hunting-dress of the Rajputs, a jacket of coarse cloth dyed olive green. They were all armed with scimitars; some likewise bore their shields; and a few brought their matchlocks, and sat down in the tent with matches lighted. This evidently proceeded from custom; for our visitors (though unpolished mountaineers, are prone enough to suspicion) were then devoid of all mistrust. I should not omit to mention, that the Thacur was accompanied by his family priest, and by his secretary.

Leaving these half civilized warriors, we marched the next morning to Benjare. It had rained in the night, and the appearance of the weather continued unfavourable until day-break. The preceding night also had been squally. This announced the near approach of the rainy season. But otherwise it might be deemed fortunate, as it moderated the intense heat of the weather, at the very time when it was become necessary to travel by day instead of night.

We passed under the wall of a fort belonging to Durjen Sinh, and encamped at Benjare, one of the hundred villages appertaining to Prehlad Sinh. After consulting with his people, it was determined to proceed to Bhedenpur, where the option of a bye-road towards the Sone would yet remain. If Durjen Sinh's own people should pledge themselves for his good faith, the usual route would be eligible. Else the guides that were purposely furnished by Prehlad Sinh, would conduct us by a cross road beyond the reach of Durjen Sinh's violence, or his treachery.

On the 9th of June, we continued our progress in the valley, through which we had marched the preceding day, with the Caimur range of hills on the right. The valley is broad, and sprinkled with petty forts, and small villages, imperfectly cleaned of forest, and abundantly intersected with brooks and rivulets. The Caimur hills are of uniform height, steep, and even precipitous. The others are irregular and of easier ascent: both are cloathed with bambûs, which flower and bear ripe seed so abundantly, that bambu corns is here accounted the common food of the mountaineers.

In this march we met a very large adventure of silk, laden on a hundred oxen, and the preceding day, a less valuable adventure of raw sugar on four hundred oxen. This last was bound for Garah. Clayed sugar is the only sort which can afford the greater expense of transport to Nagpur. In a subsequent march, we met a few oxen, laden with alum, and bound for Amerawete, a mart in Berar Proper. Spices are also among the articles transported by this route from Mirzapur to the marts of the Deccan: and iron from Bhedenpur, and from the Southern districts of Baghelchand is carried to Mirzapur, in return for more valuable merchandize.

I availed myself of the opportunity of inspecting the iron-works at Bhedenpur. The furnace is in the shape of half a frustrum of a cone; it is made of clay, and its height is about six feet, two-thirds of which is under ground, and the remainder serves for a chimney. The front, being flat, has before it a semi-

a semi-circular hole, into which the ashes, and reduced metal, are received when the door of the grate is opened: through the upper part of that door a double bellows, worked by a single workman, maintains a continual stream of air by means of the alternate strokes of his right and left hands. He is relieved by one companion; and their joint labour, during twelve hours, suffices to reduce one and a half hundred weight of iron from eight times its bulk of ore, using two loads (about eight or nine hundred weight) of charcoal. The iron thus obtained, loses a quarter of its weight under the hammer, in preparing it for use; but it still contains much scoria, and other impurities.

Returning from a visit to the iron-works, I received one from Durjen Sinh. He had remained, during the day, at the head of the pass, on the Caimur hills, and several messages were exchanged; the chief object of which was to adjust the ceremonial of his proffered visit. He claimed greater honours than I thought due to him. He was told what was the honorary dress which I intended to bestow on him, and by making the visit without further previous explanation, acquiesced in my proposal. He did not, however, appear well pleased; and growing more dissatisfied after returning to his abode in the town, he sent back, at a late hour of the night, the presents which he had accepted. This unusual proceeding clearly demonstrated evil designs: but no satisfactory explanation could be obtained during the remainder of the night, nor in the early part of the next morning. His behaviour was all this time sulky, and his conduct was inconsistent. The pass in the Caimur hills was obstructed by matchlock-men under his orders, at the same time that messages, sent by him, disavowed any intention of opposing my progress. It was evident that he meditated either violence or treachery; and it seemed equally unsafe to remain, or to move. The escort, though small, was sufficient to force our way, if we resolved either to retrace our steps towards Benjare, or to explore a bye-road to Ramnager. It might even suffice, though not without the loss of some lives, to force the pass of the hills. But the baggage could not be completely covered even by a much stronger escort. In defending it some effusion of blood might with certainty be expected. A last effort, therefore, was made to bring Durjen Sinh to reason, at the same time that we prepared to move with, or without his good-will. He at length recollected himself, and made me a parting visit, at which he received a present less valuable but, as it seemed, more acceptable, than that which he had returned the preceding night.

It was now nine o'clock: however, we immediately proceeded on the journey, ascended the Caimur hills, by a very narrow and difficult pass, travelled, for several miles, on the summit of the hills; descended into the plain, on the opposite side; and, after marching more than seventeen miles, encamped, in the evening, at Amerpatea, beyond the limits of Durjen Sinh's territories. The next day we made an easy march to Pálâ. Rain, during the night, and in the morning, detained us there until nine o'clock; but the weather becoming clear at that hour, we again moved; and, passing Amri at noon, reached the city of Rewa in the evening.

In

In this tract the Caimur range was on the right hand; a few scattered hills on the left. From the foot of the pass to Rewa, the road traversed a rich country, well cultivated, and abounding with orchards, with ponds, and with temples. At Nanden, the limit of Bundelcund, a large pond, completely covered with red lotas, exhibited the almost-expiring beauty of vegetable splendor. The Indian menianthes, whose fringed petel exceeds, in delicacy, every other production of nature and of art, was in full blossom on a factitious lake at Amri; but did not emulate the beauty of the lotas, since its elegance is unapparent to a distant beholder.

Arriving within a coss of Rewa, we found, instead of temples, (the monuments of tranquil piety) mausoleums, which disconsolate kinsmen have recently erected to the memory of many gallant warriors, slain in a memorable battle, that was lately fought on this spot. An army, sent four years ago, by Ali Behader, to exact contributions from the rajah of Rewa, was here defeated, with the loss of their general and their cannon, by a very inferior force. The most probable account states the Nawab's forces at six thousand horse and foot; and the raja's at less than half that number. A much greater, but incredible, disproportion of numbers was alleged by one of Ajet Sinh's servants, in his own presence: he assured me, that no more than a hundred and fifty horsemen went forth to meet an army of twelve thousand men; and that fifty only of that gallant band were actually engaged. Yet the victory was complete. Without giving any credit to such puerile exaggeration, the more probable account sufficiently disgraces the arms of Ali Behader. He felt the stain; and solemnly vowed to revenge the death of his general. After the lapse of nearly three years, he, last winter, marched with all his force against Rewa, openly professing implacable revenge. But the aged raja averted the storm by submission; and purchased forgiveness by a pecuniary contribution.

Perhaps the united efforts of the Baghels might have sufficed to repel the invader; but Ajet Sinh has neither vigour nor authority to invite, or to compel, the joint exertions of a tribe of gallant warriors. Having outlived his best faculties, being swayed, in all his actions, by avarice, and verging rapidly towards the extreme of dotage, he is despised and slighted by his own servants. His authority is openly contemned and defied, even within the limits of his own capital. It is, of course, wholly disregarded by the numerous feudatories, among whom his nominal dominions are parcelled out. In short, this descendant of an ancient line of Hindû princes, exhibits, on a less conspicuous theatre, greater degradation (for it is voluntary) than the Moghul sovereign, whom he sheltered in the early period of this monarch's adversity.*

The Baghels, of whom Ajet Sinh is the head, are said, on the authority of tradition, to draw their origin from Gurjar, or Guzrat. Thirty

* Aligoher, as is well known, took refuge with the raja of Rewa. The town of Macandpur, which was then assigned to him by the raja, for his abode and support, remained, until very lately, the private Jagheer of the king; but has been now relinquished by him. Mirza Acber Shah, his favourite son, was born at Macandpur.

Thirty generations have past since they migrated from that province, and acquired a new settlement at Bandhagerh. They gradually enlarged their possessions to the sources of the Sone and Nerbada on one side, and to the confines of Bundelcund on the other. Having expelled from Rewa the tribe of mountaineers, who formerly possessed it, the chief of the Baghels was tempted, by its situation, to fix his abode in this city. Here the present rajah possesses a large palace on the Goghen river. A populous and flourishing town adjoins to the fortress; and the country is well tilled.

The rajah's own dominions scarcely exceed the bound of his capital. The extensive territories, that nominally belong to him, are distributed, in great and small allotments, to kinsmen, near or remote, and to feudatories owing military services. Tribute is either not due, or it is withheld; and the rajah enjoys scarcely any revenue, besides that which arises from duties of custom, collected on the merchandize that passes through Rewa.* Desirous of obtaining tribute from the chiefs of Sohagpur and of Chandeya, Ajet Sinh lately adopted the imprudent measure of asking the aid of the rajah of Berar, on the terms of sharing the tribute, of which payment should be enforced. This will doubtless lead to the dismemberment of his dominions; and he has already experienced, in the instance of Sohagpur, that, by this weak expedient, he may draw ruin on his feudatory, without any concurrent benefit to himself.

After receiving a visit from this miserable chieftain, in the evening of my arrival, and again the next morning, previously to my departure, I proceeded, in the forenoon, to Mengahwan. The baggage, which had been dispatched earlier, met a very heavy fall of rain. A very long march was thus rendered extremely tedious and fatiguing; and I was compelled to make a halt at this place, which I had refused to the pressing intreaties of Ajet Sinh.

A still longer march, on the 15th of June, brought us to Mangery, with the loss of three camels, which had not sufficiently recovered the fatigue of the preceding march. I here received a visit from Dergsahi, a chieftain of the Sengher tribe, who pays a moderate tribute to the rajah of Rewa, for an extensive tract of country, chiefly occupied by his clan. Within the dominions of Ajet Sinh, five tribes of Rajputs are numerous. The Baghels, Carchuls, Parlihars, Balcoits, and Raciowars. Of these, no fewer than three are distinguished by the atrocious practice of destroying their infant daughters. The motive by which they are influenced, has been already mentioned. The practice is general, and almost universal among them.

The next day, we made a short march to Cathera, having been prevented, by the badness of the weather, from setting off at an early hour. The whole tract, from Rewa to this place, is a rich, populous, and highly-cultivated country; bounded on the south by other distant peaks of the Caimur range, and

* Such is his poverty, that he was unable to make good the pecuniary contribution of 116,000 rupees imposed by Ali Behadur. The Gerwhar raja of Mara became surety for the payment, and required hostages for his indemnification. He has since extorted from Ajet Sinh the conditional cession of a rich district, contiguous to his own possessions.

and on the north by the still more distant precipices, which overhang the plains of Hindûstan. The intermediate table-land is very gently undulated; nowhere affording opportunity for constructing ponds, without excavating the ground. However, most of the ponds (and they are very numerous) are formed on gentle declivities, by throwing the earth on three sides, and preserving the natural height of the fourth. Fertile as is the soil, on both sides of Rewa, a scarcity was experienced in the past season. It was occasioned by the depredations of Ali Behader's army; and still more by the wanton destruction of the young corn. The distresses of this calamitous season were alleviated by importations from Mirzapur. In the course of the journey, we met some droves of oxen loaded with wheat, others carried fisile salt, imported from Sambher and Lahor; and one conveyed the common culinary salt, which is extracted from the soil in the northern districts of the province of Benares. Others, again, which we now met, conveyed sugar, areca-nuts, and various articles of coarse spicery, intended for the markets of Bundel. We were here surprised, by seeing an adventure of silk, proceeding at so late a season of the year: and not less so, by the information received from the owners, that they expected to complete the journey to Nagpur, in the course of the wet season, by means of encamping on rainy days, and making progress during the intermissions of rain. On the other hand, we overtook many droves of cattle laden with cotton: they had been detained at Rewa, struggling against the imposition of a new tax; and lost the season, without gaining relief from oppression. Cotton cannot, like less bulky articles, be sheltered under an awning, that is easily portable: and if drenched through by rain, without a very early opportunity of again drying it, the cotton is rendered unmerchantable. On this account, prudent traders were now cantoning for the rainy season, although the remaining distance to Mirzapur was so short.

We had remarked as a sign of decay in the population of the district, which we now traversed, the frequent traces of villages recently abandoned.

But noticing at the same time hamlets newly established, we were led to infer a fickleness for which motives were to be sought. The explanation of it made known a singular economy.

The peasants of this district shift their abode at intervals of three or four years, for the sake of changing their lands, and of tilling the ground on which their cottages stood. The soil must doubtless have been enriched by the resort of men and cattle: but the benefit of cultivating land so manured can scarcely be equivalent to the labour and expense of frequent removals. Yet, whatever be the effects of this system of husbandry, it certainly indicates a laudable spirit of industry. Other indications of thriving diligence were observed in the neatness of the cottages, and in the number of ponds and orchards, throughout the tract between Mangery and Hata.

This last-mentioned place, we reached on the 17th of June, and prepared, with much satisfaction, to descend the Haliyah pass of the Caimur hills, the fort of which is the boundary of the province of Benares. Above the pass, at the distance

distance of less than half a mile of it, a small rivulet falls over the precipice into a deep valley.* The lofty forest, vainly emulating the abrupt precipice which over hangs it, presented a picturesque view; and while we contemplated with delight the romantic scenery which this cascade presented, we received almost equal pleasure from once more viewing a country subject to the British authority. It was the sensation of a traveller re-visiting his home after a long absence.

That pleasure we actually enjoyed within three days after, for Mirzapur, which we reached on the 20th of June, by the route Sonegerh, Halcyah and Lalgeny, was the former abode of myself, and of most of my fellow travellers. A few hours after our arrival, a violent storm, with rain, gave us reason to rejoice that so great expedition had been made. If the journey had employed a single day more, the inconvenience would have been great; had it required another week, all the apprehension that had been entertained, would have been realised. Solicitous as I naturally was, for the safety of my companions, this timely conclusion of the journey was the pleasantest occurrence it afforded.

Memorandum from an officer of great respectability, dated Cambay, 12*th July*, 1803, *relative to the country and the Ghauts between the Godavery, Malwa and Surat.*

The mountains which run parallel with the coast, nearly from Bhore Ghaut to the northward as far as Songhur, are inhabited by Bheels as well as part of the country above, and for a considerable distance below the range. The principal governments in the hilly and very woody tract, below the range to the westward, are the Jowaur rajah's country, westward of Trimbuck, from which there is Ghaut leading down to it, but the country is very woody and hilly, and the Ghaut itself unfit for carriages. The pass of Dhurumpore I have already described; it appears in the map from a former survey of mine, and is, of course, to the northward of Jowaur.

Bansda, is the next government, and I have already described the Ghaut leading to it from above, by Bhowra. The inhabitants of all this tract are Bheels, but the government of these rajahs does not, in any of the three instances, extend to the foot of the range. Below the Ghaut, leading from Trimbuck to Jowaur, the Peishwa's government is established at the Cusba of Wassegra, which is under Trimbuck. Below the Ambagong or Ambagunge Ghaut, the Peishwa's government extends very considerably towards Bansda; and the seat of government below, which is under Hulghur, is at Soolgauna, a very small town, although the head of a Purgunnah. The Sanderbeyl Ghaut I have already described as well as the Koradebernec

* In the rivulet was a beautiful Pancratium; and also the white Musali, a plant, to which Aphrodisiac virtues are ascribed. On the edge of the precipice was an elegant garden in full flower. I found near the brow of the hill the superb Butea; a few miles from it we had remarked several Sycamores.

bernec Ghaut. Bansda is 12 coss N. N. E. from Dhurumpore; Sunderbeyl is about 12 coss, N. E. from Bansda; and the fort of Songhur from Bansda, is about 14 coss, N. N. E. or N. E. by N. From Esarwarree to Songhur, the country is exceedingly woody, the hills from the great range extending on the South side near to the road, which is a good deal intersected with Nullahs, and broken ground, extending to the Taptee or Tappee, which is at the distance of six or eight coss to the north; in general the intermediate country is very woody, the whole of the inhabitants Bheels, the principal rajah of whom resides at Ryaghur on the Taptee, north from Esurbarree about 10 coss. From Ryaghur to the westward, and on the north of the Taptee river, are the rajahships of Kurrack, Gowanlee, Sangbarre, and Maundvee, the latter the westernmost, and is N. W. from Kurkee, Byara or Beeara about 6 coss. The country from Songhur to the westward, towards Mhowa, proceeding by Kurkee. Beeara is quite open, but the country S. W. and S. W. by W. towards Bansda, and to the southward of Mhowa, is very woody and hilly; there are various roads leading through this tract, by which plundering parties may penetrate into the open country, provided they are on amicable terms with the Bheels. The fort of Songhur, is on the top of a conical small mountain, but too high to be of any great inconvenience to any troops passing, and as the country opens considerably just there, it may be passed at a greater distance, or in the night. The high road from Candeish to Surat, leads very near to it on the east side: almost close to the foot of the hill, is the town, which has a wall round it, and sufficient, I should think, to protect it from being plundered by any parties of Looties, that penetrate into the country.

Songhur ought to be inspected by some English officer of experience, to ascertain whether, with a small number of our troops in the town below, it would afford sufficient security for the lodgement of stores, ammunition, &c. should it prove necessary hereafter for a small army of ours to occupy the country in front of it towards Kandeish. Such a place of security for the stores, &c. of the detachment, would leave it, at all times, unincumbered, and of course, within a certain distance, fit for very active operations. It is to be understood that the fort, as well as the town below, must be occupied by our troops, should it happen that our detachment, employed as I have above hinted, should be opposed by so large a force as to make it necessary to retire. Songhur would present a safe retreat to it, and from the nature of the country, our detachment, posted to advantage under an able officer, might make it very inconvenient for an enemy's army to pass. The Ghauts of Sandubiel, (which is under the Guicowar) of Ronree, of Ambagong, of Jowaur, or Godan Ghautt, may easily be shut up, by felling trees, or cutting deep trenches across the roads; and if the Bheel inhabitants enter heartily into the cause, little apprehension need be entertained of any parties entering the Attaveesee by those roads. The country of the Ayghur Zemandar, and of the rest as far as Maundvee, is through the whole tract exceedingly woody, full of ravines, and difficult of access. These chieftains conciliated seriously to espouse our cause, Songhur in our possession, and a small

army

army in front of it towards Kandeish, would leave the commander of our grand army, acting in the Deccan, free of all apprehension for the fate of the country about Surat, and the detachment might, in cases of emergency, prove of great use in co-operating with him. It would, in all probability, prevent any army from invading the province of Guzerat, for there are no passes through the Northern range of hills, to enable the enemy's army to penetrate into Guzerat, except by skirting the borders of Malwa, called Ballaghaut, and the great range to the north of the Taptee; that between it and the Nurbudda, is called the Sautpoora Range: this range commences a little to the N. E. of Maundvee, and extends to Asseer Ghur, near Boorhaunpoor, and through which there are only two Ghauts leading to Mheyusur, on the Nurbudda, practicable for an army, viz. the Sindwa Ghaut, and the Ghaut from Boorhaunpoor directly north over the range by Dhoolcote, or Doolcote. From Ahmednuggur the road leads by Nimbadehra Ghaut, an easy pass and of little extent. The Ghaut is about four coss from Ahmednuggur, and the town of Nimbadehra at a little distance below it, from the Ghaut to Rapowar about 9 coss. Beylopoor 5 or 6; Foollaumba on the Godavery 8 or 9; Byzapoor about 7; Cassambarree below the Ghaut of the same name 9 or 10 coss. The Ghaut is a carriage road, and no very great descent; here begins Kandiesh on the E. and N. E. and on the N. N. W. Buglanna; at this place the road strikes off to Boorhaunpoor.

From Cassambarree to Populkthree 3 coss; Syrgong on the Geeona river 6 or 7; Bosecoond, or the Bora river 7 coss. From Boorecond the road strikes off to the N. W. to Komdabarree Ghaut, and leads to Neer,* a town on the Paunjera River. From Bourecond, to Doolea, 8 coss; Maundul 5 coss; Beteurad 3 coss; Tahluar, on the Taptee river, 4 coss; Kurravad 4 coss; Pullansneer, at the foot of Sinduah Ghaut, 6 coss; The Ghaut is a carriage road, and on the left hand, at near the top, is a small new fort, built by Eleahbye, called Bowanghur; this Ghaut is called by travellers estimating by the fatigue of ascent 1½ coss; at two-thirds of this distance are the remains of an old Gurree. From the top of the Ghaut to Sindwah town, close to which is a small stone fort, 3 coss; Nazeebwarree 5 coss; Seewzony 3 coss; Ghogree 5 or 6; Billuckwarracy, hilly and rocky or 4 coss; Nurbudda 5 coss; Mheyshur, on the opposite bank; from thence the road leads up to the range by the Jaum Ghaut (9 coss to the top) a carriage road to Indore and Oujein.

From Boorhaunpoor to Mheyshwur Dhoolcote (above the Ghaut) one coss, a carriage road, but will require beldars; Keyree five coss; Ghowra four coss; Bheekungong seven; Dewlee four or five; Mutton four or five; Kuchrawd four or five; Nurbudda river two coss; Mheyshwur is on the north bank.

There are other passes through, or over, the Sautpoora range, but none fit for the passage of an army. The road to Koondabarra passes by Chandore; may strike off, either at Rapoura or Fooltaumbra; but it is not a good road for cannon; it has some narrow and disagreeable passes, or defiles; and in point of distance, is not a great deal nearer than

* From Neer to Soukra on the Paujur, and thence the road joins near the Koondabarree Ghaut, at Deyhel. From Neer, it may be performed in two marches.

than the road by Cassambarra, from Chandore. A long, rocky, and rather difficult pass here to Loncer Terigora, on the Ghuma river, eight coss; Cergong (within six coss of Mulheer fort) seven coss; Keintrea, a bad defile here, and another, of little consequence, on the road-way, nine or ten coss. An old fort on the hills on the left Pepulnaur, or Pepalmef, on the Paunjer river, three coss; Deyhel five coss; Koondabaree Ghaut two coss; Serfan four or five coss; Nowapoora six; Songhur nine; Byarra, or Berarra, six; Mhowa, W.S.W. eleven or twelve coss; Surat, N.W fourteen or fifteen coss.

Memorandum of the Route between DELHI *and* CABUL.*

From Dehli to Cabul the road is divided into 75 stages.

Stage 1.

Badali-Serai: six coss from Dehli; the inhabitants are chiefly Laharies and Panjabies, employed in trade and commerce; the Zemindars of the district are Jats and Gujers. Formerly this road was lined on both sides with superb palaces, canals, sumptuous mosques and tombs, and the royal gardens of Shalamar; but they are now in ruins. The river Jumma runs in an eastward direction, within a coss of the high road. About forty years ago, the canal of Feroze (now dry) flowed to Dehli. Aali Murden Khan, in the reign of Shah Jehan, first cut a channel for it, and brought it from the hills of Nahen, in northern Cohastan, by Muckplispier to Dehli. Its channel is yet to be seen to the southward of the high road. In consequence of the equality of surface of the grounds here, all kinds of cultivation flourish. An army, with its artillery and baggage, can march here with ease, and there is every accommodation for travellers.

Stage 2.

Nerilah: six coss from Badali; the road is delightfully shaded by lofty trees; and there are many wells of excellent water. Artillery can travel without interruption. In some parts of the district the grass becomes very high in the rainy season, and there are a few wood jungles also; the rest of the land is level, and fit for the cultivation of both Rebee and Khereef; the Zemindars are Jats.

Stage 3.

Sunpat: eight coss from Nerilah; close to the road is a brick serai, built by some of the former princes. The village is inhabited by both Mussulmans and Hindûs during the administration of the nabob Nijaf Khan. Raja Sivanath Kanungo enclosed this village with a wall, and kept the pergunnah's annexed to it in a state of fine cultivation, although his tenants and renters were chiefly thieves and highway robbers. The lands and roads resemble those of the last stages.

Stage 4.

* Vide the remarks at the conclusion of the route, for an account of the author.

Stage 4.

Ganor: eight coss from Sunpat: the Zemindars of these Purgunnahs are Mussulmans of rank, and the villagers mostly Jats. The peasants are so disorderly and uncivilized as to render it necessary to have all the houses, villages, castles, and forts, well enclosed. The lands are fit for the cultiva- of both crops; the road is wide enough for artillery to travel safely; and there are wells of excellent water at short distances, but it is extremely dangerous for travellers to venture without an escort, as the road is infested by thieves and robbers.

Stage 5.

Sambh Lakh: eight coss from Ganor, has a serai in it built of brick.—The inhabitants of the town, and its environs, are Jats. The Jumna runs north of this place, five or six coss, and the canal of Feroze about the same distance south. The lands, in general, are fit for cultivation, except a few jungles of palas and dhac, and there is nothing to prevent the draught of artillery, except that in rains the roads, being formed of tenacious clay, become deep and heavy; travellers are refreshed by the cooling shade of lofty trees, and fountains of excellent water, but they are in continual danger from banditti.

Stage 6.

Panipat: five coss from Sambh Lakh. The Jumna runs at a small distance to the northward, and the canal of Feroze to the south. As this country is covered with thorny and other forests, and at the same time infested by banditti, it is extremely dangerous, and disagreeable for travellers; towards the north it is inhabited by Jats, and to the southward by different tribes of Rajputs, particularly Mandahets, a large proportion of whom are Mussulmen proselytes; the tillers of land who are chiefly Hindûs, are very rebellious and riotous; the roads and lands are very good in general.

Stage 7.

Gharandah: eight coss from Panipat, is a zemindary, belonging to the Mandahel tribe of Rajputs: the lands are good for tillage, and the roads well furnished with refreshing fountains; although there are a few inequalities in the ground, an army, with its artillery, can pass with ease; but the roads are infested with banditti, so as to become very dangerous for travellers.

In the reign of some of the former princes, the inhabitants of this place were ordered to be bannished for their disorderly conduct, and the present possessors have made no improvement in morals.

Stage 8.

Camal: eight coss from Gharandah, is the boundary of the Mahratta dominions, Fazl Aali, a Mussulman proselyte, from the Choban tribe of Rajputs, is the Zemindar, and resides at Chaudelah, in a respectable manner; the canal of Feroze crosses the road from the northward, and there is, to this day, a very strong brick-built bridge over it. Gungpurah Ghat, on the river Jumna, is four coss hence; the road is excellent for artillery, and there are abundance of fine wells, but travellers are in perpetual danger

from

from robbers. The lands are in general fit for the cultivation of Kherøef and Rebbee.

Stage 9.

Aazimabad, commonly called Fillawri: eight coss from Camal. The Zemindars are partly Mandahel, and Cohars, of which a great number are become Mussulmans; Gulshu Khan, the grandson of Nizabet Khan Grinjpunah, is lord of this district: the lands are, for the most part, fit for cultivation, except here and there a forest of Dhac, Babul, and Pilic, and the roads are fit for the carriage of artillery, but very dangerous for travellers. The chief places, Nerdac, famous with Cutchiter, for being the scene of the battle described in the Mahabharat, between Pandus and Curus. The Jumna, and Feroze Canal, are seven coss to the northward.

Stage 10.

Thaniser: twelve coss from Aazimabad, is with all its dependencies, in consequence of the industry of the Sinkhs, very well cultivated; the Rebbee crop yields in greater abundance than the Khereef. About five coss from Aazimabad, are the ruins of a serai, called Hajam; the Surute, a small stream from the hills of Nahen, runs about two coss to the west of the road; to the southward is a very large fountain, said to be built in the time of the Pandus, in the centre of which Aalamger erected a mosque, which has since been destroyed by the religious zeal of the Mahrattas and Sikhs. In the months of Catic and Baisakh, a numerous concourse of Hindûs come on pilgrimage to the fountain.

The chief man at this place is Phoca Sinh Dalah walah: the Zemindars, for the most part are Sikhs and Jats, the rest proselyte Mussulman Rajputs, called Toon. The roads are level, and there are wells of good water, conveniently distributed. You meet a few spots of jungle, but not sufficient to prevent artillery moving with ease.

Stage 11.

Shahabad. A very old town with a brick-built serai, is situated twelve coss from Thaniser: the Sursute runs within two coss of the high road, which is quite level and good, shaded by the foliage of lofty trees, with wells and tanks, at convenient distances, and in every respect calculated for the ease of travellers, except occasionally being infested by robbers. The lands are, except a few jungles, tolerably well cultivated. The Zemindars are Sikhs and Jats, and the chief of the town, Caum Singh Namalla, who has turned the serai into a fort for his own residence.

Stage 12.

Ambala. Thirteen coss from Shahabad. The stream of Cundi, which springs in the northern mountains of Sermer, crosses the road two miles from Shahabad; although the water is not higher that a man's middle, yet its great rapidity makes the fording of it extremely dangerous; after crossing this, there is a small nalah, commonly called Panjbayah, not ankle deep; the roads, in the rainy season, in consequence of the clay and mud, are scarcely passable for an army and artillery, the lands are, in general, fit for all

all kinds, of cultivation, and are now possessed by the nephew of Laal Sinh, deceased, who retains 200 horsemen in his service; there are several packah tanks, and royal buildings in this stage.

Stage 13.

Raja Serai, twelve coss from Ambalah. The river Khakar, which is at six coss distance, is fordable, except in the rains; the road is flat and good, with shady trees, wells, fountains, and mango orchards on either side. The country is exceedingly well cultivated; the Zemindars are chiefly Jats and Sikhs. The town of Rajah Serai, contains about 2000 houses, of which many are of brick and stone. The Oatilah, Rajah Saheb Singh, is the chief of this place,

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Stage 14.

Serhind, is twelve coss from Rajah Serai. The roads are excellent, and fit for artillery to pass over, with many wells, fountains, and shady mango trees on each side, and the lands are in the highest state of cultivation. Rajah Shaheb Sinh, possesses this place, and retains in his service 2000 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry, and can collect a much greater force on emergencies. There is no greater river in the district, except during the rains, and over that there is a brick bridge, near the Shalmar's gardens.

Stage 15.

Kharah Seria, six coss from Serhind, is quite deserted, and only fit for an army to halt at; however, the neighbouring villages afford accommodation for travellers. The roads are excellent, and shaded with lofty trees; the lands are fit for the cultivation of both crops, and there are a number of wells, mango orchards, and tanks. The Zemindars are chiefly jats.

Stage 16.

Serai of Lashcar Khan. From the old Serai, six coss; the roads and lands resemble those of the last stage. The chiefs of it are Tarah Singh and Ghaiba Sinh.

Stage 17.

Ladhiana, twelve coss from Lashcar Khan Serai; the Satley river crosses the road $1\frac{1}{2}$ coss from the latter place. The Zemindars are proselyte Mussulmans, formerly of the Rajput tribe. The roads and lands are exactly similar to those you meet about the last stages, and the chiefs of this district are the above-mentioned Tara Singh, and Ghaiba Singh.

Stage 18.

Phelora, twelve coss from Ladhainah. This country is finely cultivated, and its inhabitants happy, industrious people, who are, particularly on the road side, Afghans and proselyte Rajputs; the lands are level, and the roads fit for armies or travellers, shaded with lofty trees, and having many wells and fountains on each side.

Stage 19.

Nur Mehel Serai, six coss from Phelara; the lands and roads are similar to those about the last stage, and in the possessions of Tarah Singh and Ghaiba Singh.

Stage 20.

Dakhone Serai, seven coss from Nur Mehel Serai: in several parts of the road you trace the ruins of magnificent buildings. In other respects the lands and roads resemble those about Nur Mehel Serai, and the whole is under the management of the same chiefs.

Stage 21.

Necoder Serai, twelve coss from the last. The lands and roads are similar to those of the last three stages; the Zemindars are proselyte Rajputs, and some of the poorer husbandmen Afghans: this stage belongs to the district of Bajwara, and is famous for chandeli, and other cloths of that kind; for the purchase of which, great numbers of merchants assemble from Multan, Cashmir, Cabul, and Peshawer. It is under the management of the above-mentioned Tarah Singh, and Ghaiba Singh, who keep 2000 horsemen in their service.

Stage 22.

Tuti Serai, now in ruins, is situated six coss from Necoder; the roads and lands like those of the former stages; the aumils of this place are Sik'hs, named Bhag Singh, and Golol Singh, who keep up a force of 600 cavalry.

Stage 23.

Sultanpur, six coss from Tuti Serai; the Zemindars and Raiots are Jats, Hindûs and Sik'hs; they formerly held their lands in Altumgha and Jageer. Shaw Chiragh, a famous chief of Lahore, was born in this town; there are a few Zemindaries in this district belonging to Afghans. The lands and roads do not differ in any shape from the last-mentioned stages, except that there is a greater quantity of sugar-cane grown here; they are under Bhag Singh, and Golol Singh.

Stage 24.

Candawal, six coss from Sultanpur; the lands and roads are like those of the last stages, and in possession of the same chieftains, who here maintain a body of 2000 cavalry.

Stage 25.

Aurangabad Serai, is twenty-one coss from Candawal, and in fact equal to two stages from it, as there is no Serai boiling place; but at some distance, on either side of the road, there are many villages, and plenty of inhabitants. About two coss from Candawal, you cross the Biah in a boat; it is seldom fordable. It runs from the northern mountains of Cohestan; the lands and roads continue still the same, and are under the same chiefs as the last stage.

Stage 26.

Nurraddin Kabah, six coss from Aurangabad Serai; you cross a small stream from the northern hills, about half way, which takes a S. W. direction. The Zemindars are chiefly proselyte Jats. Lands and roads like those of the last stage, and under the management of the same chieftains.

Stage 27.

Rajah Talab; six coss from Nuraddin Kabah, is a tank built of stone, with apartments on all sides.

The Zemindars are chiefly jats, and the chiefs are Meher Singh and Subha Singh; in other respects it is exactly like the last stages.

Stage 28.

Duababoujh, a place famous for being the birth place of the first Sik'hs, is four coss from Rajah Talab; it is twelve coss from Amratser, which is their great place of worship; the lands and roads still continue the same, and are in the management of Lakanah Singh, who maintains a body of 1000 horse.

Stage 29.

Khankhanan Serai, six coss from Amanat Khan Serai; the lands and roads like those of the last stage. The last-mentioned chiefs govern this part of the country.

Stage 30.

Lahor, eight coss from Khankhanan Serai; about half way is the residence of Shah Kog: they say Lahore was first began by Ayaz, a slave of Sultan Mahmud, and that after the Sultan's death, his descendants made it a seat of sovereignty; the air is good, and water wholesome; the buildings neat and regular. To the east of the fort, and close under it, runs the Ravi; close to the town is the tomb of Abulhasan, and the dirgah of Shah Hasien Dandhe; the suburbs, which were formerly populously inhabited, are now deserted. There are three Sik'h chiefs in this city, Lahua Singh, Bhange Saheb Singh, and Meher Singh, the son of Subha Singh, and each keeps 1000 cavalry with him. The lands all about are in a state of fine cultivation, and the roads good, except in the height of the rains, when, on account of the clay and mud, it is difficult to move artillery.

Stage 31.

Shah Derah, three coss from Lahor; in the way to it you cross the Ravi, which in the hot winds is sometimes fordable; but mostly requires a ferry boat. In consequence of the redness of its banks, the water of the Ravi appears also red, and it is always.

The tomb of a Nuranddin Mohammed, Jenanger Pedshah, is at Shah Derah, a most noble and princely monument, which, in the year 1796, when Zemaun Shah visited Lahore, was exceedingly admired by him. The chief of this place is Lahana Singh, who is much beloved for his justice and benevolence.

Stage 32.

Fazalabad, four coss from Shah Derah; about half way is the Serai of Arach Khan; the lands are fine, and roads even and fit for artillery; Lahana Singh is the chief of this district.

Stage 33.

Pul Shah Dowlah, or Shah Dowlah's bridge, across a small stream, which runs in the rains from the hills, is five coss from Fazalabad. The lands are in fine cultivation, and the roads excellent, with wells, tanks, and gardens. This place belongs to Judh Singh, who keeps 100 horsemen.

Stage 34.

Aminabad, six coss from Pul Shah

Shah Dowlah; the lands and roads similar to those you meet in the last stage; the Zemindars were originally lords of Khejend: the country here is in the management of Ranjit Singh, son of Subha Singh.

Stage 35.

Serai Raji, also called Gujers Serai, four coss from Aminabad; in this place there is a mud fort, with one or two brick towers or bastions, built by Mah Singh, a Sik'h, who resided in it till the 4th of Shaaban 1211, Hijiri, when Zemaun Shah, on his return to Cabul, ordered it to be levelled with the ground, which was instantly done: the lands and roads are like those of the last stage, and under the management of the same chief, Ranjit Singh, who keeps up a body of 3000 cavalry, and can collect a great number besides in times of emergency.

Stage 36.

Jimakakher, five coss from the last; and in every respect similar.

Stage 37.

Nizamabad, six coss from the last, under the same chief, &c.

Stage 38.

Vizirabad, three coss from Nizamabad. The Zemindars are chiefly Mussulmans, but the chief of this place is Saheb Singh, son of Gujer Singh; he keeps a force of 1000 cavalry; the lands and roads are like those of the last stage.

Stage 39.

Gujerat Shah Daulah, seven coss from Vizirabad; two coss from which you cross the Chenab, which here runs N. and S. In the cold weather, and hot winds, it is sometimes fordable; but an army cannot well cross without boats; the roads and lands still continue equally good, except that the Rebbi yields more in proportion than the Kherif.

Stage 40.

Khas pùrah, generally called Khas Khan's Serai, is fifteen coss from the last; the Zemindars are Jats, of which a good many have become proselytes to the Mussulman faith; the lands and roads are like those of the last stage, and under the same chief.

Stage 41.

Kaskharian, six coss from Khaspurah. In this stage the country begins to take a rocky appearance, and produce very little in comparison with the last stages; for an army, the roads are very difficult to pass; the Zemindars are all Jats and Raihan proselytes.

Stage 42.

Uzbegabad, six coss from Kaskharian; there is a brick Serai to the north of this place, built by some of the descendants of Aalamgir Badshah. The lands fit for the cultivation of both crops, and you find plenty of tanks, and well distributed all about; but the roads scarcely admit of the passage of artillery.

Stage

Stage 43.

Chelam, ten coss from Uzbegabad, is situated at the foot of the hills. A part of the road is very uneven and rocky; the river Bhas runs by this place, and takes the name of Chilum; its source is in the mountain of Tibet, from whence it flows through the town of Cashmir. The roads scarcely admit the passage of artillery, and the river is only fordable in the dry months; it is under the management of Saheb Singh.

Stage 44.

Rohlas, twelve coss from the last stage. It is built on a small hill, and at present is in possession of the Zemindar, Nurkhan Bakhial, who, on Zemaun Shah's arrival, paid his obeisance to him, and at the same time kept up a friendly intercourse with the Sik'hs. In parts of this district, where the lands are even, there is some cultivation; there is always here a scarcity of grain. It is said that Rohlas, which is almost all of stone, was built by the descendants of Shershah, an Afghan of the tribe of Soor. Artillery cannot pass without great difficulty.

Stage 45.

Kasian Serai, six coss from Roblas. It is under the management of Saheb Singh, the son of Gujer Singh; Nurkhan Bakhial is the Zemindar. The roads here are bad, and the lands uneven, and a great scarcity of grain always prevals.

Stage 46.

Pir Jelol, five coss from Kasian Serai. Here is the tomb of Pir Jelol, as also of many other holy men; the lands are uneven and full of jungle, which occasions a great scarcity of grain, and also make the road difficult for artillery to pass. Nurkhan Bakhial is the Zemindar, and Saheb Singh the chief.

Stage 47.

Dhaca Serai, six coss from Pir Jelol; the lands and roads resemble those of the last stage; a scarcity of grain also prevails; the Zemindars of the Kakratribe are Mussulmans.

Stage 48.

Cale Khans Serai, six coss from Dhacu Serai; the lands and roads are like those of the last stage; Saheb Sing, to preserve this Serai, maintains 500 Sawars there.

Stage 49.

Takia Serai, eight coss from the last. It belongs to Terin, of the tribe of Afghans, who speak a mixture of the Panjabi and Pash dialect; they are not under any obedience to the Sik'hs. The lands here are more capable of cultivation, and in consequence the grain is not so scarce. The roads, however, are not good.

Stage 50.

Rawal Pindi, four coss from the last stage, which it resembles in every respect.

Stage 51.

Kherbuza Serai, four coss from Rawal Pindi; close to the Serai is a stream, with a brick bridge over it; the lands here are level and well cultivated.

cultivated, and the roads excellent. The Zemindars are Afghans; the Sikhs sometimes attack them, and carry off numbers of their cattle; however, they pay the Sikhs no tribute.

Stage 52.

Hasan Abdal, seven coss from Kherbuza Serai. The Zemindars are all Mussulman subjects, and tributaries to Zemaun Shah: although the land is uneven and bad, there is some cultivation. About five coss from Kherbuza Serai you cross the stream Cala Pani, which flows from the northern hills; it is in general fordable; the roads here formerly were impassable, till King Acber cut away the jungles, and levelled the precipices, which made it safe and convenient even for artillery. It continued in the same state till after Aulamger's death, since when, from neglect, they have become almost impassable for artillery.

Stage 53.

A deserted Serai, eight coss from Hasan Abdul; near this Serai there are several stone buildings, baths, and apartments, erected by Jehenger Padshah. The Zemindars are all Mussulmans; the lands here are more level than in the last stage, and better cultivated, and the roads are good.

Stage 54.

Another deserted Serai, seven coss, from the last. The lands here are well cultivated, the roads excellent, even for artillery, with wells and fountains at convenient distances.

Stage 55.

Shamsabad, eight coss from the last, is well inhabited. The lands and roads are like those in the former stages, and the Zemindars are Afghans of the Khatæc tribe.

Stage 56.

The city of Atac, six coss from Shamsabad, is built on a small hill on the banks of the river, and contains about 2000 houses; the neighbouring districts are but ill inhsbited, except in one place, where a number of merchants and sellers of cloth reside; from this place, large quantities are carried to Cabul, Balkh, Bokhara, and Tatah Bokhar; there is here a stone fort, built by some princes of the house of Timur. The river Abasin takes the name of Atac from this fort, which it runs close by. The lands are very level, the Rebbee crop is better than the Kherif, and there is more wheat cultivated than rice. The Zemindars are all Afghans of the tribe of Khatac, and tributary to Zemaun Shah; the roads are excellent.

Stage 57.

Khairabad, after crossing the river, is five coss from Atac; the Rebbee crop is better than Kherif; the lands are hilly and rocky, and the roads almost impassable for artillery. There are about 200 houses, with a few shops, and a bazar; the Zemindars are all Khatac Afghans, tributary to Zemaun Shah.

Stage 58.

Caramaskin Serai, eight coss from Khairabad. The Zemindars chiefly Afghans. It contains about

500

500 houses, and the people are tributary to Zemaun Shah. There are wells and fountains of excellent water, and artillery can pass with ease.

Stage 59.

Shahbad, a brick Serai, built by Acber Padshah, ten coss from Coramaskin; the Rebbee crop here comes to greater perfection than the Kherif; the lands are level and well watered, the roads good and delightfully shaded.

Stage 60.

Peshawer, eight coss from Shahbad. Peshawer has a fort and some stone buildings, erected by the descendants of Tamerlane. Timurshah, the father of the present King, Zemaun Shah, constantly comes to this place in the cold weather, and he added many new buildings to the fort. The lands are excellent and well cultivated; the rice produced here excels that of any part of Hindûstan, and the sugar-cane is also very good. The fruits are excellent, particularly the Bihi, which is better than those of Cavul; water is here produced without any trouble for cultivation of the lands and gardens. The air is wholesome and sometimes hot, like that of Delhi; but there is very little rain at any time of the year, nor is there any ice in the cold weather. There is a superb mosque in the city, built by Nabob Mahabet Khan. Several merchants and traders reside here. The roads are lined with houses and trees, the inhabitants are Afghans, and the chief, on the part of Zemaun Shah, is Zirdo Khan, who keeps a force of 5000 horse; artillery can pass with ease.

Stage 61.

Jemrud, ten coss from Peshawer; the lands are all level, well cultivated and watered; the Zemindars are Afghans of the tribe of Khelil: in the town there is a fort; the river of Derah Khaibar, which you meet on the road, is not above knee deep. Artillery can move here with ease.

Stage 62.

Aali Masjidin Cohestan. They say that Amir Almeminin prayed there. In the forts and skirts of the hills the Afride tribe of Afghans reside; the lands are full of small hills; water comes from thence very unclean; grain is very scarce here. The following are the different tribes of Afghans, who are stationed by the Zemindars for the protection of the road from Derah Khaibar. 1st. Khelil, 2d. Girohterai, 3d. Afraid, 4th. Workzei, 5th. Shanwari, and the 6th. Mahmand; the passage for artillery here is difficult.

Stage 63.

Fort of Laacbeg, six coss from Aali Musgid; it is in a town which contains about 300 houses, a bazar, and a large bath with several fountains. The inhabitants are all Afghans; from the unevenness of the ground, they cannot water their lands from the river and tanks, but are obliged to depend on the rains; the roads are like those of the last stage.

Stage 64.

Dhaca, six coss from the last; within two cos of this place, there are seven wells, which, according to history, is the place where Rustum

tum treacherously killed his brother Sistani. There are the remains of a fort here, belonging to Rajah Sal Brahan, one of the oldest Rajahs in Hindûstan; the lands are level and well cultivated, and produce sugar-cane with little labour: the river Nagan flows here, which, about twelve coss from Peshawer, joins the Atac; this place is under the jurisdiction of Peshawer; artillery can pass with safety and ease.

Stage 65.

Besul, seven coss from Dhaca, though hilly, is well cultivated; the wind Simum blows here in the hot weather to the great annoyance of travellers. It rains very seldom, and the lands are chiefly watered from the streams: artillery can pass with ease.

Stage 66.

Jellabad, sixteen coss from Besul; the reason of this stage being so long is, that there is no halting place of safety in the ways, as the Afghans, from both the north and south hills, plunder all caravans that are not well escorted. However, the road is good for an army and artillery: the lands are highly cultivated: the Zemindars and husbandmen are chiefly Moghuls, of the tribe of Tajick, who are very poor, from the unmerciful tribute imposed on them.

Stage 67.

Charbagh, five coss from Jellabad; well inhabited and cultivated; the road level and good.

Stage 68.

Futtihabad, five coss from Char Bagh; the Zemindars are Moghuls; it is under the same chief as Jellabab: the roads and lands excellent.

Stage 69.

Namlah Bagh, eight coss from Futtihabab; was laid out by Nuraddin Jehangir: the roads are level and well shaded.

Stage 70.

Gandang, seven coss from the last; the road is uneven and hilly, and difficult to be passed by artillery; the country, about the hills, is inhabited by Afghans, but badly cultivated.

Stage 71.

Surk'hab, nine coss from Gandang; thinly inhabited, except a few houses of Tajick Moghuls: the Afghans merely cultivated sufficient for their own wants, within the hills. As there are abundance of goats, these people entirely live on flesh, and milk of goats, and make cloathing of their skins: it is difficult to pass here with artillery.

Stage 72.

Jagdalah, ten coss from Surkhad; from here to Cabul the roads are hilly and uneven; by the care of the king, there are many shops on the road side, where grain and other necessaries for travellers are sold: the inhabitants of the hills are chiefly Afghans: the roads are very bad: this place is under the Nizam of Cabul.

Stage 73.

Barikab, eleven cos from the last;

last; the hills about here are chiefly inhabited by Tajick Moghuls; the roads and lands are like those of the last stage, and it is very difficult to draw artillery through them.

Stage 74.

But Khah, eight coss from Barikab: it exactly resembles the last stage, except that the draft of artillery is easier here.

Stage 75.

CABUL, six coss from Butkhak; the lands here are more level than the last stage, and better cultivated; from Jagdalah to near this, in the winter months, the frost is very severe, and from Jellabad to Peshawer there is seldom any ice.—The lands here are chiefly tilled by Tajick Moghuls: the Rebbee excels the Kherif crop.

The compiler of this book, Molovi Abould Kadir Khan, now in the service of John Lumsden, esq. resident at the Nabob Vizier's court, at Lucknow, informs us, that, in the year 1797, in consequence of the current report of Zemaun Shah Durrani having left Cabul, with an intention of invading Hindûstan, Mr. Lumsden dispatched an intelligent man, Shekh Reheim Aali, to Cabul, with instructions to procure, if possible, an exact account of the manners and customs of the Duranees, the state of the country and roads, the power, wealth, and forces of the great chiefs attached to the crown, the condition of the imperial troops, artillery, &c. the relative situations of his enemies and allies, and finally the affection of the minds of his land-holders and poorer subjects. Out of the accounts written from thence, and collected since the return of Rehim Aali, the compiler has selected what he considered the most authentic information, and, at the same time, most useful to his honourable employers, particularly the stages from Shajihanabad (Dehli) to Cabul, which are laid down with the most exact correctness; and, as on a former occasion he was most bountifully rewarded, and graciously honoured, for the exertion of his talents, he again offers himself to their notice, under the humble hope, that this little nezer of duty and gratitude, will be favourably accepted, and that the most devoted of their servants may be honoured with the kheloat of their bounty and grace.

MEMOIR *on the* SITUATION *of* BUNDELCUND *in* 1803.

Chuttersaul Sing, in the year of the hegiree, succeeded a long line of ancestors to the raje of Bundelcund; and, availing himself of the distracted state of the empire, threw off the remains of the Mogul yoke, and perfected the independence of his country. To his dominions he annexed many surrounding mehals, raising, by the vigour of his own administration, the power and influence of the bondelah raje to a height never acquired by his ancestors. It is stated, that under him, the province yielded a land revenue of a crore of rupees, exclusive of resources from the diamond mines. To secure the independence of his posterity against the encroaching power of the Mahrattas, he entered into a close alliance with the peishwa Bajy Row; and, although he had a numerous issue, he addressed the peishwa as his son by adoption, and at his demise, he bequeathed him a third of his dominions, under an expressed stipulation, that his posterity should be protected by the peishwa and his heirs, in the independence of the remainder of his possessions, which he divided between his sons, Savoy Hurdah Sah and Juggut Rauj; the rest of his issue (asserted to have exceeded fifty sons) were left dependent on their two brothers; but what the jaggeerdars allowed them, being barely sufficient for their maintenance, their posterity have sunk into the mass of the people, so that their names are now scarcely known.

The division of the dominions of Bundelcund, bequeathed to the peishwa, comprised the mehals of Kalpee, Halta, Saugur, Jansie, Serong, Kooneh, Gurra Kota, and Hurdy Naghur, the revenues of which were computed at rupees, 30,76,953 1. 1. Gungadhur Balla was nominated by the peishwa as his naib, to superintend the collections. The peishwa likewise granted to Prithenarain the districts of Gurra Kota and Hurdy Naghen, yielding a revenue of six lacs of rupees: he was succeeded by his son, Kishen Sing, and since his death his son, the present rajah Murdun Sing, enjoys the estate as an independent prince.

The division of the raje, to which Savoy Hurdah Sah, the eldest son of Chuttersaul succeeded, denominated the raje of Punna, comprised the fortresses of Kalinger, Mahan, Eritch, and Dhamoony, &c. &c. and was computed to yield a revenue of rupees 38,46,123 13. 10.

The division that fell to the share of Juggul Rauj, comprised the fortresses of Bhondah Ghur, Bhoraghur, Bursa, Ajy Ghur, Runghur, Churghurry, Jeetpoor, &c. &c. the whole denominated the raje of Benda, computed to yield a revenue of rupees 30,76,953 1 1.

Hurdah Sah, rajah of Punnah, was succeeded by his son, Subbah Sing, who left issue, Amaun Sing, Hindooput, and Kait Sing. Hindooput, by the assassination of his eldest brother, Amaun Sing, obtained the raje; his younger brother he put into confinement, and they both died without issue. Hindooput left three children, Sernaide Sing, the eldest issue of a second marriage, and Androod Sing and Dowkul Sing, the issue of his Burrah Ranni. He nominated by will Androod

Androod Sing to the succession; and, during his minority, appointed Bani Huzzoory Dewan, or Kaumdher and Kaim Jee Chowbeh Treasurer, and Killahdar of Kalinger to the office of guardians and managers of the raje. The jealousy which arose between the guardians, each aiming at the sole management, induced Kaim Jee Chowbeh, who was the least powerful, to separate himself from Bani Huzzoory, and to support, with all his influence, the claim set up by Sernaide Sing to the raje. Bani Huzzoory, and Kaim Jee Chowbeh, hence became declared enemies, collected their adherents, and, after various turns of fortune, a desperate battle was fought between them, in which the slaughter on both sides is represented to have been immense, and the most conspicuous of their partizans are said to have fallen. The chiefs, exhausted in their resources, suspended, after this battle, further hostilities; and, on the death of rajah Androod Sing, which happened shortly after, they agreed in the elevation of his brother, Dowkul Sing, to the raje, who being still a minor, they were enabled to preserve the authority they had acquired. The chowbeh possessing the fort of Kalinger, with the country around it, and Bani Huzzoory the remainder of the raje. Sernaide Sing, being thus disappointed in his hopes, applied for assistance to Noona Arjoon Sing, guardian to one of the minor descendants of Juggul Rauj, rajah of Binde.

Before this period, neither political views, nor family connections, had led to any interference between the two rajes. Juggul Rauj left a numerous issue, but parcelled out his dominions into four divisions. To Gomaun Sing, and Komaun Sing, issue of his deceased son, Keerut Sing, was left the two principal shares, and two inferior ones to his own sons, Pahar Sing and Beer Sing Deo. By this division, the fortresses of Bhoraghur, Ajij Ghur, and Runghur, which constituted the raje of Binda, fell to Gomaun Sing, who dying without issue, he nominated Buckt Sing, the son of his brother, Doorg Sing, his heir, during whose minority the management of the raje was under the superintendence of his guardian, Noona Arjoon Sing, to whom Sernaide Sing made application to support his claim to the raje of Punna, in opposition to his brother, Dowkul Sing.

Komaun Sing obtained a country which comprised the fortress called Churcarry, or Ghurry, and a territory yielding about six lacs of rupees, in which he was succeeded by his son, Bejy Behadhur, who has still possession.

To Pahar Sing was bequeathed a country yielding a revenue of about six lacs, and in which is the fortress of Jaitpore; Pahar Sing was succeeded by his son, Gudge Sing, to whom succeeded his son, Kaisseru Sing, who has now the possession; a cousin of Kaisseru Sing, named Taije Sing, is also stated to have obtained a tract of country, and some influence during the late disturbances

Beer Sing Deo, another son of Juggul Rauj, obtained a smaller division of his father's raje, in which is included the small fort of Bejowre. He was succeeded by Kaisseru Sing, his son, who has now possession of a country stated to yield a revenue of six lacs of rupees.

The application of Sernaide Sing, in consequence of the disunion of the guardians of the young rajah of Punnah,

Punnah, was favourably received by Noona Arjoon Sing, the guardian of Buckt Sing, who appealed to arms in support of Sernaide Sing's pretensions; and, in a battle that was fought between him and Bani Huzzoory, the latter was slain: Noona Arjoon, on meeting with this success, abandoned the interest of Sernaide Sing, and annexed the greater part of the possessions of Punna to the territories of Buckt Sing, rajah of Binda, over which, as guardian, he ruled.—Sernaide Sing, after these repeated disappointments, retired to Rajnaghur, the capital of his Pergunnah Lowree, originally bestowed on him as a jaggeer, by his father, Hindooput, where he died, leaving a minor son, by a mussulman woman, named Hurrah Sing, to the care of Soonaijee, a powar, his dewan; but Soonaijee, availing himself of the disturbances that had existed for such a number of years in the country, seized for himself this Pergunnah, and Hurrah Sing is said to be now under the protection of Ameer Cawn, a general in the service of Jesswunt Rao Holkar.

Dowkul Sing, the rajah of Punna, after the death of Bani Huzzoory, accompanied by his mother, the widow of Hindooput, sought and met with a protection from Kaim Jee Chowbeh, Killadar of Kalinger, and from the attachment of the Bohdelahs to the family of their hereditary princes, he continued to preserve some degree of influence over them, and during the vicissitudes of his fortune, obtained a maintenance from the revenues of Pergunnah Kuttolah, and which, at his demise, became the inheritance of his illigitimate son, Kissore Sing; but Luchmun Dobey, who was his dewan, seized for himself the fort of Raj Ghur, to which he has since added the Pergunnah of Powar, yielding a revenue of six lacs, besides the acquisition of the fort of Ajy Ghur, recently obtained.

The fort of Chutterpore has been taken from the minor rajah by Soonaijee, so that his means of support are scanty and precarious. Punna, and its dependencies are said still to acknowledge his right, and his present dewan and guardian is Rajedhur, son of Bani Huzzoory, who retains considerable influence, and is reputed to possess much wealth.

The fort of Kalinger and its dependencies were transmitted by Kaim Jee Chowbeh to his son, Ramkishen; he was succeeded by his son, Burrut Jee, who, dying in the era 1803, his brother, Gudgadhur Chowbeh, the present killadar of the fort, succeeded. The country, dependent on the fort, is not said to yield more than two lacs of rupees, but as he has possession of ten of the diamond mines, the extent of his means from these resources are supposed to be considerable.

The principal leaders in Bundelcund, having fallen in the battles between the two guardians, and the ruin of the country having been completed by the subsequent conquest of the raje of Punna, by Noona Arjoon, it hence became the object of Nanna Furneereez, the Poona minister, notwithstanding the stipulations by which the former peishwa obtained from Chuttersaul one-third of his dominions, to annex the whole of Bundelcund to the Mahratta states. For this purpose he gave the investure of it to Ally Behadhur, son to Shamseer Behadhur, an illegitimate offspring of the peishwa Bajy Row, by a mussulman

mussulman concubine, named Mustauny. Ally Behadhur, accompanied by his brother, Gunny Behadhur, and supported by a powerful army, was opposed in his invasion of Bundelcund by Noona Arjoon, but he falling in the contest, and rajah Buckt Sing being taken prisoner, Ally Behadhur acquired the whole of that part of the raje of Binda, which belonged to Buckt Sing, and all of the raje of Punna, which had been before subdued by Noona Arjoon. The complete conquest of Bündelcund it does not appear he was ever able to effect; and, from information, it may be doubted whether the revenue he realized from the country ever exceeded 24 lacs of rupees.

It was Ally Behadhur's great object to gain possession of the fort of Kalinger, and for that purpose he entertained every European adventurer that offered himself; amongst others taken into his service, was one John Maiselback (nephew to Mr. Heining, Dutch chief of the Chensurah factory) who has of late made so conspicuous a figure in the transactions of Bundelcund. For a period of ten years, Ally Behadhur's attempts to reduce the fort proved abortive, and he died in 1801-2, of a disorder contracted whilst his army was before it. On his death, his brother, Gunny Behadhur, and his dewan, rajah Himmut Behadhur Gossein, in violation of the title of Ally Behadhur's eldest son, Shamsen Behadhur, who was at Poona, proclaimed his youngest son, Zoolfoocar Ally, who was, in the camp, his successor.

In defence of this measure, it is alleged by the partizans of Gunny Behadhur, and Himmut Behadhur, that the commotions likely to break out in the army, which would have been followed by the loss of the country, rendered it absolutely necessary for them to proclaim a successor who was on the spot, and that it was intended merely as a temporary expedient during the absence of Shamsheer Behadhur. By others it is asserted that, as Zoolfoocar Ally was a minor, his elevation had only in view the possession of the power of the government by Gunny Behadhur and Himmut Behadhur; and this latter opinion appears confirmed by the event,—for Gunny Behadhur lost no time in establishing his own authority, and which he had no sooner accomplished than he endeavoured to remove Himmut Behadhur, by whom he had been raised, but of whose influence and power he had every reason to be jealous.

Himmut Behadhur, not deficient in abilities, and of a character ambitious and intriguing, is said to have written to Shamshur Behadhur, at Poonah, to proceed immediately to Bündelcund as the only means of defeating the usurpation of his uncle; whilst, through John Muselbach, he made proposals for the surrender of the country to the English. Had the latter proposition not been accepted, he looked to securing the continuance of his own power by the effectual assistance he could render Shamshur: from the English, however, it is said he obtained all he desired, and to that alliance he remained firm, abandoning the interest of the son of his former master. Shamshur Behadhur lost no time in proceeding to Bundelcund, and notwithstanding the disaffection of Himmut, found a sufficient number of adherents to enable him to expel his uncle Gunny Behadhur; but, as the English had in the interval,

terval, obtained the cession of the country from the peishwa, who considered himself lord paramount, Shamshur deemed it expedient to yield up his doubtful claim for a liberal compensation: this alliance does not appear to have advanced our prospects, as the Bondelahs never acknowledged Shamshur for their lord.

It is therefore to be apprehended, the right of the English to Bundelcund, must be established by conquest, or by treaties with those who have an inherent right to the country.

To the heirs of the family of Hirdah Sing, and to the heirs of the family of Juggut Rauj, who may be in possession of any part of the raje of Punna, or the raje of Binda, justice requires that an ample compensation should be made for the surrender of their rights.—To the heirs, likewise, who, in the commotions of the country, may have lost their possessions, such as Hurrah Sing and Buckt Sing, policy, as well as compassion, demand that they should be provided for, and a measure of this kind would tend to attach the inhabitants to our government.—The descendants of Chuttersaul, who obtained Jaggeer grants, ought also to be assured of being confirmed in them. There can be little doubt but the killadar of Kalinger, on consenting to give up that fortress, would be entitled to ample compensation. From the upstart usurpers, such as Soonaijee, Lutchmun Dobey, rajah Ram, and several others who have seized on forts and pergunnahs, to which they have no shadow of right or title, can only be demanded the unconditional surrender.

A table of the descendants of the rajahs of Punnah, and of the rajah of Binda, is annexed, as likewise a statement of the present averaged amount of the revenue: but the latter, however, from the imperfect materials whence it has been drawn out, must of course be incorrect, and is not to be depended on.

To the EDITOR *of the* ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

Scindiah's Camp, June 4, 1806.

SIR,

I have herewith the pleasure to send a journal, which I have amused myself by keeping during our march to this camp, for the purpose of being inserted in your excellent miscellany, if it meet your approbation. As I have written my journal in haste, I hope you will have the goodness to make such alterations, in inaccuracies, as may be necessary to make it fit for publication.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

T. D. BROUGHTON.

Journal of the march of the British Embassy, from Rampoora to the Camp of MAH RAJA DOULUT RAO SCINDIAH, *and of its reception there; by* CAPTAIN BROUGHTON, *commanding the Resident's escort, in March,* 1806.

On the 28th of March we arrived at Rampoora; having marched from Futtitpoor-Sikri in thirteen days, including one halt at Koosheul Ghur. We came by the route so accurately described by Dr. Hunter, and had occasion to differ from him only in one instance, with regard to distance; this was on the last day's march from Bugwant Ghur, which the doctor lays down as being twenty-three miles from Rampoora, whereas we made it no more than fifteen. Half way from the former place, we passed by the fort of Durwara, lying to the right of the road. It is built on a rising ground, and surrounded with a stone wall flanked with round towers. Another wall of the same height, also with towers, but apparently built of mud, runs round the pettah, or town. To the W. of Durwara is seen the fortress of Sarsop, crowning the summit of a high conical hill, about ten miles distant. Nearer Rampoora is the tomb of a celebrated Mussulman Saint, on the top of a high rock, from whence is a most commanding view of the country for several miles around. Rampoora is a large square fort, built in the centre of an extensive plain. It has a stone wall, with round bastions and a ditch. The only gateway is to the northward, where it was most gallantly assaulted, and carried, in May, 1804, by the detachment under lieutenant-colonel Don. It is, at present, garrisoned by fourteen companies of native infantry, and a party of artillery; who, both officers and men, anxiously expect the hour, when the fort and district will be delivered up to Holkar, in conformity with the treaty of January, 1806; and they turn their backs on a place where they have suffered the greatest hardships, from a deprivation of every

every comfort, and almost every necessary of life, since the time when the honourable colonel Monson retreated from it, before Holkar's army in August, 1804. Outside the fort are the tombs of captain Hutchinson, and lieutenants Purvis and Turnbull; the former was left in command of the place by colonel Monson, and distinguished himself afterwards by the capture of several smaller forts in the neighbourhood. He died November, 1805, sincerely regretted by the whole of the garrison, who have erected to his memory a neat and simple monument. It is built, as well as the other two, in the Hindustanee fashion, and consists of a dome supported upon arches; under which is a stone coffin, carved and ornamented with military trophies. They are all executed in a style superior to what could have been expected in a situation so remote.

On the 30th, we re-commenced our march towards Scindiah's camp, then lying in the neighbourhood of Oodipore. We reached Kuhkar at eight o'clock; a distance of eleven miles. The road is good, and runs over a large flat plain, presenting, now and then, spots of cultivation. It may here be sufficient to observe, that such is the general appearance of the whole of this part of the country. The hills rise abruptly from the plain, and are mostly of a soft flaky stone, of a reddish colour, which becomes harder by exposure to the air. Very few trees are to be seen, except in the neighbourhood of the villages; and those are neither large nor luxuriant. The crops too, are by no means so rich as those we saw in the districts of Bhurtpoor and Jypoor. They are mostly of wheat and barley; but they raise also gram, bassim, juvari, and other inferior grain, as well as tobacco, sugar-cane, flax, and some herbs, used for common dyes. These last are frequently mixed with the barley and wheat, which gives the crops a slovenly appearance. When they sow, they do not scatter the seed, but put five or six grains into holes, made in regular lines across the fields; similar to what, in many parts of England, is called "*dibbling*." The gram, a coarse kind of pea, and barley harvest had commenced; and we passed several groups of peasants assembled to guard their crops from the depredations of our camp-followers. They shewed no kind of alarm at our approach, but seemed pleased at our entering into conversation with them; and spoke in high terms of the protection afforded them by the British government, during the time they had been subjected to it.

Kahkor is situated at the southern extremity of a long range of hills. On the top is the residence of the Foujdar, a large and strong building. It is connected with the outer wall, (which runs entirely round the fort and town) by two or three walls down the slope of the hill. Within the outer wall, and parallel to it, are two others, nearer the summit, which enclose the palace. The whole are built of large stones, and are strengthened with round towers, at equal distances. The principal gateway is to the southward; there is another towards the north; and a wicket in the west face, which opens on a large and romantic piece of water, stretching northward to a considerable extent. The whole has a grand and striking appearance, and bears a greater resem-

blance

blance to the ancient castles of Europe than any other structure I have yet seen in India. It is, however, by no means a place of strength, according to modern tactics. The outer wall alone has a ditch, but neither wide nor deep; and the inner ones would be easily scaled, in every part, with ladders of a moderate length. The walls besides are so extensive, that men would require a very considerable garrison to defend them. About three miles to the eastward of the town, are three flat stones, fifteen or sixteen feet long, fixed upright in the earth, and covered with Hindû figures. They are called the arrows of Bheem, who is said to have shot them from the top of a hill five miles off; where they also shew the elephant on which he rode, now turned into a large rock, and certainly bearing some resemblance to the form of that animal.

31st. We marched eleven miles and a quarter to Mihidooas, a large village in the district of Tone, at present under our protection. The road is crossed by two or three small nullas, or ravines, but is, upon the whole, pretty good. We saw several villages at some distance from the road, on both sides, the principal of which are Nuwada, Wina, and Lama. We also passed by three large tanks of good water, with trees planted on their banks. The bazars, or markets, throughout this part of their country, are principally supplied with rice, sugar, spices, and drugs of all kinds from the Dooab, and the north banks of the Ganges. These articles are, consequently, all very dear.

April 1st. Encamped at Thoda, after a march of thirteen miles and a half. It is a considerable town, built in the midst of a cluster of rocks, which lie at the northern extremity of a range of high hills. There are some fine temples, and other large buildings of stone, hewn out of the rock, which here and there protrude among the houses, and make a singular and striking appearance. In the centre of the place is a surai, with two handsome gateways of stone. It is going, however, fast to decay. The town contains about three thousand inhabitants, who are remarkably fair, and well-looking. They are very civil, and appeared pleased at the notice we took of them, and of their town. Indeed, throughout our journey, we uniformly found the inhabitants attentive and obliging, if well treated; but ready, in an instant, to repel any attempt at ill-usage from the camp-people. Their manners are pleasing and unconstrained; and equally free from insolence, and that slavish submission which is so common in the more eastern parts of India. The number of Artizans, and shops in Thoda, where grain, coarse cloths, sword blades, vessels of brass and copper, &c. are exposed for sale, is greater than could have been expected from the size of the place. On the whole it exhibits every appearance of a well-regulated and thriving town. Below the town, and surrounding the heap of rocks to the northward, is an extensive grove of tamarind trees, through which the road runs, and where several handsome buolees, or large wells, are to be met with. To the eastward is a jeel of good water, on which we found a number of wild ducks and teul. To-day we crossed the Bunas river; the bed is sandy,

sandy, and full of rocks; there was but little water, and the current very gentle.

2nd. Marched eleven miles and a half, to Bugera, a large town surrounded by a mud wall, flanked with round bastions, and having a square fort with high stone walls, and round towers in its centre. To the northward is a large jeel, between which, and the walls of the place, runs the best road: there is another under the south face. The ramparts were crowded with the inhabitants, armed with matchlocks, swords, &c. and many of them came outside the gates to see us pass. They were very civil, but betrayed a great dislike to admitting us within their walls. When we remonstated against the inhospitality of shutting their gates upon us, they acknowledged the truth of the charge, and laid the whole to the score of their fears of letting the multitude of camp-followers within the town, who, under the sanction of our name, and the presence of the troops, would probably commit every kind of irregularity and violence. They added, that if we could return in two or three hours, when the camp was pitched, and the people a little quiet, they would gladly show us every thing that was to be seen; an offer which, however civil, the heat of the day prevented our accepting. To the north-east of the town is a large temple, sacred to Balligee; it is built of stone, and covered with sculpture. A considerable mela, or fair, for grain and coarse cloths, is held annually at this temple, into which we were freely admitted. The road to-day was good, and ran through part of the province of Ajmeer, belonging to the raja of Juodpoor.

3rd. Marched ten miles and a half, to Kekuri, a large village surrounded with a mud wall.—The road, which was good, crossed the bed of a small nula, called the Dhy. We saw only one village to-day, called Meooda. Surjee Rao Gooatka, the father-in-law of Scindia, and the declared enemy of the British government, was encamped about ten miles from us, at a place called Dhunoo. He had lately made an attempt to regain his former influence at the Durbar of the Mah Raja, through the means of his daughter Beezah Bhyee. Scindia acted with becoming spirit on the occasion, and ordered him instantly to quit the camp; at the same time informing the Bhyee, that if she preferred her father's fortune to his, she was at liberty to follow him whenever she pleased. Umbajee, who introduced Surgee Rao into the camp, was on the instant deprived of his high office, and put in arrest, where he has continued ever since. Gooatka is, at this time, in the employ of the Juodpoor Raja; with a party of whose troops he is endeavouring to intercept a party of the Joudpoor Raja's people, bearing a present from their master for the eldest daughter of the Rana of Oodipoor, for whose hand the two Rajas are rival candidates. The little history of this affair is somewhat curious. The Rana of Oodipoor being acknowledged by the Hindûs as the head of their religion, an alliance with him is, of course, an honour, to which princes of the highest rank, and purest blood, can alone aspire. The Rajas of Jypoor and Joudpoor, neither of whom can possibly have ever seen the lady in question, and who have each, at least, three or four wives already, assert, both of them, a first promise from

from the Rana; and neither will so far depart from the point of honour, as to accept the hand of the second daughter, and allow his rival to carry off the eldest in triumph. Both parties are preparing for war; but as Scindia has decidedly espoused the cause of the prince of Juodpoor, it is probable, the other party may be induced to listen to an accommodation, without affording to the world so serious a proof of his gallantry and deference for the fair sex.

4th. Marched to the village of Kadeera, a distance of twelve miles and a half. The road good, and the country, immediately about a small village called Kooah, well cultivated, in consequence of its being protected from inundation, by an extensive bound or causeway, running north and south. We crossed the beds of two nulas to-day, both quite dry, and neither of them deep or rugged.

5th. Marched fifteen miles to Shahpoora. It is a large town, surrounded with strong stone wall, flanked with sound bastions, and has a good ditch faced also with stone. It is governed by a Raja, calling himself tributary to the Rana of Oodipoor, but who contrives to keep himself on good terms with, and independent of the various chiefs who possess territory in this part of the province of Ajmeer Ukere; the boundaries of their several possessions are very ill defined. We here met the party of Jypoor troops escorting the techa, or marriage present, for the princess of Oodipoor, an essential article of which was a cocoa nut. Upon the walls we saw some ill-mounted Hindûstanee guns; but were very gravely assured, by the inhabitants, that there were upwards of 200 pieces of ordnance in the fort. To the westward of the town is a large jeel, the surface of which is above the level of the ditch, which may thus be filled at pleasure, and in a very short time. The road to-day was worse than usual. We crossed the Kura Undee, both branches of which are of kankur, steep and rugged. We also crossed the bed of the Bala Nuddee, the banks of which are likewise of kankur; but not so steep or rugged as those of the Kara: both these streams empty themselves into the Chumbul.

6th. Marched thirteen miles and a half, to Mooah, an inconsiderable village belonging to the Raja of Binera, a tributary of Oodipoor, whose town and fortress we saw from the road, romanticly situated in the midst of a high range of hills, about eight miles distant from us. We passed also by the village of Deekora, built at the bottom of a single hill, on the top of which is a strong castle of stone. We crossed, to-day, the beds of two small nulas, both dry at present, which, when full, empty themselves into the Bunas. The name of the first we met with, was Oodas; for the other I could learn no name.

7th. Marched, by an excellent road, to Bilwara, about eleven miles. Two miles and a half from our old ground, we passed under the fort of Sunganeer, seized by the Kota Raja, about three years since, from the Rana of Oodipoor. It is a large squ re fort, built of stone, and has a p ttah, also surrounded by a st ne wall. Bilwara is a large open town, without any walls, and belongs to Beezah Bhyee, the wife of the M ah Raja.

8th and 9th. Halted. We went to visit a celebrated Hindû temple in the town, at the entrance to which

which are two elephants of stone, with their drivers, tolerably well executed. The large buolees, or wells, in this part of the country, are particularly worthy of notice; they are generally square, built of excellent masonry, and have a handsome flight of steps leading down through an arch, to the water's edge. We were here joined by Raja Gossal Kishun, a good natured, jovial fellow, exceedingly fat, and much more addicted to his bottle, and similar pleasures, than to the performance of the rites and ceremonies enjoined by his religion. He is appointed a kind of agent, on the part of the Mah Raja, to reside in our camp.

10th. Marched twelve miles and a half, and encamped near the little village of Dooria, and about half a mile beyond Kinduramal, on the south bank of the Bahula nala, which is deep, and the banks bad. At present, there is but little water; but in the rainy season it must be rapid and difficult to cross; it runs into the Bunas. The road to-day was a good deal intersected by hallows and ravines. About half way we passed by the little town of Poorh, romanticly situated amidst a number of rocky hills, on the tops of many of which are little Hindû temples. There is a fine piece of water in front of the town.

11th. Encamped at Rasmi, after a march of upwards of fourteen miles; a village, built at the foot of a high and perpendicular range of hills, on the south of the Bunas. The river is here broad, but not deep, and at present there is only a small stream running through the sand. The road to-day bad, rocky, and intersected by ravines.

12. Encamped about a mile beyond the village of Kussasun, after a march of thirteen miles and a half. We passed by two or three other villages quite deserted, in consequence of the vicinity of Scindia's camp. Near one, called Tisari, were a number of fine datn trees, the first I have observed in this part of the country. Kussasue is bounded to the north and north-east by a large jeel, formed by a causeway running east from the village, and about half a mile in length. It is faced with a stone wall on the water side, and being planted with a number of fine tamarinds, mango, muoah, and other trees, afford a shady and pleasant walk. Some of the mango trees were much larger than any I ever saw on the banks of the Ganges. The inhabitants, few in number, complained bitterly of the neighbourhood of Seendheen's camp, which exposed them to constant depredations. We found here a party of horse who had deserted from camp, in consequence of being kept too long without pay. A sirdar soon after arrived in quest of them, and giving them a profusion of fair promises, and, perhaps, a little money, induced them to return. This is a common trick among them, when their arrears have been longer withheld than usual, that is, perhaps, fourteen or fifteen months, and no opportunity presents itself of making up for it by plunder.

13th. Marched eleven miles and a half to Ukola, and encamped near the ground which Seendheen quitted yesterday; in consequence we were most dreadfully annoyed by flies, which swarm about the heaps of old forage, and filth scattered over the camp.

14th. A deputation of Mahratta chiefs, consisting of Gossal Bao, his son, and the Nawab Shuhamut Khan,

Khan, having arrived about three o'clock this morning, sent by Scindia for the purpose of escorting us to camp; we marched at day-break, and before eight o'clock reached the Mah Raja's camp, and pitched our tents on the banks of the Oodi Sagar, a small river, so called from a lake of the same name about twenty-two miles off, in the neighbourhood of Oodipoor. While we were at breakfast, an old man came in, and placing himself at the right hand of the resident, began to relate, as fast he could utter his words, the news of the Durbar. He is called a Khuburdar, and his duty is to remain always near the person of the prince, over all whose actions, even the most private, he is an acknowledged spy, and of which he brings, once a day, an account to his employer. A similar officer remains in our camp, on the part of the Mah Raja.

It having been settled that our first audience was to take place in the afternoon, the noise of trumpets and drums commenced in the prince's camp, about two o'clock; at three we were all ready, and assembled in the great tent, waiting for intelligence of the Mah Raja mounting his elephant, which was to be the signal for our moving. It was, however, past four o'clock, when a Hirkara brought us word, that the Mah Raja had ordered his palkee, and was set out. Our procession consisted of three elephants and several palkeens; the elephant on which the resident rode, had a hondu of silver-gilt, and was lined with crimson velvet, and covered with a jool, or howsing, of dark blue broad cloth, richly embroidered with gold and silver. The procession was led by spearmen, followed by Assaburdars, Sontaburdars, and Chobdars, or running footmen, bearing silver maces of different sizes, all clothed, as well as the other attendants, in white, with orange-coloured turbans, and kummurbunds, ornamented with purple and silver. The gentlemen of the resident's suite, who were on elephants, came next, followed by the remainder in palkees; behind them were the Moonshee, Durogha y Nasir, and other principal native officers, attached to the residency, on horseback; and a troop of native cavalry closed the procession, which was followed by all the rabble of both camps. We found the road, from the front of our encampment to the passage of the river, lined with Mahratta horse, regularly drawn up; large bodies of which also kept galloping about in the rear of those who formed the street. As soldiers, they by no means made a good figure, being ill-clothed, ill-armed, and generally ill-mounted. Nothing like uniformity of dress is to be seen among them; it consists of a loose gown, called an unga, generally of plain white cloth, but sometimes of coloured silk or chintz: when it is quilted with cotton, which is common enough, it is called a zaluk; a pair of large trowsers of any kind, a turban and a kummurbund; the former generally fastened by a handkerchief under the chin. Their arms are a sabre, slung by a leather belt, over the right shoulder, or stuck in the kummurbund: a round shield of Buffalo, or Ox hide, hanging over the left shoulder, and a long spear, or a matchlock: some have besides a pistol or a dagger. The commander of a risalu, or troop, is seldom to be distinguished from his men; except sometimes by

by wearing clothes of a little finer quality, and being mounted on a better horse. He rides at their head, and they follow indiscriminately, en masse. If the leader is of any rank, he is preceded by a man on a camel, or on horseback, beating a couple of small kettle-drums, called nugara, and half a dozen smaller drums and trumpets: the notes they produce are abominable, without the least harmony, and to be admired, one would suppose, merely from habit, and for their noise. He is also followed by a couple of standards, either of silk, or cloth of gold, and always triangular. There were probably about 10,000 of these figures assembled upon this occasion, and they, with the camp spreading around us almost as far as we could see; the crowds that flocked from all quarters, together with the suwaree of the Mah Raja advancing to meet us, formed an assemblage of objects, which combined with the variety of noises, the heat and the dust produced a most animated and striking effect; and the idea that this was all passing in the camp of a prince, with whom we had so lately been waging "dreadful war," added not a little to the interest of the scene. About half-way the Mah Raja met us; he was in a state palkee of scarlet and gold, preceded by hirkarus, on foot, on camels, and on elephants; standard bearers, spearmen, drums and trumpets innumerable, and attended by all his principal sirdars. We alighted from our elephants at the same time he quitted his palkee; and after the resident had been received with a most cordial embrace, we were all introduced, separately and by name, but were by no means so highly honoured; he contenting himself to return our compliment by graciously extending his right arm over our left shoulder. The Mahratta chiefs were then severally introduced to the resident, and after some compliments had passed, we re-mounted our elephants, and the whole proceeded to the Durbar. The Mah Raja's tents are by no means remarkable either for size or magnificence. The Durbar was held under the outer fly, only of a two-poled tent, lined, as well as the outer kanaths, or walls, with common red kurwa. Behind was another tent, and then a skreen of kanaths, which separated three or four others, allotted for the Zeinana from the first two. The whole were surrounded by high kanaths, and formed an enclosure of about fifty by eighty yards. Within the first square were picketed several horses; and immediately opposite the entrance of the great tent, was a common chouka, or spot of ground of a yard square, well-cleaned and smoothed with goobur, in the midst of which a Hindû sits to dress his dinner; there were two choolas also, or holes in the earth, in which the fire is placed, and which bore evident marks of being used that morning. The Mah Raja was seated at the further end of the tent, on a square cushion covered with an embroidered carpet, and having large pillows at the back and sides; his chiefs were ranged on each side of him, and, as we entered the tent, the whole stood up. The floor was spread with a clean white cloth; when we reached the edge of which, we took off our Hindûstanee slippers, and advanced to make our salam to the prince. He pointed to some carpets of flowered broad cloth on his left hand, and we sat down, with our legs crossed under us,

us, taking great care, according to the etiquette of eastern courts, that the soles of our feet should be as little seen as possible; a position, to those who are not used to it, intolerably irksome, and difficult to keep long. Scindia is twenty-seven years of age, but looks younger; he is about five feet six inches in height, and rather fat; the expression of his countenance is sedate, but pleasing, and struck us all as greatly resembling the portrait of our king Henry the VIIIth; the mode in which he wore a red turban, drawn a little to the left side, added to this likeness. He was dressed in a fine white muslin unga, over which, when he met us, he wore another of gold brocade, but had taken it off previous to our arrival at the tent; a pair of trowsers of cloth of gold, and an oornee, or shawl of thin red gauze, with a deep gold border, beautifully wrought with coloured silks. He wore a number of diamond and emerald rings, and around his neck a profusion of strings of pearls and emeralds, the latter strung and not cut. He had also several strings of sandal-wood beads, intermixed with gold ones, which hung below his breast; and in his ears he wore large rings of very fine pearls; they appear to be his favourite ornament; and he affects to be called "Mootee Wala," or the man of pearls. A sword, plainly mounted, lay by his side, and in his girdle was a dagger, with a silver handle, set with diamonds. One of his attendants kept constantly supplying him with pan, and held a small silver vessel to receive them from his mouth; he had generally three or four chewing at a time. His cousin, Desmooh Rao, sat immediately at the Mah Raja's right hand. He also wore pearls and emeralds, but none of the other sirdars wore them, or indeed any other kind of finery. Their dress universally consisted of an unga of white muslin, with a turban and kummurbund of the same, and trowsers of rich brocade. The Mah Raja himself spoke little, and when he did it was in a low, but very soft voice; his deportment is grave and reserved, according to the established custom for all great men in Hindûstan. His sirdars, however, spoke to each other, or to us, or made their remarks to the prince with great ease and politeness, especially our friend the Raja Gossal Kishun, who placed himself immediately at the feet of the Mah Raja; and, at every pause in the general conversation, made a set speech, setting forth the happiness of the present interview, the amiable qualities of both parties, the great delight he experienced on the occasion, &c. &c. much to the edification of the Durbar. It was, however, impossible not to be struck with the air of decorum and respect, apparent in the œconomy of the Durbar; totally free from that troublesome ceremony and affectation of magnificence, which prevails in all the Mohammedan courts. After sitting a suitable time, the khiluts, or presents, were brought in, which consisted of eight trays, for the resident, filled with shawls, muslins, turbans, brocades, &c. and one for each of us, in which were a pair of shawls, a piece of brocade, one of muslin, a turban, and an oornee. The Mah Raja then fastened, with his own hands, a serpech of emeralds upon the resident's hat, and one of the sirdars did the same by us, having first, however, offered the jewel to

to be touched with his master's hand. Atur, pan, spices, and rose-water were then distributed, in the same manner, by his highness to the resident, and by one of his chief's to the rest of the party. We then rose to take leave, and returned to our tents, fatigued with the heat and the painful position in which we had been sitting. A horse and an elephant, neither of any value, were waiting on the outside of the Mah raja's kanaths, for the resident's acceptance.

This visit was not returned till the 24th of April, in consequence of some disputes having arisen respecting the number of khilats to be presented to the Mah raja and his suite. One hundred and fifty were at first demanded; which were afterwards reduced to sixty-seven. Two tents were pitched together for his reception, and spread with white cloth; and the troops formed a street from them to the bank of the river. Three o'clock in the afternoon was the hour fixed by the Mah raja for his coming; but he did not arrive till past five; and then attended by such a number of troops, and such a rabble, that we were obliged to re-form our men in line, to afford his highness room to get to the tents. He had brought with him a battalion of Tilingas, or regulars; another of matchlock-men, two twelve-pounders loaded with grape, and all the cavalry of his camp: the battalion primed and loaded as they came up, and formed in front of our Sipahees; to whom such excessive precaution to guard against six companies, in the heart of his own camp, was a source of no small triumph and ridicule. So much time was taken up in presenting the khilats, that the visit was not concluded till half-past seven o'clock, when the Mah raja returned to his tent, apparently well pleased with the attention that had been paid to him,

The army at present with the Mah raja is not considerable. It consists of seven battalions, formed into a brigade, under an Armenian named Jacob; another brigade of four battalions under a native Portuguese, called Baptiste, who is at present under arrest. These battalions, however, which are the remains of those formed under the inspection of Du Boigne and Perron, do not, at the utmost, consist of more than 400 men each. To each battalion are attached two or more guns; and to each brigade a small park. The grand parks may contain, perhaps, thirty guns, of all sizes and descriptions. The golundiz, or gunners, are the most faithful of the Mah raja's troops. Their numbers are, however, greatly diminished; and their skill, since the loss of the European officers who instructed and superintended them, very inferior. The rest of the army is composed of cavalry, regular and irregular; and, perhaps, a thousand alligoles and miwatees, or irregular infantry. By regular, I mean such as receive at least, a nominal monthly payment; and by irregular, those who take the protection of the camp, and support themselves by plunder, or any other means which offers itself. The remains of European discipline rea to be found still in the infantry brigade; but it is merely the remains. The battalions march in columns of companies, or divisions; the words of command are given in English; they have drums and fifes, with which they play English tunes; and I have several times seen Scindia's own guard marched off to "God save the King," and "Rule Britannia." But this is only

show; the total annihilation of discipline is a subject of complaint, even among the Sipahees themselves; who, although they are guilty of every species of licentiousness, with impunity, nevertheless most sensibly lament the loss of their European officers, to whom they were accustomed to look up with confidence, as their leaders in battle, and their protectors in camp. They, nevertheless, allow themselves the liberty of abusing them all, but especially Perron, without mercy. Could the great and enlightened nobleman, who lately presided over the British councils in India, require a further vindication of his Mahratta war; a most satisfactory one would, I think, be found, in comparing the present state of Scindia's army, with what it was at the commencement of hostilities, in 1803. The universal opinion of the common soldiers, in the Mahratta army is, that if we had not seduced from them their European officers, we should not have beaten them. Whether the destruction of a party, in whom such confidence was placed, and who were the declared and natural enemies of our government, was a point of the most absolute necessity or not, is a question which it is not my province to enter into, but which I should imagine would require no casuistry to decide.

POETRY.

A GAZZEL FROM THE DIWANEE-HAFIZ.

Translated by John Nott, Esq.

Give, O give love's sportful joys;
Youth, and all that youth employs;
Wine like rubies, bright and red;
And the board with dainties spread;
Gay associates, fond to join
In the cup of circling wine!

Give the hand-maid's lip divine,
Blushing deeper than her wine.—
Minstrels vers'd in tuneful art;
And the friend that's next our heart;
With the valu'd, cheerful soul,
Drainer of the brimful bowl!

Give the nymph, that's tender, kind,
Pure in heart, and pure in mind,
As th' unsullied fount that laves
Eden's banks, with blissful waves;
And whose beauty, sweetly bright,
Shames the clear moon's full-orb'd light!

Give the festive hall, that vies
With our boasted Paradise;
Round it, breathing rich perfume,
Let refreshing roses bloom;
Such as, with unfading grace,
Deck the blest abode of peace!

Give companions, who unite
In one wish, and one delight;
Brisk attendants, who improve
All the joys of wine and love;—
Friends, who hold our secrets dear,
And the friend who loves good cheer!

Give the juice of rosy hue,
Briskly sparkling to the view,
Richly bitter, richly sweet,
Such as will exhilarate;
While the fair-one's ruby'd lip, *
Flavours ev'ry cup we sip.

Give the girl, whose sword-like eye
Bids the understanding die;
Tempting mortals to their fate,
With the goblet's smiling bait;
Damsels give, with flowing hair,
Guileful as the hunter's snare!

Give, to spend the classic hour,
One deep-read in learned lore;
One, whose merry, tuneful vein
Flows like our gay poet's strain;
And whose open, gen'rous mind
Blesses and improves mankind!

Mortals, wilfully unwise,
Who, these mirthful gifts despise,
Entertain no pleasing sense
Of voluptuous elegance:
Scarce of such, can it be said,
That they differ from the dead.

* It was customary with the Asiatics, in their potations, to eat every now and then of some grateful sweetmeat, the better to relish their wines. Our poet, therefore, elegantly says: " Let the rubies (of the lip) of a mistress be our sweetmeat."

ANOTHER GAZZEL FROM HAFIZ.

By the Same.

The season comes, that breathes of joy,
In rosy garment drest;
Let mirth, my friends, your care employ;
O, hail the smiling guest!
Old age! now warns us to improve
The vernal hours with wine and love.

To the fond wishes of the heart,
How few are gen'rous found!
And the sweet hours, which bliss impart,
Pass on in hasty round:
Then for the wine I love so well,
My sacred carpet I will sell.

The gale, that smells of spring, is sweet;
But sweeter, shou'd the fair,
With winning elegance replete,
Its grateful freshness share:
By her gay presence cheer'd, we pass,
With brisker glee, the rosy glass.

Soft sweep the lyre of trembling strings;
'Twill fate's black rage suppress;
Fate, o'er the child of merit, flings
The mantle of distress:
Then let loud sorrow's wailing cry,
Be drown'd in floods of melody.

With boiling passion's eager haste,
Comes forth the blushing rose;
Shall we not wine like water waste,
Soft dashing as it flows?—
Now, that our throbbing bosoms prove
The wild desires of hope and love.

O Haufez! thy delightful lay,
That on the wild wind floats,
Resembles much, our poets say,
The nightingale's rich notes.—
What wonder then, the music flows
In the sweet season of the rose.

Free Translation, in Verse, of an Elegy composed by Shah Allum after the loss of his Sight.

(By Captain Franklin.)

[A translation of this Elegy, by Col. Symes, appeared in the first Volume of the Register.

* Where, with bright pomp, the stately domes arise,
In yon dark tow'r an aged monarch lies,
Forlorn, dejected, blind, replete with woes,
In tears his ven'rable aspect shews;
As thro' the lonely courts I bent my way,
Sounds struck my ear, which said, or seem'd to say,

" Lo, the dire tempest gathering from afar,
" In dreadful clouds has dimm'd the imperial star;
" Has to the winds, and broad expanse of heav'n,
" My state, my royalty, and kingdom giv'n!
" Time was, O king, when cloth'd in pow'r supreme,
" Thy voice was heard, and nations hail'd the theme;
" Now sad reverse, for sordid lust of gold,
" By trait'rous wiles, thy throne and empire sold.
" See yon fierce Afghan,† with intemp'rate haste,
" Gleams, like a meteor, thro' the palace waste,
" Frowning terrific, threatens with a grave.
" Thy progeny, O Timoor, good and brave;
" Yet, not the treatment from th' inhuman foe,
" Not all my kingly state, in dust laid low,
" Can to this breast such tort'ring pain impart,
" As does,‡ O Nazir, thy detested art;
" But, tho' too late, the day of reck'ning come,
" The tyrant whom thou serv'dst has seal'd thy doom,
" Has hurl'd thee, rebel, headlong, from the height,
" Of pow'r abus'd, and done thy sov'reign right.
" Chaste partners of my bed, and joys serene,
" Once my delight, but now how chang'd the scene!
" Condemn'd with me, in plaintive strains to mourn,
" The scanty pittance from our offspring torn!
" The viper, whom with fost'ring care I trust,
" Deep in my bosom plants his sting accurst;
" Riots in blood, and, heedless of his word,

* I have thought the first six lines, which are merely introductory, and cannot be accounted any part of the original, to be better calculated to give satisfaction to the reader, than any abrupt commencement of the elegy, as in the king's own words.

† Gholaum Kaudir Khan.

‡ Munsoon Ali Khan, superintendant of the household.

" Pants for the ruin of his sov'reign lord.
" Nobles ingrate, * upheld by pow'r and pride,
" To whom our favors never were deny'd;
" See to what mis'ry, and dire disgrace,
" Your perfidy accus'd, has brought a royal race:
" Bright Northern star, from Cabul's realms advance,
" Imperial Timoor,† poize the avenging lance.
" On these vile traitors quick destruction pour,
" Redress my wrongs, and kingly rights restore;
" Thee too, Oh, Scindeah, illustrious chief,
" Who once didst promise to afford relief;
" Thee, I invoke, exert thy gen'rous aid,
" And o'er their heads high wave th' avenging blade.
" And ye, oh faithful pillars of my state,
" By friendship bound, and by my power elate,
" Hasten, oh Asuf,‡ and ye English chiefs, §
" Nor blush to soothe an injur'd monarch's griefs!
" But stay, my soul! unworthy rage disown!
" Learn to sustain the loss of sight and throne;
" Learn that imperial pride, and star-clad pow'r,
" Are but the fleeting pageants of an hour!
" In the true crucible of dire distress,
" Purg'd of alloy, thy sorrows soon shall cease;
" What, tho' the son of empire and command,
" Shorn of its beams, enlightens not the land;
" Some happier day a providential care,
" Again may renovate the falling star;
" Again, O King, raise up thy illustrious race,
" Cheer thy sad mind, and close thy days in peace."||

* The Moghul nobility who abandoned the king on the approach of the rebels.

† Timoor Shah, king of Cabul, on his father, the Abdallah's, last visit to Delhi, was married to a princess of the royal family, which gives his son, Zemaun Shah, a claim to the throne of Hindûstan.

‡ Asuf ul Dowla, vizier of the empire.

§ It is much to be lamented that the state of politics at Calcutta could not, at that time, admit of government interfering on the occasion—for such was the influence of the British name, that had the detachment stationed at Anopshire, only marched out of their cantonments, the brutal tyrant would have desisted, and the king's misfortunes been averted.

|| It may not be amiss to remark, that several M. S copies of the above elegy having been circulated throughout India, various readings may have occurred. The one here presented, was obtained by the author whilst at Delhi, and therefore appeared to him the most authentic; but he thinks himself bound to acknowledge he has read a poetic version of the same elegy, which appeared in the European Magazine for May, 1797, said to be written by Capt. Symes, from whose researches, into the history and antiquities of the interesting kingdom of Ava, the public may expect to derive much useful and instructive information.